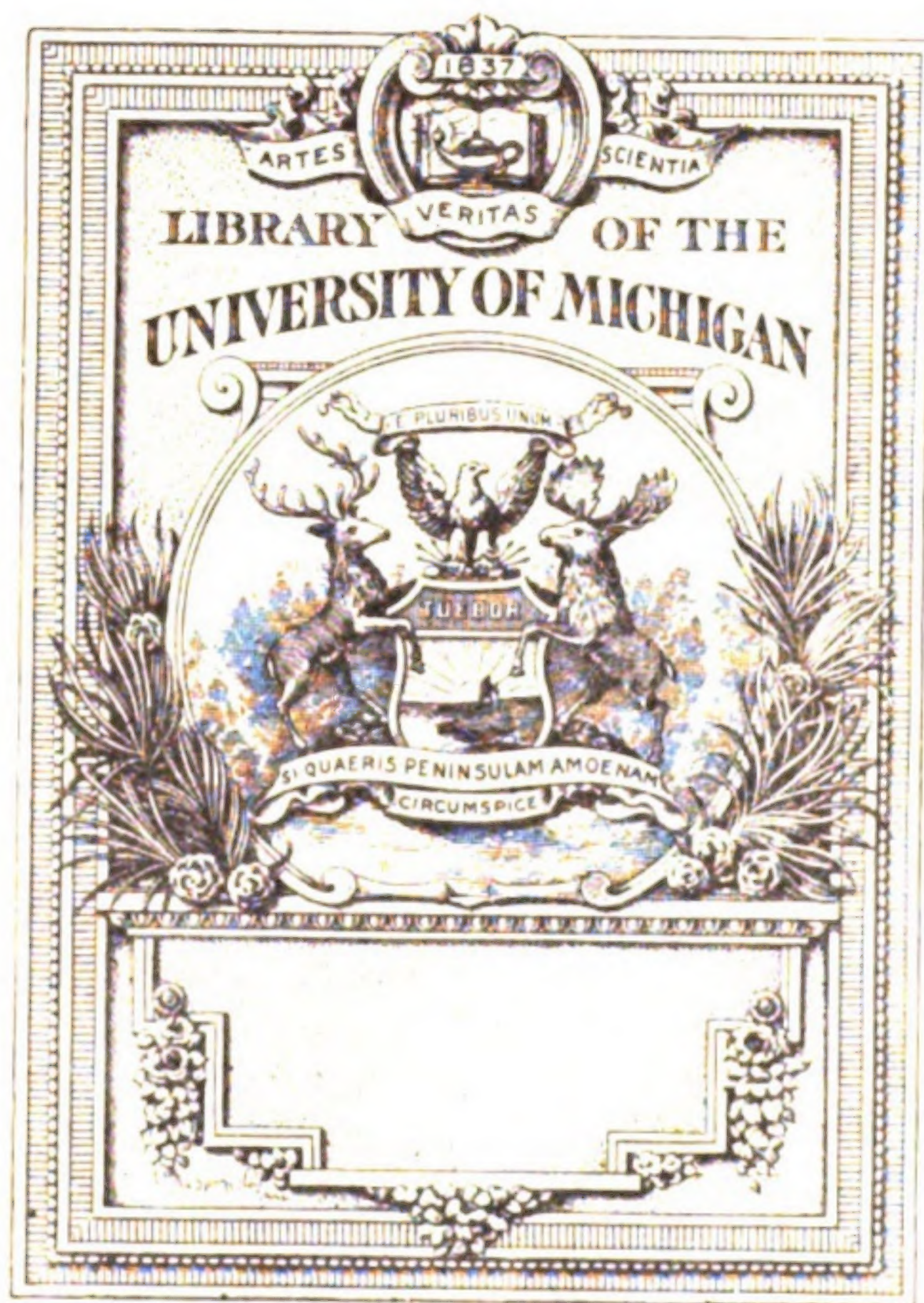


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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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VOL. XXXIII, I.

WHOLE No. 129.

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## I.—ON INSTABILITY IN THE USE OF MOODS IN EARLIEST SANSKRIT.

The following pages are in partial fulfilment of promises made in an article, entitled, 'On certain work in continuance of the Vedic Concordance', JAOS. XXIX, p. 286–298. On the last five pages of that announcement I outlined the kind and extent of information which the Vedic variants might be made to contribute to the subject of use of moods. Philologists, not least American philologists, have from time immemorial been so diligent and productive along this line of syntax, as to warrant the hope that the following statements, tho largely statements of austere facts, will arrest their attention in an uncommon degree. The gist of the following pages is, that, as far as earliest Hindu speech is concerned, ideas which are expressed in a given mood may be, and are, on a large and surprising scale, expressed equally well in another mood, the circumstances under which the two statements are made being precisely the same.

The so-called Vedic mantras, by far the most important part of the Veda, constitute the earliest form of Hindu speech of which we have record. They consist either of metrical verses (such as those of the entire Rig-Veda, and the bulk of the Atharva-Veda), or prose liturgic prayers and formulas, which pervade the entire, very extensive ritualistic texts of the Veda. Together they make up a vast stock of sentences, handed down in varied forms current in a large number of schools or branches (*śākhās*) of the Sacred Learning. It is important to remember that these variants involve no change of situation whatsoever. A given sentence is every time the same sentence, employed in the same material



situation. If there is any psychological shift of attitude in a changed mood, that shift is at the most and solely due to an arbitrary change in the appraisal of the original mood. There is no conceivable motive for the change, except in the subjective feeling of the repeater, or reciter of the second mouth. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that just such changes of the repeater's mood are, to some extent, and in varying degrees, at the bottom of these changes in grammatical mood ; and yet such assumption is, in the circumstances, the purest kind of argument in a circle. In any case the frequency of these changes testify eloquently to the instability of mood. And because they concern all moods, the following pages are a kind of negative syntax of the ancient Sanskrit moods. I need scarcely remark that conditions such as are sketched in the paragraph above happen to be unparalleled elsewhere in the history of recorded literature and speech.

The interest of these interchanges is greatly increased by the uncommonly large formal apparatus for expressing mood which is at the disposal of the Vedic language. This apparatus is considerably larger than that of Classical Sanskrit, and, I believe, also considerably larger than that of any other Indo-European language. The following forms carry with them modal value, under circumstances to be dealt with in detail later on: in various ways and various degrees they interchange one with the other :

1. Present Indicative.
2. Various Preterite Indicatives, notably the Aorist Indicative.
3. Imperative (including Imperatives in *tāt*).
4. Imperativ forms in *si*.
5. Subjunctive.
6. Mixed Imperative-Subjunctive forms.
7. Injunctive.
8. Optative.
9. Precative.
10. Future.
11. Desiderative.
12. Infinitive.

The rôle of the last two of these twelve classes is unimportant and, as regards strict modal quality, somewhat dubious. This still leaves ten modal categories whose inter-relations are the theme of the following pages.



Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the modal interchanges in two different texts there are two preliminary matters which lend atmosphere to the subject as a whole. First, one and the same text sometimes varies its mood in what may be regarded as a repetition of the same passage. Secondly, the interchanges in different texts sometimes, tho rarely, bring in three, or even more different moods.

*Interchange of moods in passages repeated in one and the same text.*

Any single Vedic text is liable to iteration on an extensive scale.<sup>1</sup> In these repeated passages mood may be changed either, apparently, for no other than subjective reason, or because of some external circumstance provoked by the general technique of the text in question. Thus the RV.:

*ādityāir no aditiḥ ṣarma yaṁsat* 1. 107. 2; 4. 54. 6  
*ādityāir no aditiḥ ṣarma yachatu* 4. 42. 6.

‘Aditi, together with the Ādityas, shall offer us protection!’ In the first form *yaṁsat* is aorist subjunctive; in the second form *yachatu* is present imperative.<sup>2</sup> The motive of the variation is the metre: the first line is *triṣṭubh* (11 syllables); the second *jagati* (12 syllables). Any other reason for the change of mood would be sheer hair-splitting: one sentence says exactly the same thing as the other.

Similarly it is possible to assign metric convenience for the following case of modal difference:

*suvedā no vasu kṛdhi* 7. 32. 25

‘Make wealth easy for us to get!’

*suvedā no vasu karat* 6. 48. 15

‘Let him make wealth easy for us to get!’

*kṛdhi* is 2. sg. aor. impv.; *karat* is 3. sg. aor. subj.: there is no reason why the poet of 7. 32. 25 should not have used *karah* to match *karat*, but we may observe that it would be against the metre to use the aor. impv. \**kartu*, or the pres. impv. *kṛnotu* or *karotu* in 6. 48. 15.

<sup>1</sup> See the author, JAOS. XXXI, 49 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the same relation between RV. 10. 128. 8<sup>a</sup> and AV. 5. 3. 3.<sup>a</sup>



Similarly metrical considerations may account for the modal change in :

*svadhvarā kṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ* 3. 6. 6 ; 7. 17. 3

‘ Prepare effective sacrifices, O Jātavedas (Agni) !’

*svadhvarā karati jātavedāḥ* 6. 10. 1 ; 7. 17. 4

‘ Let Jātavedas (Agni) prepare effective sacrifices !’

Here *kṛṇuhi* is 2. sg. pres. impv. ; *karati*, again, 3. sg. aor. subj. The last two examples show, what I am certain is true on a larger scale, that 3. person subjunctives are just as good imperatives as the true imperative forms.<sup>1</sup> Remembering that the so-called imperatives of the first person are all thematic subjunctives we may say confidently that there is no real difference between subj. and impv. in the mantras, at least as far as principal sentences are concerned.<sup>2</sup> This is borne out by the very large number of interchanges of the two moods, cited below, p. 18.

Not even metrical convenience accounts for the interchange between opt. and subj. in pairs like

*jyok paçyema sūryam uccarantam* 10. 59. 6

*jyok paçyāt sūryam uccarantam* 4. 25. 4

‘ A long time may we behold (and, let him behold) the rising sun !’, i. e., ‘ long may we (and, he) live !’ It would be just as well to have subj. *paçyāma* in the first passage, or opt. *paçyet* in the second.

Or, in AV. a slight and apparently unnecessary change of *tad* to *idaṁ* causes exchange between impv. and inj. : *indro marutvān sa dadātu tan me* (11. 1. 27, *dadād idaṁ me*), ‘ Indra with the Maruts, may he give that to me !’ Or, again, there is no apparent reason for the variation between impv. and prec. in one and the same formula in KS., *durmitrās tasmāi santu* (38. 5, *bhūyāsur*) *yo ’smān dveṣṭi*, 3. 8 ; 38. 5, ‘ may they be hostile to him that hates us !’

<sup>1</sup> Consider especially the third person mixed subjunctive-imperatives, treated below, p. 24, and see also p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> The chief distinction between the two moods is, in all probability the exclusion of the 2. sing. imperative from dependent sentences: RV. 8. 103 14, *mādayasva svarṇare*, ‘ delight thyself in the house of Svarṇara ’ (impv.), but, 8. 65. 2, *yad . . . mādayāse svarṇare* ‘ when thou delightest thyself in the house of Svarṇara ’ (subj.).



On the other hand there is again possible metrical reason for the interchange between opt. and subj. in :

*jīvēma śaradaḥ śatam* RV. 7. 66. 16  
*jīvāti śaradaḥ śatam* RV. 10. 85. 39

‘ May we (and, he) live a hundred autumns ! ’ The opt. *jīvēt*, is barred from the second case, because it is a syllable short. It is of interest to observe that ApMB. 1. 5. 2 changes *jīvāti* of RV. 10. 85. 39 to *jīvātu*, hybrid subj. impv., showing the tense sympathy between subj. and impv. in the third person, alluded to above ; it also shows that opt., subj., and impv. are much the same in such connection.

Again, the impv. in *tāt*, the so-called future impv. (Whitney, Skt. Gr. § 571 ; Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, § 207 ; Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax, § 188, note 1), fails to differentiate itself modally from the ordinary pres. impv. in two RV. parallels, to wit :

*pra no yachatād avṛkaṁ pṛthu chardiḥ* 1. 48. 15  
*prāsmāi yachatam avṛkaṁ pṛthu chardiḥ* 8. 9. 1

‘ Do thou furnish us (and, do ye two furnish him) broad protection against enemies ! ’ The difference, at most, is chronological : *yachatād* is a more archaic form, and, at the same time, occurs here in an older part of the RV. ; see Oldenberg, Prolegomena, p. 262.

It is interesting to observe that in one instance in the RV. there is no real difference between a thematic pres. subj. and an indic. aor. :

*yan mā somāso mamadan yad ukthā*  
*ubhe bhayete rajasī apāre* 4. 42. 6,

‘ When the soma libations and the songs of praise incite me, both boundless hemispheres (heaven and earth) are afright ’.

*purū sahasrā ni śiṣāmi dācuṣe*  
*yan mā somāsa ukthino amandiṣuḥ* 10. 48. 4.

We must of course in verbal translation reproduce the aor. of the second passage : ‘ Many thousands do I secure to my worshiper when the soma libations accompanied by songs of praise have incited me ’. In truth, the aor. is here just as modal as the subj. : it is the so-called ‘ prophetic aorist ’ which states a wish as an accomplished fact ; see below, p. 15.



*Instances of more than two modal varieties.*

In quite a number of cases more than two moods, usually three, but occasionally even more than three, interchange in different versions of one and the same passage. These are of especial interest, because they show, in a superior degree, that the modal distinctions are the reverse of sharp. The cases here listed are not repeated below under the heads of the much more numerous interchanges between two moods; they may be added to these without any great inconvenience:<sup>1</sup>

In the formulaic prayer which says, 'may I (thou, we, or he) live a hundred autumns!', there is a confluence of almost all the modal varieties: subj. *jīvāti*, 'may he live'; impv. *jīva*, 'live thou'; mixed impv.-subj. *jīvātu*, 'may he live'; opt. *jīvema* 'may we live,; subj. first persons *jīvāva*, 'may we two live', and *jīvāni*, 'may I live'; and, finally pres. ind. *jīvāmi*, 'I live'. All these are in final effect wish moods, and nothing more. Their citations may be found in my Vedic Concordance; see, e. g., *jīvāti çaradaḥ çalam*.

We have, next, almost any three moods in passages that are much more adventitious:

Optative, Precative, and Future: *cārum adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam* ApÇ., 'may I this day speak speech pleasing to the gods!': *madhumatīm* (ÇÇ. *madhumatīm adya*) *devebhyo vācam udyāsam* (ÇÇ. *vācam vadiṣyāmi*) ÇÇ. TS. TA. ÇÇ., 'may I (or, I shall) this day speak honeyed speech to the gods!': *madhumatīm vācam udeyam* AV., 'may I speak honeyed speech!'

Injunctive, Subjunctive and Optative: *prati vām jihvā ghṛtam uc caranyat* (AV. *caranyāt*; TS. *caranyet*) AV. TS. MS. KS. KB. AÇ. ÇÇ., 'may your tongue move up to meet the ghee!'

Present Indicative, Imperative, and Precative: *sūrya bhrājiṣṭha bhrājiṣṭhas* (TS. ÇÇ. ApÇ. *bhrājasvin bhrājasvi*; VSK. *bhrājasvan bhrājasvāḥ*; MÇ. *bhrājaskāra bhrājasvāḥ*) *tvaṁ deveṣu asi* (TS. *deveṣu bhūyāḥ*; MS. *deveṣu edhi*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. ÇÇ., 'O brilliant Sun, be thou (or, thou art) brilliant among the gods!', or the like.

Present Indicative, Imperative, and Subjunctive: *kṣeme tiṣṭhāti* (PG. *tiṣṭhatu*; HG. *tiṣṭhati*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇā* AV. PG. HG., 'may (the dwelling) stand in security!', or the like.

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter the abbreviations for the several texts are those of my Vedic Concordance. To save space citations of places are, as a rule, omitted; they may be readily supplied from the same work.



Subjunctive, Imperative, and Imperative in *tāt: etaṁ jānātha* (KS. *jānīta*; TB. *jānītāt*) *parame vyoman* VS. KS. TB.; *jānīta smādinam* (TS. MÇ. *jānītād enaṁ*) *parame vyoman* AV. TS. MÇ., 'acknowledge him in highest heaven!'

Present Indicative, Prophetic Aorist, and Imperative: *sugā vo devāḥ sadanā akarma* (MS. *kṛṇomi*; KÇ. Kāuç. *sadanāni santu*) AV. VS. MS. KÇ. Kāuç., 'we have made (or, I make), O ye gods, your seats easy of access for you', or, 'easy of access, O ye gods, shall your seats be for you!'

Imperative, Injunctive, and Imperfect: *havyā te svadantām* (MS. *svadan*; KS. *asvadan*) VS. TS. MS. KS., 'delightful to taste be (or, were) thy oblations!'<sup>1</sup>

### Systematic classification of modal interchanges.

We may turn now to a systematic account of the modal variations in one and the same passage when repeated in the texts of different schools. As far as I can observe these schools show no constitutional preference for some one mood at the expense of another. What they do seem to show is indifference to distinction between them. It is possible, of course, when we find one text, e. g., substituting imperative for subjunctive, or precativ for optative, that it approaches the passage from a slightly altered direction, or with a different quality of emotion. But it is every time the same passage, in the same connection, uttered in the midst of the same real properties; hence any attempt to establish such differences lies outside of the limits of grammatical investigation. A good deal depends upon the constancy of these interchanges; the more frequent these are, the greater the chance that they imply indifference to modal distinction, and nothing more. I would remind the reader that there are in this same sphere about 200 cases of interchange between active and middle, also entirely bare of distinction.<sup>2</sup>

We shall deal with the moods in the order stated above. The lists of passages in each class may be reinforced here and there from the groups involving more than two modal varieties, above, p. 6.

### I. Present Indicative in interchange with other moods.

The most frequent interchange is between the present indicative and other moods. These, again, amount to about 200 cases

<sup>1</sup> See in addition some of the cases under the heading 'Mixed Imperative-Subjunctive Forms', below, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See JAOS. XXIX. 293.



distributed somewhat unevenly between imperative, subjunctive, and optative. But this interchange is, in the main, temperamental, rather than logical; philological, rather than grammatical. The Vedic mantras deal almost entirely with the praise of fictitious gods; with efforts to coax them into good humor and generosity; and with all sorts of magic or hocus-pocus that is supposed to fulfill wishes. In such atmosphere the indicative which is by nature a sort of *modus rectus* is in truth a *modus obliquus* (*subjunctivus*); almost everything that is stated categorically is meant modally. The indicative states things as certain; as a matter of fact these things are merely wished for, hoped for, requested, or importunately insisted upon. So, e. g., to illustrate by one of the keenest desires of every stratum of the Veda, the desire for *dakṣiṇā* (baksheesh). A poet priest states, apparently with serene confidence, therefore in the pres. ind., that a certain god is clever (*prajānan*) in making even the stingy man give gifts to the priests:

*aditsantaṁ dāpayati prajānan* VS. KS.,

‘he cleverly makes the stingy man give’.

In truth this poet is whistling in the woods. What is really meant is, that he wishes, hopes, or requests that the god may, should, or shall do so. Accordingly three other texts change the ind. *dāpayati*, ‘makes give’, to the impv. *dāpayatu*, ‘shall make give’, to wit:

*aditsantaṁ* (AV. *utāditsantaṁ*) *dāpayatu prajānan* AV. TS. MS.

If this were question of logic or grammar, and not of temperament and manner of speaking, we might enrich the vocabulary of grammatical terminology by yet one more item, namely hortative indicative.

This kind of indicative is very common, as may be supposed after this description. Its real interest for grammar is to be found in the fact that it varies impartially with pretty much all of the oblique modes, showing that there is in this particular kind of wish statements no real difference between any of these moods. It does not seem to me necessary to cite all cases of such interchange. But I shall illustrate them by a sufficient number of examples for each one of the modes that takes the place of the indicative.



*Present Indicative and Imperative.*

This is by far the most frequent of these interchanges. We may be reminded of the indicative in interchange with two other moods (above, p. 6): once, ind. with impv. and prec.; another time, ind. with impv. and subj. The first persons of the impv. are in reality subjunctives. They involve peculiar conditions as far as the older language is concerned; we may reserve them for the next subdivision. As for the other two persons their extreme readiness to take the place of this ind. calls to mind the fact that throughout Sanskrit literature the impv. is in a marked degree a mode of wish as well as of command, as when, in contrast with Lat. *vivat crescat floreat*, or *vivat rex*, Sanskrit uses the impv., *jayatu rājā*, 'may the king be victorious!'<sup>1</sup> The sequel will show that the impv. encroaches upon the more timid wish-moods to a larger extent than is to be expected in a mood of command.<sup>2</sup>

We may illustrate the play between ind. and impv. by a half a dozen examples each for the second and third persons; the ind. form precedes the impv. in each instance:

*kṣatrāṇām kṣatrapatir asi* (VS. *edhi*) VS. TS., 'thou art (or, be thou) sovereign lord of sovereignties!' Prayer in behalf of a king on his coronation.

*syonā cāsi suṣadā cāsi* VS., 'pleasant art thou, and a fair seat to rest on!': *syonā ca me suṣadā cāidhi* TB., 'be thou pleasant and a fair seat for me!' Prayer addressed to Earth.

*prṣṭhena dyāvāprṥhivī* (MS. adds *āprṇa*) *antarikṣam ca vi bādhasse* (MS. *bādhasva*) VS. MS. KS., 'with thy back thou sunderest (or, sunder thou) heaven and earth and the firmament!', or the like. Prayer addressed to the brick altar.

*ā rohathe* (VS. TS. *rohataṁ*) *varuṇa mitra gartam* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. N., 'ye sit (and, sit ye), O Mitra and Varuṇa, upon your throne!'

*jātavedasam adhvarāṇām janayathaḥ* (KS. MS. *janayataṁ*) *purogām* KS. TB. ApÇ. MÇ. 'ye beget (or, beget ye) Jātavedas (Agni) as the leading-steer of sacrifices!' Addressed to the two fire-drills.

<sup>1</sup> The passive impv. is a favorite means of expressing polite request; see Speyer, l. c., § 192.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Whitney, Skt. Gr., §§ 572, 575; Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, p. 361; Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax §§ 188, 192.



*somo virañ karmanyañ dadāti* (TB. *dadātu*) . . . *yo dadāṣad asmāi* RV. VS. MS. TB., 'Soma giveth (or, shall give) a pious son to him that revereth him!'

*viṣvañ hi* (KS. *ha*) *riprañ pravahanti* (MS. *pravahantu*) *deviḥ* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS., 'for the goddesses (the Waters) carry off (or, shall carry off) all defilement!'

*dhanuḥ ṣatror apakāmañ kṛṇoti* (MS. *kṛṇotu*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KSA., 'our bow brings (or shall bring) sorrow to the enemy!'

*ā devo yāti* (so MS. MG.; all the rest *yātu*) *savitā surātnaḥ* RV. MS. KS. ÇB. TB. MG., 'God Savitar comes hither (or, shall come hither) rich in treasures!'

*edhante asyā jñātayaḥ* RV. AV. ApMB., 'her (the bride's) relations thrive': *edhantām jñātayo mama* SMB. PG. HG. MG., 'may my (the bridegroom's) relations thrive!' In a wedding-charm; the point is the same in both forms.

In a single instance the impv. takes the place, secondarily, of the pres. ind. in a relative clause:

*ye . . . svadanti* (MS. TB. *svadantu*) *devā ubhayāni havyā* RV. VS. MS. KS. TB. N., 'the gods who enjoy (or, shall enjoy) both sorts of our oblations'.

#### *Present Indicative and Subjunctive.*

I have given mere samples of the interchange between ind. and impv. On the other hand ind. and subj. vary with one another so rarely as to call for all instances. It is quite impossible to feel any distinction between the two classes of interchange; we may conclude that, in this sphere of expression, impv. and subj. perform the same rôle, even if we suspect, as I do, that the impv. is the milder mood of the two. The following are the instances in point of second and third persons:

*agnir no vanate* (VSK. *vanute*; SV. TS. KS. *vaṅsate*) *rayim* RV. SV. VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS., Agni obtains (or, shall obtain) for us wealth!' Here *vanate* is ambiguous, either pres. ind., or aor. subj.; *vanute* is pres. ind.; *vaṅsate* aor. subj.

*indro jayati* (AV. TS. *jayāti*) *na parā jāyate* (AV. TS. *jayātāi*) 'Indra is (or, shall be) victorious, is not (or, shall not be) vanquished!'

*uta prahām atidivā jayati* (RV. *atidivya jayāti*) RV. AV., 'moreover the superior gamester gains (or, shall gain) the stake!'



*ṛṇaṁ vasānā sumanā asi* (AV. *asas*) *tvam* AV. HG., 'O house, clothed in grass (i. e. thatched), thou art (or, be thou) kindly disposed towards us!'

*vaṣṭi vaṣaṁ nayasa* (AV. *ayāsa*) *ekaja tvam* RV. AV., 'thou (*Manyu*, 'Wrath'), controlling, bringest (or, shalt bring, sc. our foes) under control!'

More frequent are the interchanges between the first persons of pres. ind. and subj. The latter forms figure in later Sanskrit as the first persons of the impv. (see above, p. 9); at no time is there any real basis for distinguishing the two varieties of modality in that person.

*tenāham asya brahmaṇā ni vartayāmi* (TB. *vartayāni*) *jīvase* TB. ApÇ. MÇ., 'through that holy rite of his do I return (or, let me return) to life!'

*tayānantam kāmam* (ÇÇ *lokam*) *aham jayāmi* (thus AÇ.; the rest *jayāni*) AÇ. ÇÇ. ApÇ., 'through this (oblation) I conquer (or, let me conquer) endless bliss (or heaven)!'

*brahmāham antaram kṛṇve* (KÇ *karave* = *karavāi*) AV. KÇ., 'I make (or, let me make) the brahma my inner (defence)!'

The preceding examples of 1. person still partake of that temperamental distinction between indicative and the 'oblique moods', described above. There, are, however, also plain cases of such interchange as when we say in English either, 'let me eat', or, 'I am going to eat'. For the present is so little of a tense as to be at times a future; again, future and subjunctive, especially in Sanskrit, are close allies. Hence the following cases:

*un nayāmi* AÇ.: *un nayāni* KS. KÇ. ApÇ. MÇ., 'I ladle out', or, 'let me ladle out!'

*nihāram ni harāmi* (VS. *harāni*) *te* VS. VSK. TS. KS., 'to thee I give (or, let me give) my wares!'

*dadāmi* (AÇ. *dadāni*) *agnir vadati* TB. AÇ. 'I give (or, let me give), saith Agni'.

*satyasya dharmaṇā vi sakhyāni sṛjāmahe* Vait., 'in accordance with the law of truth we dissolve our union': *sakhyasya dharmaṇā vi sakhyā visṛjāvahāi* MÇ., 'in accordance with the law of truth let us two dissolve our union!'

*manve* (so MS.; the rest, *manāi*) *babhrūṇām aham ṣaṭam dhāmāni sapta ca* RV. VS. MS. KS. N., 'of these (herbs) whose hue is brown I declare (or, let me declare) the hundred powers and seven!'



There is yet one more kind of interchange between indicatives and subjunctives of all persons, which is a genuine syntactical interchange. Namely, they vary with one another in relative clauses; the indicative states the fact; the subjunctive assumes it potentially (for the subj. see Delbrück, l. c., p. 317):

*yo naḥ . . . abhidāsati bhrātṛvyaḥ . . . idam ahaṁ tam adharaṁ pādayāmi* TS. 3. 2. 10. 2: *yo naḥ . . . abhidāsāt sapatnaḥ . . . idam ahaṁ tam adharaṁ pādayāmi* MS. 4. 5. 8: 76. 13, 'the rival who contends (or, may contend) against us, him do I here lay low!'

*sam ajāiṣam imā ahaṁ sapatnīr . . . yathāham asya vīrasya virājāni janasya ca* (ApMB. *virājāmi dhanasya ca*) RV. ApMB., 'I have conquered these rival women, so that I control (or, may control) this man and his folk (or, and his wealth)'.

*jāgratsvapnaḥ . . . yaṁ dviṣmas taṁ sa ṛchatu* RV. 10. 164. 5: 'may wakefulness worry him whom we hate!' *pāpmā . . . yaṁ dveṣāma taṁ ṛchatu* AV. 6. 26. 3, 'may Evil worry him whom we hate (or, happen to hate)!'

*taṁ* (sc. *devam*) *ābhara . . . rayiṁ yena vanāmahāi* (SV. *vanāmahe*) RV. SV. 'bring that (god) hither . . . so that through him we obtain (or, shall obtain) wealth!'

*yunajmi ta uttarāvantam indram yena jayanti* (TB. *jayāsi*) *na parā jayante* (TB. *jayāsai*) AV. TB., 'I join to thee Indra who is eminently superior, by whom men conquer, are not conquered (or by whom thou mayest conquer, not be conquered)'.

*yena bhūyaḥ caraty ayaṁ jyok ca paçyati sūryaḥ tena te vapāmy āyuṣe* MG., 'with (the razor) through which he shall live on, and be beheld by the sun, with that do I shear him unto life!': *yena bhūyaḥ caraty ayaṁ jyok ca paçyāti sūryaṁ tenās-yāyuṣe vapa* ApMB., 'with (the razor) through which he shall live on and long behold the sun, with that shear him unto life!'

*kva tyāni nāu sakhyā babhūvuh sacāvahe* (MS. *sacāvahāi*) *yad avṛkaṁ purā cit* RV. MS., 'What has become of the friendship of us two, when formerly we trained together, free from harm?'<sup>1</sup>

In one case, very similarly, an interrogative clause, which has the effect of a conditional clause, introduces interchange between indic. and subj.: *apāṁ napād āçuhemā kuvit sa supeçasas karati* (KS. *karoti*) *joṣiṣad dhi* RV. MS. KS. ApÇ., 'will the Son of the Waters . . . adorn (my songs), so as to enjoy them?' That is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delbrück, l. c., 278.



to say: 'if he will adorn them, he will enjoy them'. The present *karoti* is secondary.

*Present Indicative and Injunctive.*

The injunctive, or 'improper subjunctive', or 'augmentless subjunctive', is identical in form with augmentless preterits of all classes. The distinction between modal value and preterite value is at all times difficult to make. Especially in the Veda which abounds in the quasi-modal use of preterite indicatives, as well as present indicatives (see above, p. 8, and below, p. 14), the distinction between inj. and pret. is not to be made with certainty. Moreover, a large number of inj. forms figure at all times as impvs. tending to efface the individuality of the inj. in this direction also. This last uncertainty is, however quite unimportant, as far as our purposes are concerned. The present class of interchange is rare in any case. In so far as it does occur it puts the inj. completely in line with the subj. The following two cases involve, with reasonable certainty, injunctives in exchange with indicatives, in principal clauses:

*pra te divo na stanayanti ŋuṣmāḥ* RV., 'your lightning fires (O Agni) thunder from heaven': *pra te divo na stanayanta ŋuṣmāḥ* MS., 'may your (fires) thunder from heaven with lightning!'

*yad āmayati niṣ kṛtha* (TS. MS. KS. *kṛta*), 'whatever causes disease ye cure (or, cure ye)!' *kṛta* may, of course, be regarded as impv. as well as inj.

In two cases again, as in the case of the subjunctive (p. 12), relative clauses are the seat of variation between indicative and injunctive, to wit:

*hiranyayi araṇi yaṁ nirmanthato* (ÇB. *yābhyāṁ nirmanthatām*) *aṣvinā, taṁ te garbhaṁ havāmahe daṣame māsi sūtave* RV. ÇB., 'the foetus which the two Aṣvins drill out (or, may drill out) with (their) golden drill (or, two drills), that do we call, that thou mayest beget in the tenth month!'

*yā rājānā sarathaṁ yātha* (MS. *yāta*) *ugrā tā no muñcatam āgasaḥ* MS. KS., 'ye two kings (Mitra and Varuṇa) who go (or, may go) in company, do ye free us from sin!'

*Present Indicative and Optative.*

The optative, a rather indifferent wish mood, stands, perhaps, more in the centre of the entire sphere of modality than any



other mood. This accounts, to some extent, for its survival in the later language as the heir of the majority of the *modi subjunctivi*. It is, as we shall see, on terms of lively reciprocity with subj., being, however, rarer than the subj. in the metrical parts of the Veda.

With the pres. ind. it alternates in only a moderate number of cases, especially as compared with the impv.; cf. our remarks on the latter mood, above, p. 9. The present makes, as usual, the impression of greater certainty or insistence: The interchanges are, for the most part, in the first person:

*asyed indro madeṣu ā grābhaṁ gr̥bhṇāti* (RV. *gr̥bhṇita*) *sān-asim* RV. SV., 'when exhilarated by this very soma Indra makes (or, may make) a rich haul!'

*so 'haṁ vājaṁ sanāmy* (thus KS.; the rest, *saneyam*) *agne* VS. TS. MS. KS., 'I here gain (or, may I here gain) substance!'

*viṣvāir viṣvāṅgāiḥ saha saṁ bhavāmi* (AV. *bhavema*) AV. MÇ., 'I come into being (or, may we come into being) with all sound-limbed persons!'

*marutvantaṁ havāmahe* (SV. *havemahi*) RV. SV. '(Indra) with the Maruts do we call (or, we wish to call)'

*indravanto vanāmahe* (PB. *vanemahi*) TS. PB., 'with Indra do we obtain (or, may we obtain), sc. offspring, etc'.

## II. Preterits in interchange with other moods.

I have used the term 'temperamental' more than once in the preceding pages, in order to describe uses of the categorical indicative that really carry within them modal values of all kinds and degrees. The Vedic poets show even greater tenseness of feeling in that they employ preterite indicatives when they really experience moods. More particularly the aorist, that perfective aorist which is the equivalent of the Greek perfect, looms in this sense. Were there any question as to this use all doubt vanishes when we find that an aorist in the text of one school is replaced in another school by a modal form. So, e. g., some texts say: 'I have speedily attained unto truth!'

*añjasā satyam upāgām* MS. KS. But the majority, nine in number, say, using an optative aorist: 'May I speedily attain unto truth!' *añjasā satyam upa geṣam* VS. TS. GB. ÇB. AÇ. ÇÇ. Vait. LÇ. ÇG.

Or one text says: 'The moon and the constellations have helped thee along!', *candramā nakṣatrāir anu tvāvīt* KS.



Another text says, using the imperative : ' May the moon and the constellations help thee along ! ' *candramā nakṣatrāir anu tvāvatu* TB.

This kind of aorist, especially common in the literature of magic and conjuration, has with some propriety been called ' prophetic aorist '. We cannot quite look into the heart of those poets and poetasters, those inspired Rishis and voodoo-men, so as to put a precise estimate either upon their fiery prayers, or their bathetic babble. To some extent the prophetic aorist holds serene faith ; more often it has a touch of vulgar slyness, perplexed cocksureness, and even bluster. Underneath it all lurks, in any case, the modal element of desire and doubt which the hot-headed statement does not disguise. The following lists contain the prophetic aorists in interchange with impv., subj., or opt., in addition to the cases just mentioned.

*Aorist and Imperative.*

*sā na āgan* (AV. *āitu*) *varcasā saṁvidānā* AV. TS., ' she (the lovely goddess) hath come (or, shall come) to us, endowed with lustre ! '

*sūryasya cakṣur āruham* (VS. *āroha*) VS. TS. MS. KS., ' the eye of Sūrya (the Sun) I have ascended (or, ascend thou) ! '

*saṁ āpo adbhir agmata* VS. TS. ÇÇ., ' waters have commingled with waters ! ': *saṁ āpo oṣadhibhiḥ gachantām* MS., ' let waters commingle with plants ! '

*syonām āsadam suṣadām āsadam* (thus LÇ.; the rest *āsida*, both times for *āsadam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. LÇ., ' I have seated myself (or, sit thou) upon a (throne) that is fair, upon one that offers a pleasant seat ! '

*viṣṇus tvākraṁsta* (VS. *tvā kramatām*) VS. ApÇ., ' Viṣṇu hath mounted thee (or shall mount thee) (namely, a cart) ! '

*ṣuciṁ te* (SV. *ca*) *varṇam adhi goṣu dīdharam* (SV. *dhāraya*) RV. SV., ' thy bright color, (O Soma), I have infused into the milk ', or, ' and bright color do thou infuse into the milk ! '

*ud asāu sūryo agāt* RV. AV. Ap. MB., ' yonder sun hath risen ': *ud asāv etu sūryaḥ* TB., yonder sun shall rise ! '

*agnir janavin mahyaṁ jāyām imām adāt* KāuÇ., ' Agni, who owns people, hath given me this wife ': *agnir janitā sa me 'mūṁ jāyām dadātu* ÇG., ' may Agni, the begettor, give me yonder woman for a wife ! '

*ā tvāhārṣam antar abhūḥ* (RV. *edhi*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS., ' I have brought thee ; thou hast entered (or, enter) within ! '



*Aorist and Subjunctive.*

*ānyāvākṣīd* (VS. *ānyā vakṣad*) *vasu vāryāṇi* VS. TB., 'the other (goddess) hath brought (or, shall bring) boons and treasures!'

*Aorist and Optative.*

*grāvāvadīd* (ApÇ. *grāvā vaded*) *abhi somasyāñçum* (ApÇ., °*çunā*) KS. ApÇ., 'the press-stone hath spoken (or, shall speak) over the soma-shoot!', or the like.

*Other preterite forms in interchange with modal forms.*

The aorist is the most definite of the preterites, stating that a thing has actually taken place. It holds the extreme distance from the true modal types. In between lie the other preterites. They are merely narrative, and, so to speak, assume no real responsibility for the actuality of the event narrated. Yet they also, whether imperfect or perfect, interchange with modal forms. We may assume that in such cases these preterites state the event not so certainly as the aorist, but with more certainty, and, that too, assumed certainty, than the moods. Both imperfect and perfect are less frequent in these relations than the aorist.

*Imperfect and Imperative.*

*pr̥ṣṭheṣv āirayad* (RV. *erayā*) *rayim* RV. SV., 'upon his back (Soma) carried (or, shall carry) hither wealth!'

*mahyam āpo madhumad āirayanta* (AV. *erayantām*) AV. KS., 'to me the waters sent (or, shall send) what is sweetness!'

*praty āuhatām* (MS. *ūhatām*) *açvinā mṛtyum asmāt* (AV. *asmaṭ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS., 'the Açvins swept (or shall sweep) away death from him (or, us)!'

*tvām gāvo 'vṛṇata rājyāya* TS. MS., 'thee the cows chose for kingship': *tvām viço vṛṇatām rājyāya*, 'thee the clans shall choose for kingship!'

*Imperfect and Subjunctive.*

*ā vo rohito açṛṇod abhidyaṇaḥ* (AV. *çṛṇavat sudānavaḥ*) AV. TB., 'Rohita listened to you, ye heavenly (Maruts)', or 'Rohita shall listen to you, ye liberal (Maruts)!'

*tad agnir agnaye 'dadāt* (KS. MÇ. *dadaṭ*) KS. ApÇ. MÇ., 'Agni gave (or shall give) this to Agni!'

*āsann ā pātraṁ janayanta* (KS. *janayantu*) *devāḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. KS., 'the gods begot (or shall beget) him (Agni) as a



vessel at their mouths!'. Offerings come to the gods through the mediation of Agni. In this example *janayanta* may be, less probably, injunctive.

*Perfect and modal forms of various sorts.*

*sa viṣvā prati cākṣpe* AV., 'he (Vaiṣvānara Agni) shaped himself into all things': *sa viṣvam prati cākṣat* AÇ. ÇÇ., 'he shall shape everything!'

*ni hotāraṁ viṣvavidam dadhidhve* RV. 'ye have established (Agni) as all-wise priest': *ni hotāraṁ gṛhapatiṁ dadhidhvam* SV., 'ye shall establish (Agni) as priest and house-lord!'

*vavakṣa* (SV. *vavakṣat*) *sadyo mahi dūtyaṁ caran* RV. SV., 'he (Agni) hath grown (or, shall grow) apace, while going upon his great mission!'

*sa naḥ pito(!)madhumān ā viveṣa* Kāuṣ., 'this honeyed food hath entered us:': *sa naḥ pito madhumān ā viṣha* KS., 'do thou, O food, honeyed, enter us here!'

III. Imperative in interchange with other moods (including Imperative in *tāt*).

We now come to the interchanges between the true, or 'oblique' moods, after having, in the preceding pages, sketched their relation to the various indicatives. The well-known works on Sanskrit Syntax define each mood by itself; they make no serious attempt to mark off the territory of one mood as compared with the other. All recognize the freedom and indefiniteness of their use. The impv., e. g., is a moderate mood of request; it includes not only command, but also instruction, advice, wish, and prayer, thus covering the larger part of the sphere of the other moods. It would serve no good purpose, therefore, to follow in the footsteps of the syntacticians, and define precisely the uses of each modal category.<sup>1</sup> Rather do the following lists show the constancy of transition from one to another, than the peculiar function of any one of them. They represent links in a chain of modality which is scarcely broken by any peculiar use reserved for any one of them. Also tense distinctions in moods abound, but are totally without significance. Pres. subj. and aor. subj. are quite identical; precative (aoristic

<sup>1</sup> See in general, and most conveniently, Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, II. 346 ff.



optative) has in the Veda purely optative value which does not in the least account for the aoristic element in its make-up. Even the prohibitive use of the injunctive with *mā* is occasionally in the Veda displaced by the imperative, or optative (below, pp. 21, 28). Nor is the preference of the prohibitive for the aorist rather than the present injunctive by any means a settled fact, as far as the Veda is concerned. As far as I can observe, any one of the true moods may interchange with any other, certainly in principal sentences, but also to a considerable extent in subordinate (relative) clauses.

The imperative, in addition to its extremely frequent reciprocity with indicatives, interchanges with subjunctive, injunctive (including prohibitive), optative, precative, future, and infinitive. This order is followed in the sequel. In addition, the class of mixed imperative-subjunctive forms, treated below (p. 27) between the impv. group and the subj. group, contains cases which not only involve the impv., but also those mixed forms which are part impv. and part subj. And the second person modal forms in *si* (p. 24), themselves imperatives, alternate with regular impv. forms. Finally the impv. is used also, tho very rarely, as prohibitive with *mā*.

The impv. in *tāt* shows in these interchanges character in no wise different from that of the ordinary impv. See the relation of RV. 1. 48. 15 to 8. 9. 1, described above, p. 5, and the last example but two under the heading, 'Instances of more than two modal varieties', p. 6.

#### *Imperative and Subjunctive.*

Interchange between these two moods is entirely restricted to principal clauses. In relative clauses the subj. is very frequent; the impv. very rare and precarious.<sup>1</sup> There is no distinction between the subjs. of the various tenses (pres., aor., etc.). The total number of interchanges between impv. and subj. is about twenty. In quite a number of cases one version has the second person impv.; the other third person subjunctive:

*svāveṣo anamtvā bhavā naḥ* (ApMB. *bhuvā naḥ*; Kauç. *na edhi*)  
RV. TS. MS. Kauç. SMB. PG. ApMB., 'be thou easy of access,

<sup>1</sup>Cf. above, p. 4, note 2, 10. In one case I find the form *atimanyadhvam* in exchange with subj. *atimanyādhvāi*, to wit, *yad iti mām atimanyadhvam* HG.: *yadi mām atimanyādhvāi* ApMB. But *atimanyadhvam* may perhaps be better regarded as injunctive; the reading is, moreover, doubtful.



and free us from disease!' Here *bhavā* is pres. impv.; *bhuvā(h)* aor. subj.

*svāduḥ pavāte* (SV. *pavatām*) *ati vāram avyam* RV. SV., 'may the sweet soma strain itself through the sheep's wool!'

*so adhvarā karati jātavedāḥ* AB.: *kṛṇotu so adhvarā jātavedāḥ* VS. TS., 'let Jātavedas (Agni) perform the sacrifice!'

*sviṣṭīm nas tām kṛṇavad* (TS. *kṛṇotu*) *viṣvakarmā* AV. TS., 'may Viṣvakarman (All-Worker) make that for us a good oblation!'

*vaiṣvānaraḥ pavitā naḥ punātu* AV. 'let Vaiṣvānara (Agni), the purifier, purify us!': *vaiṣvānaraḥ pavayān naḥ pavitrāiḥ* TA., 'Vaiṣvānara shall purify us with his purifiers!'

*te no rayīm sarvavīraṁ ni yachān* (HG. *yachantu*) AV. HG., 'may they grant us wealth and sound sons!'

*rayīm ca naḥ sarvavīraṁ ni yachatu* (AV. *yachāt*) AV. TS. MS., 'let him grant us wealth and sound sons!'

*sarṁmiṣṭo aruṣo bhava* (SV. *bhuvah*) . . . *dhenubhiḥ* RV. SV., 'do thou, red (soma) mingle with milk!'

*uta trātā śivo bhavā* (SV. *bhuvo*) *varūthyah* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Kāuṣ., 'be thou a kind protecting Savior!'

*iṣṭapūrte kṛṇavāthāvir* (VSK. *kṛṇavathāvir*; TS. *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmāi* VS. VSK. TS., 'reveal to him (the meed) of his sacrifices and pious gifts!'

*jayatābhītvārīm jayatābhītvaryāḥ* AÇ: *jeṣathābhītvārīm jeṣathābhītvaryāḥ* KB. ÇÇ., 'conquer ye the attacking (army); conquer ye the attacking (armies)!'

*gārhapatya un no neṣat* TA.: *gārhapatyā un ninetu* MS., 'the Gārhapatya-fire shall lead us forth!'

*uruvyacā no mahiṣaḥ śarma yaṁsat* (AV. *yachatu*) RV. AV. TS. KS., 'let the king of wide expanse grant us protection!'

*tat tvam ārohāso medhyo bhava* TA., 'ascend that; become sacrificial!': *tad ā roha puruṣa medhyo bhavan* AV., 'ascend that, O man, becoming sacrificial!'

*sarvaṁ punatha* (ViDh. *punīta*) *me pāpam* BDh. ViDh., 'purify my every sin!'

*agnir havyaṁ* (RV. KS. *haviḥ*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS., 'let Agni, immolator, season our oblation!'

*āyur viṣvāyuh pari pāsati* (AV. *pātu*) *tvā* RV. AV. TA., 'may life, having all life, protect thee round about!'

*ā sīdāti kalaśaṁ devayur naḥ* RV., 'upon our vessel (Soma)



shall piously seat himself!': *āsīdatu kalaṣam deva induḥ* SV. 'God Indu (Soma) shall seat himself upon the vessel!'

*tad agnir devo devebhyo vanate* (MS. ÇB. ÇÇ. *vanatām*) TS. MS. ÇB. AÇ. ÇÇ., 'may God Agni solicit that from the gods!'

As stated above there are quite a number of repeated passages in which one version has the 2. pers. impv.; the other the 3. pers. subj. These interchanges impress one as tho the third person subj. were the true paradigmatic companion of the second person impv. In the first two of these cases this relation is observable in the RV. itself. Thus:

*suvedā no vasū kṛdhī* (6. 48. 15°, *karat*) RV. 6. 48. 15°; 7. 32. 25<sup>b</sup>, 'make (or, let him make) wealth easy for us to get!'

*svadhvarā kṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ* (6. 10. 1; 7. 17. 4, *karati jātavedāḥ*) RV. 3. 6. 6; 6. 10. 1; 7. 17. 4, 'prepare effective sacrifices, O Jātavedas!', and, 'let Jātavedas prepare effective sacrifices!'

*aviṣam naḥ pitum kṛṇu* (KS. *kṛdhī*; TB. *karat*) TS. KS. ÇB. TB. ApÇ., 'make thou (or, let him make) our food poisonless!'

*mātevāsmā adite ṣarma yacha* (ÇG. *aditiḥ ṣarma yaṅsat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. ÇG. ApMB., 'do thou, O Aditi, (or, let Aditi) afford him protection, as a mother!'

*yathāvaṣam tanvaṁ* (AV. *tanvaḥ*) *kalpayasva* (AV. VS. *kalpayāti*) RV. AV. VS., 'fashion (or, may he fashion) the body (or, bodies) according to his will!'

*sa no vasūny ā bhara* (SV. *bharāt*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS., 'do thou (or, let him) bring wealth to us!'

*sampriyaḥ paṣubhir bhava* (TB. *bhuvat*) MS. KS. TB. 'be thou (or, let him be) on friendly terms with cattle!'

#### *Imperative and Injunctive.*

These cases are also frequent, but less so than those of the preceding rubric. It will be remembered that the impv. paradigm itself contains to a large extent inj. forms, thus reducing the chance for any kind of reciprocal relation. In fact the Vedic impv., in a sense, consists of sec. and third sing., and sec. plur. only. The great majority of the present rubric involve the 2. pers. sing. Tense distinction is totally absent:

*tvaṁ bhavādhipatir* (AV. *bhūr adhipatir*) *janānām* AV. MS. KS., 'become thou (or, thou shalt become) overlord of people!'

*tasya no rāsua tasya no dhehi* (AÇ *dāḥ*) AV. AÇ., 'bestow upon us of that; give us of that!'



*viçvasmāt sim aghāyata uruṣya* (TA. *uruṣyaḥ*) RV. TA., 'deliver him from every evil-doer!'

*pra-pra yajñapatiṁ tira* (TA. *tiraḥ*) AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. TA. AÇ. ÇÇ. ApÇ., 'advance farther and farther the lord of the sacrifice!'

*ojo mayi dhehi* VS. TB.: *ojo me dhāḥ* (AV. *dāḥ*) AV. VS., 'give me strength!', or the like.

*ata ū ṣu madhu madhunābhi yodhi* TS.: *adaḥ su madhu madhunābhi yodhiḥ* RV. AV. SV. MÇ., '(then) pray, fight thou (yonder) with honey against honey!'

*samyag āyur yajño yajñapatāu dadhātu* KS., 'may the sacrifice snugly place life into the lord of the sacrifice!': *samyag āyur yajñapatāu dhāḥ* MÇ., 'place thou snugly life into the lord of the sacrifice!'

*amāiṣāṁ cittāṁ prabudhā vi neṣat* (KS. *naṣyatu*) TS. KS., 'among themselves let their plan through (thy) wisdom perish!'

*ādityā rudrā vasavo juṣanta* (AV. *juṣantām*) RV. AV., 'may the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus relish (this prayer)!'

#### *Prohibitive Imperative and Prohibitive Injunctive.*

In two cases the impv. interchanges with the inj. with *mā* (μή), that is the prohibitive. The scarcity and secondariness of the use of the impv. with *mā* can be easily realized by looking over the passages in my Vedic Concordance which begin with *mā*: the prob. regularly employs the inj., mostly aor. inj.; the present two cases are wholly anomalous; they are supported, however, by a single case of *mā* with the opt., in interchange with the inj.; see p. 28.

*mā sahyena dakṣiṇam atikrāmih* (GG. *atikrāma*) GG. HG., 'do not pass the right (foot) with the left!'

*mā jñātāraṁ mā pratiṣṭhāṁ vidanta* (AG. *vidantu*) AV. AG., 'may they not find acquaintance nor foundation!'

For the prob. in general and the irregular use of forms other than inj., see Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* §§ 579, 580, and cf. Delbrück, *l. c.*, pp. 316, 358; *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, II. 355 ff.

#### *Imperative and Optative.*

Aside from the first persons of the impv. which we classify as subjunctives (p. 9), interchanges between impv. and opt. are not



common. Owing to the mild modal force of both forms they are of the most natural of these interchanges; perhaps the scarcity of true impv. forms is responsible for the fewness of the examples:

*agnir dīkṣitaḥ pṛthivī dīkṣā sā mā dīkṣā dīkṣayatu* (JB *dīkṣeta*) JB. ApÇ., 'he who is consecrated is Agni; consecration is Earth; may that consecration consecrate me!'

*arākṣasā manasā taj juṣeta* (KS. *juṣethāḥ*; TS. MS. *juṣasva*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS., 'may he (or, do thou) accept that in a friendly spirit!'

*pratiṣṭhāṁ gacha* (GB. *gachan*) *pratiṣṭhāṁ mā gamaya* (GB. *gamayet*) AB. GB., 'come to a solid foundation; bring us to a solid foundation!' or, 'coming to a solid foundation, let him bring us to a solid foundation!'

### *Imperative and Precative.*

The difference between prec. and opt. is formally less than that of any other two, the prec. being merely an aoristic opt. As indicates the name precative, this form is mildly modal. The prec. has in the Veda the value of opt., and is, therefore again, fit for interchange with impv. This takes place in more than a half a dozen cases:

*agne tejasvin tejasvī tvam deveṣu bhūyāḥ* TS., 'O brilliant Agni, mayest thou be brilliant among the gods!': *agna āyuhkārāyusmāns tvam tejasvān deveṣu edhi* MS., 'O Agni, life-maker, be thou life-making, brilliant among the gods!'

*āyur dātra edhi* VS. ÇÇ., 'be thou life to the giver!': *mayo dātre bhūyāt* MS., 'let him be delight to the giver!'

*durmitrās* (or, *durmitryās*; or, *durmitriyās*) *tasmāi santu* (JB. TA. KS. 38. 5 *bhūyāsur*) *yo 'smān* (MS. *asmān*) *dveṣti* VS. TS. MS. KS. 3. 8; 38. 5; TB. TA. AÇ. ÇÇ. LÇ., 'may they be hostile to him that hates us!'

*druhaḥ pāṇān* (TS. KS. *pāṇāṁ*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *muciṣṭa* (AV. *prati muñcatām saḥ*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS., 'may he loosen the fetters (or, fetter) of guile!'

*yo no dveṣty adharah sas padīṣṭa* (MS. *sa padyatām*) RV. AV. MS. KS., 'he who hates us shall sink lower!'

*yena tvam deva veda* (ÇÇ. *tvam veda*) *devebhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam* (ÇÇ. *tenāsmabhyam*) *vedo bhūyāḥ* (VSK. *bhava*; ÇÇ. *veda edhi*) VS. VSK. ÇÇ., 'Veda art thou; whereby, O divine Veda, thou hast become for the gods their Veda, thereby mayest thou become for me the Veda!', or the like.



*suyame me bhūyāstam* VS. 'be both ye (spoons) easy for me to handle!': *suyame me 'dya stam* MS., 'be both of you now easy for me to handle!'

*bahvīr me bhavata* (TS. *bhūyāsta*) TS. KS., 'be ye, (O cows), many for me!'

*Imperative and Future.*

In a single instance impv. inchanges with fut. This is supported by exchanges of subj. and fut., and prec. and fut. (below, pp. 26, 29). The fut. is, in general, more certain than any of the moods (Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 289), but, whenever a fut. deals with an event in the future that is not considered to be quite certain, the barrier between itself and a *modus subjunctivus* falls. And such is in fact the evidence of these combined cases of alternation:

*vāg ārtvijyam kariṣyati* (ApÇ. *karotu*) ÇÇ. ApÇ., 'Speech will (or, shall) prepare the office of ṛtvij-priest!'

*Imperative and Infinitive.*

One single time the infinitive after a verb of command exchanges with an imperative:

*brāhmaṇāṁs tarpayitavā iti saṁpreṣyati* ApÇ. 4. 16. 17, 'he gives the order: "treat the Brāhmaṇas"!'. The passage is dealt with three times in the impv. in MÇ 1. 3. 5. 27; 8. 4. 40; 2. 1. 4. 59: *brāhmaṇāṁs tarpayeti preṣyati*, which means precisely the same thing. As far as I know, this use of the inf. in *tavāi* is peculiar to ApÇ., where it occurs twice more with the same verb of command: *samāhantavā iti saṁpreṣyati*, 1. 20. 1, 'he gives the order: "beat together"!'. Once more, *triṣ phalīkartavā iti saṁpreṣyati* 1. 20. 11, 'he gives the order: "thrice clean the fruit"!'. In the last case the commentator seems to feel the imperative force, *phalīkaraṇam triṣ kartavyam ity arthaḥ*. The critical point in these examples is the word *iti* because it shuts off the imperative phrase from direct government by the verb of command, and shows that the infinitive phrase was in fact issued as a command. This differs from the more familiar use in Brāhmaṇa prose of the inf. in *tavāi* after verbs of ordering, commanding, etc., where the inf. regularly expresses the action ordered; see Delbrück, l. c. 427; Speyer, l. c. § 217. Nevertheless the inf. of command is, doubtless, the elliptical residue of an inf. dependent upon a verb of command. For the general



and comparative aspects of the infinitive as an imperative see Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax*, II, 453 ff.

#### IV. Imperative second singular in *si*.

In the Rig-Veda occur a number of modal forms restricted to the second singular; they are formed by adding *si* directly to the strong form of the root without other stem or mood formative; see Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* § 624; Delbrück, *Altindisches Verbum*, § 30; *Altindische Syntax*, p. 365; Speyer, l. c. § 188, note 2; Neisser, *BB.* VII. 230 ff. Imperative value is generally assigned to them, because they are frequently accompanied by other impv. forms in the same sentence. They are, moreover, supposed to be restricted to the RV. Now it is of interest to observe that our school repetitions do in fact in one or two cases substitute an impv. for a form in *si*; and that in one instance this substitution concerns texts outside of the RV.:

*sam indra no* (or, *no*) *manasā neṣi* (AV. *neṣa*) *gobhiḥ* RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS., 'lead us, O Indra, with thought to wealth in kine!' AV. Pāipp. reads *neṣi* with the other texts, showing that *neṣa* is a somewhat precarious nonce creation.

*stuto yāsi* (RV. *yāhi*) *vaṣāṇ anu* RV. VS. TS. KS. ÇB. LÇ., 'praised, (O Indra), come thou agreeably to our desire!' Here the Yajus-texts have the *si*-form which is, of course, open to the suspicion of being indicative. But all authorities combine with intrinsic probability to stamp *yāsi* as an imperative in *si*.

*deva somāiṣa te lokas tasmiṇ chaṁ ca vakṣva pari ca vakṣva* (VSK. *lokaḥ pari ca vakṣi ṣaṁ ca vakṣi*) VS. VSK., 'this is thy station, O God Soma; therein thrive thou well, and thrive thou thoroughly!' Cf. *ṣaṁ ca vakṣi pari ca vakṣi* MS. The root of *vakṣva* and *vakṣi* seems to be *vakṣ* 'grow'. Mahīdhara refers the word to *vah* 'carry', something like 'therein carry comfort and ward off (misfortune)!' In either alternative we have a modal form in *si*, in exchange with the imperative in *sva*, in Yajus-texts.

#### V. Subjunctive in interchange with other moods.

The subjunctive alternates with indicatives (above, pp. 10, 16); with imperative (above, p. 18); and further with injunctive, optative, precativ, future, and desiderative. The first persons, as I have remarked before, are indifferently subj. or impv.; they are treated



here, rather than under impv. In principal clauses there is no perceptible difference between subj. and its modal correspondents. In dependent (relative) clauses 2. pers. impv. forms do not alternate with subjs.; but the indicative (p. 12), the third person imperative (p. 10), injunctive (p. 13, and below), and optative (below) are also fairly common and natural.

*Subjunctive and Injunctive.*

Alternation between the two moods is common in principal clauses, and occasional in relative clauses :

*tas māi devā adhi bravan* (MS. KS. ApÇ. *bruvan*) VS. TS. MS. KS. TB. ApÇ., 'may the gods comfort him!'

*tas māi somo adhi bravat* (KS. *bruvat*) RV. AV. KS., 'may Soma comfort him!'

*iṣam ūrjam anyā vakṣat* (TB. 2. 6. 10. 3<sup>c</sup>, *vakṣat*) VS. MS. KS. V. TB. 2. 6. 10. 3<sup>c</sup>; 3. 6. 13. 1, 'let the one bring refreshment and food!'

*prācīnaṁ sīdat* (MS. *sīdāt*) *pradiṣā pṛthivyāḥ* VS. MS. KS. TB., 'may (Indra) sit eastward by the direction of the earth!'

*pra ṣmaṣru* (SV. *ṣmaṣrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvathā bhūt* (SV. *ūrdhvadhā bhuvat*) RV. SV., 'may (Indra) tossing his beard stand erect!'

*sa tvāitebhyaḥ pari dadat* (TA. *dadāt*) *pitṛbhyaḥ* RV. AV. TA. V., 'he shall hand thee over to these Manes!'

*sa* (AV. *sā*) *naḥ ṣarma trivarūthaṁ vi yaṁsat* (AV. *ni yachāt*) RV. AV. MS. TB. ApÇ., 'may he (or, she) grant us thrice-defending protection!'

In relative clauses which, as stated before, (p. 18) greatly favor the subjunctive, the injunctive also appears occasionally :

*yad adya hotṛvārye* (ÇÇ. *hotṛvurye*) *jihmaṁ cakṣuḥ parāpatat* (ÇÇ. *parāpatāt*) *agniṣ tat punar ābharāt* (ÇB. *ābhriyāt*) ÇB. ÇÇ. ApÇ., 'that which, at the choice of the Hotar-priest, may escape the crooked (i. e. faulty) eye, that may Agni bring back here!' It is interesting to observe that there is in the principal clause, as well as in the dependent, interchange of mood, namely subj. and prec., so that there is indifferent inter-play between three moods.

*tisro yad agne ṣaradas tvām ic chuciṁ gṛtēna ṣucayaḥ saparyān* (TB. *saparyan*) *nāmāni cid dadhire yajñiyāni*, 'when the three pure autumns honored just thee, O Agni, pure one, they obtained sacred names'.



*Subjunctive and Optative.*

Interchange between subj. and opt. in principal clauses is frequent in the first persons where subj. and impv. blend. Only the first of the following examples brings in the third person. In two cases, moreover, first persons alternate with optatives in relative clauses :

*vidād* (SV. *vided*) *ūrjam śatakatur vidād* (SV. *vided*) *iṣam* RV. SV., 'may (Indra) who hath hundred-fold wisdom obtain food, obtain refreshment !'

*vibhuṁ kāmam* (VS. *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aṣṇavāi* (MS. *aṣṭya*) VS. MS. KS. TB., 'may I obtain my vast desire (or, desires) !'

*imā nu kaṁ bhuvanā sṛadhāma* (SV. TA. ApÇ. MÇ. *sṛadhema*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TA. MÇ. ApÇ., 'let us now bring success to these worlds !'

*ṣṛṇuyāma* (TA. ApMB. HG. *ṣṛṇavāma*) *śaradaḥ śatam* VS. MS. TA. PG. MG. ApMB. HG., 'may we hear a hundred autumns !'

*bhavāma* (AV. *bhavema*) *śaradaḥ śatam* AV. TA. ApMB. HG., 'may we be a hundred autumns !'

In two cases subjunctives of the first person vary with optatives in relative clauses :

*bhūmyā vṛtvāya no brūhi yataḥ khanema* (TS. *khanāma*) *tam vayam* VS. TS. MS. KS., 'tell us (O steed), by trampling (on the earth), where we may dig him (Agni) from the earth !'

*tam pūṣaṁ* (AV. *pūṣaṁ*) *chivatāmam erayasva . . . yasyām uçantam praharāma śepam* (AV. *praharema śepam*) RV. AV., 'send, O Pūṣan, her (the bride), most propitious . . . in whom we, eagerly may insert the member !'

*Subjunctive and Precative.*

*aham evedam sarvam asāni* (ÇB. *bhūyāsam*) ÇB. ChU., 'may I indeed be (or, become) this entire world !'

*agniḥ tat punar ābharāt* (ÇB. *ābhriyāt*) ÇB. ÇÇ. ApÇ. 'that may Agni bring back'. Relative clause precedes; see above under subj. and inj.

*Subjunctive and Future.*

In addition to alternation with the imperative (p. 23) and precative (p. 29) the future also interchanges with the subjunctive, which, indeed, occupies, especially in the earliest language, the territory of the future; see Speyer, l. c. § 183:



*varaṇo vārayātāi* AV. 6. 85. 1; 10. 3. 5; *varaṇo vārayiṣyate* AV. 10. 3. 4, 7, 'this (amulet derived from) the varaṇa-tree shall defend!' TA. 6. 9. 2 has subj. act. instead of subj. middle *varuṇo varayāt*, 'Varuṇa shall defend!'

*bhavāsi putrāṇāṁ mātā* AV., 'thou shalt become a mother of sons!': *teṣāṁ mātā bhaviṣyasi* ÇG. 'thou shalt become their mother!'

### *Subjunctive and Desiderative.*

In one instance an aorist subjunctive varies with a desiderative subjunctive in a relative clause, to wit:

*brahma vā yaḥ kriyamāṇaṁ ninitsāt* (AV. *vā yo nindiṣat kriyamāṇam*) RV. AV., 'or whoso shall blaspheme our holy rite while it is being performed'.

### VI. Mixed Imperative-Subjunctive forms.

Of all genuinely modal interrelations that between the impv. and subj. is the most frequent. This intimacy between the two moods has gained formal expression in the Vedic language in occasional mixed imperative-subjunctive forms. Thus a form *nudātu* is a blend of *nudatu*, impv. and *nudāti*, subj. The function of the form is just as indeterminate as its form; it matches the particularly common interchange between those moods; cf. Whitney, Skt. Gr., §§ 740, 752<sup>c</sup>:

*so 'syāi* (MG. 'syāḥ) *prajāṁ muñcatu* (SMB. *muñcātu*) *mṛtyu-pāṣāt* AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG. MG., 'he shall release her offspring from the fetter of death!'

*jīvāti* (ApMB. *jīvātu*) *śavadaḥ śatam* RV. AV. ApMB. MG. V., 'may he live a hundred autumns!'<sup>1</sup>

*svadāti* (MS. *svadātu*) *havyaṁ* (VS. KS. *yajñaṁ*) *madhuna ghr̥tena* VS. MS. KS. TB., 'let him season the oblation (or, the sacrifice) with honey and ghee!'

*vācaspatir vācam adya svadāti naḥ* TS.; *vācaspatir vācam naḥ svadatu* VS.: *vācaspatir vācam adya svadātu naḥ* MS., 'may the Lord of Speech to-day sweeten our speech!'

*agniḥ ṭān* (VS. *ṭān*) *lokāt pra nudāty* (SMB. *ṇudatv*; AÇ. *ṇudātu*) *asmāt* VS. AÇ. ÇÇ. ApÇ. SMB., 'may Agni drive these (demons) from this world!'

*dīrgham āyuh karati* (TA. *karatu*) *jīvase naḥ* RV. TA., 'may he prepare long life for us unto living!'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 6.



*tapto vāṁ gharma nakṣati* (AV. *nakṣatu*) *svaḥotā* AV. AÇ. ÇÇ., 'let the heated *gharma*, its own invoker, attain to you!'

### VII. Injunctive in interchange with other moods.

The injunctive alternates with indicatives (p. 13), imperative (p. 20), prohibitive imperative (p. 21), subjunctive (p. 25), and optative. In one instance, as prohibitive with *mā*, it is displaced by the optative with *mā*; see my remarks on p. 21:

#### *Injunctive and Optative.*

*ā mā prāṇena saha varcasā gan* (AV. *gamet*) AV. TS. MS. KS., 'may he come to me along with life's breath and strength!'

*asyām ṛdhad* ÇB. AÇ. *ṛdhet*) *dhotrāyāṁ devaṁgamāyām* MS. ÇB. TB. AÇ. ÇÇ., 'may he succeed in this sacrifice which goes to the gods!'

*vayaṁ saṁghātāṁ jeṣma* (KS. *saṁjayema*) TS. KS., 'may we in fight be victorious!'

#### *Prohibitive Injunctive and Prohibitive Optative.*

*mā tvāgnir dhvanayīd* (TS. *dhvanayīd*; <sup>1</sup> KSA. *dhvanayed*)

<sup>1</sup> See Whitney, Skt. Gr., § 1048.

*dhūmagandhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. KSA., 'let not the fire, smoke-scented, make thee crackle!'

### VIII. Optative in interchange with other moods.

The optative interchanges with indicatives (pp. 13, 16), with imperative (p. 21), subjunctive (p. 26), injunctive (p. 28), precative, and future.

#### *Optative and Precative.*

This rubric is sufficiently large to bring out the essentially optative character of both moods, and, incidentally, to show that tense distinctions in mood are disregarded; see above, p. 17.:

*tābhyāṁ* (MS. KS. *tābhyāṁ vayaṁ*) *patema sukr̥tām u lokam* (Kāuç. *pathyāśma sukr̥tasya lokam*) VS. TS. MS. KS. Kāuç., 'with these two (wings) let us fly to the world of the pious!'

*tvayāyaṁ vṛtraṁ vadhyāt* (VS. *badhet*) VS. TS. MS. KS., 'with thy help may this man slay Vṛtra!'

*anu virāir anu puṣyāśma* (TB. ApÇ. *rādhyāma*) *gobhiḥ* VS. TB. ApÇ., 'may we prosper with brave sons and cattle!'



*jīveyam* ÇB.: *jīvyāsam* AV., 'may I live!'

*saṁ ahaṁ āyuṣā saṁ varcasā saṁ prajāyā saṁ rāyas poṣeṇa gṁīya* (VS. *gmiṣṭya*) VS. MS. KS., 'may I attain to life, to splendor, to offspring, and to abundant riches!'

*sinīwālyā ahaṁ devayajyayā paçumān bhūyāsam* (MÇ *paçūn vindeyam*) ApÇ. MÇ., 'by means of a divine sacrifice to Sinīvali may I become rich in cattle (or, may I obtain cattle)!'

*bhūyāma* (MS. *bhūyāma*) *te sumatāu* RV. SV. MS. 'may we come into thy favor!'

*saḥasrapoṣaṁ vaḥ puṣyāsam* (KS. *puṣeyam*) TS. KS. HG., 'may I prosper of you with thousand-fold prosperity!'

#### IX. Precative in interchange with other moods.

The precative interchanges with imperative (p. 22), subjunctive (p. 26), optative (p. 28) and future.

##### *Precative and Future.*

*juṣṭām adya devebhyo vācam udyāsam* (ÇÇ. *vācam vadiṣyāmi*) ÇB. ÇÇ. ApÇ., 'let me (or, I shall) speak this day speech pleasing to the gods!'

*madhu vaṇṇiṣṭya* (ÇÇ. *vaniṣye*) AV. ÇÇ. 'may I (or, I shall) win honey!'

#### X. Future in interchange with other moods.

The future interchanges with imperative (p. 23), subjunctive (p. 26), and precative (prec. rubric).

#### XI. Desiderative in interchange with Subjunctive.

See p. 27.

#### XII. Infinitive in interchange with Imperative.

See p. 23.

For the convenience of the reader I group here all the instances of interchange of mood in dependent (relative) clauses. They are treated on pp. 4, note 2; 10; 12; 13; 18; 18, note; 25; 26; 27.

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## II.—HOSKIER'S GENESIS OF THE VERSIONS.

The notable thesis put forward by Hoskier<sup>1</sup> is a working out of the brief sketch given in his edition of Morgan's *Golden Gospels*. He unites the opposing views of Harris and Chase<sup>2</sup> in their studies of the Codex Bezae and then proceeds to extend the bilingual relationship to large families of Greek MSS and also to the three earliest Versions, Syriac, Latin, and Coptic. Greek-Latin and Greek-Coptic bilingual MSS exist, and the absence of Greek-Syriac fragments is not a conclusive proof that such a bilingual never existed. In fact the existence of the other bilinguals makes it extremely probable that there was once a Greek-Syriac bilingual, and since Hoskier proves Syriac influence in many Greek and Latin MSS, the point may be considered as settled.

But careful study of the internal evidence has shown a much more complicated state of affairs. Not only are there numerous cases where all or nearly all the Versions agree against the united or almost united testimony of the Greek MSS, but in some cases the influence of one of the Versions on another is undeniable. Of course, in most instances it is a matter of conjecture as to where or why the error arose, but the affinities of the various versions can be definitely established in countless passages, and to have done this over an extremely broad field is Hoskier's real contribution.

When, in Matthew VIII, 12,  $\aleph$  reads *ἐξελευσονται* against *εκβαλθησονται* of all other Greek MSS, it is easy for us to disregard the error, until we find *ibunt* in the Old Latin MSS *a b c g<sub>1</sub> h q* Irenaeus and Augustine. Furthermore, thus read the Old Syriac (Curetonian and Sinaitic), Peshitto, and even Ethiopic. As Syriac has no compound verbs, *ibunt* of the six Old Latin MSS would seem to be due to Syriac influence, especially as Old Latin *k* has *exient* and Cyprian (once) *exibunt*.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the Genesis of the Versions of the New Testament (Gospels), 2 vols. (pp. 469 and 423). London, B. Quaritch, 1910, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Compare review of *Golden Latin Gospels*, A. J. P. XXXII, p. 219.



Just as puzzling to all ordinary explanations is Matthew XIV, 8: *δος μοι φησιν* in all Greek MSS except D (*ειπεν δος μοι*), which is supported by all the Syriacs, Old Latin (*a b c d (e) f ff<sub>1</sub> ff<sub>2</sub> g<sub>1</sub> h k q*), Vulgates (DQ), Sahidic, Bohairic and Ethiopic. So widespread and old was this variant, that we even find a conflation of the two in Old Latin (*g, l*) and the Vulgates P O<sup>s</sup> T Z\*), viz. *dixit da mihi inquit*. This is an error of combination, in which Greek W<sup>1</sup> is now found to agree.

These two examples, out of the many given, will perhaps suffice here, as I shall be continually reverting to the same point. It is evident that there was intimate action and reaction of the Greek and the Versions upon each other for a considerable period, and that very early. The regular use of bilinguals over a long period is perhaps an adequate explanation, but Hoskier's suggestion of trilingual MSS is, in view of the evidence, by no means an impossibility, and certainly affords a more natural explanation for the rapid dissemination of some of the errors. The further suggestion that a great quadrilingual may have once existed will doubtless strike many readers as visionary, though I shall not be surprised if others now explain the puzzling *τρισσα* and *τετρασσα* of Eusebius (*de vita Constantini*, 4, 37), when describing Constantine's order of fifty Bible MSS in the year 331, as references to trilingual and quadrilingual Versions.

After mentioning some of the groups of Greek MSS, which show special Syriac, Latin, or Coptic affinities, Hoskier passes on to the question of a double Greek recension of Mark. All the 35 examples cited show noteworthy variations, which go back before the earliest MSS, yet I am now hardly inclined to accept them as adequate proof of two editions of the original Mark. For some 20 cases involve synonyms or near synonyms, which might easily be interchanged in translation, four are almost certainly due to Latin influence, and, if we include tense changes, as many more might point toward Syriac. It seems that most, if not all, of this evidence can be added to the proofs of bilingual MS influence.

Let us consider Hoskier's treatment of Mark III, 4: "*απολεσαι* is read by LΔ\* and 20 cursives, syr<sup>hier</sup> (syr S, cu not extant) against *αποκτειναι* of all other Greek MSS". The real import of this becomes apparent, when we note that the 20 cursives include

<sup>1</sup> W = the fourth century MS of the Gospels in the Freer Collection.



fam 1, 28, 124, and the lectionaries 44 and 54, all of which often show Syriac influence. Furthermore Old Latin and Vulgate support with *perdere*, to which we may add Armenian, Gothic, a Sahidic lectionary (44<sup>1</sup>), and Greek W. The error perhaps arose through the influence of Luke VI, 9. The most interesting point here is that the bilingual Δ probably represents a form of church reading Bible, as it is supplied with chapter titles, placed in the text, and the Latin version is interlinear. Therefore the support of the Greek and Sahidic lectionaries is natural. The interlinear form of Δ also suggests how an original bilingual might grow into a trilingual if taken to a country where neither of its languages was vernacular.<sup>1</sup>

What might be a translation change is found in Mark IV, 7, where in place of *eis*, the regular Greek, *ἐπὶ* is read by C D<sup>sr</sup> M<sup>2</sup> and eleven cursives (33, 237, 239, 700 (= Scr. 604), 148,<sup>2</sup> etc.). To these we add W<sup>sr</sup> and Coptic (Bohairic) and note that the Old Latin MS *b* reads *supra*. For the origin of the error compare also Matthew XIII, 7, *ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκανθὰς*. Here again we have a Version uniting with a bilingual and a lectionary and all supported by a very early Greek tradition.

To take a case where a parallel Gospel is not involved, in Mark VII, 5 most Greek MSS read *ἀνίσταίς* against *κοιταίς* of NBDW fam. 1, 28, 33, 565 (= 2 pe), 700 (= Scr. 604), etc., which is in turn supported by *communibus* in Old Latin MSS *d g, r i q* and the Vulgates JDP<sup>1</sup> LQ Dimma T Durmach Moling, and by Sahidic, Bohairic, and Armenian. The Sinaitic Syriac is quite different, having borrowed the form of Matthew XV, 2, and the later Syriacs agree with the majority of the Greeks. This seems to be an error due to translation and as Syriac attestation is lacking and the Latin divided, one might be tempted to call it Coptic influence. I should, however, prefer to leave that question undetermined, merely asserting that the error arose in and was propagated by the bilingual tradition; it was therefore present in the other column parallel to the Old Syriac, even if not in the Syriac. Hence its presence in the groups of Greek Cursives, which so often show Syriac influence.

<sup>1</sup> I shall use "bilingual tradition" to indicate this family connection of variants, without regard to how many languages or provincial variations are involved. It is similar to the "rewrought text" of Gregory, but I prefer to find the chief cause of error in the use of bilingual MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory's new numbering indicates lectionaries by a prefixed L.



Hoskier next investigates various of the Old Latin MSS to discover Syriac influence, etc., and thus establish their connection with the bilingual tradition. The MS *k* is taken up first as a special example, though it has been regularly considered pure African Latin. One of its ancestors must have been a Greek-Syriac MS, if not Greek-Syriac-Latin. The first example cited is sufficient to establish the existence of some Syriac influence, for in Matthew III, 4, *k* has *zonam loream*<sup>1</sup> with Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriac (thong) against all other Latin (*zonam pelliciam*) and Greek MSS (ζώνην δερματίνην). The gathering of evidence here was easy, as soon as the idea was obtained, for Sanday, Old Latin Biblical Texts, No. 11, had already collected the special readings of *k* as against the bulk of the Latin MSS. In some 40% of the individual omissions of *k* Hoskier finds that Syriac coincides. Not all of these are due to pure Syriac influence, but the Syriac strain is unquestionably strong.

Among the cases which are less clear we may note: Mark XIV, 51, —ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ. This omission is attested by Greek W, fam. 1, Old Latin *c* and *k*, Sahidic, and Sinaitic Syriac, i. e. in the earliest members of every branch of the bilingual tradition. For that reason it cannot be classed as unquestionably due to Syriac influence, though its origin in the bilingual tradition is certain.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly we may explain Mark XII, 36, where γὰρ is omitted by  $\aleph$ BL $\Delta$ TW fam. 13, *k*, Sinaitic Syriac, and Bohairic, for the presence of  $\aleph$ BL among the authorities merely shows that the old bilingual reading was adopted by the "Hesychian recension", to which von Soden rightly assigns these MSS.

In Mark XII, 27 we perhaps have "Hesychian" influence as *υμεις ουν* is omitted only by  $\aleph$ BCL $\Delta$ W*k* and Bohairic; yet the inclusion of  $\Delta$ W and *k* among the witnesses would seem to argue for the bilingual origin.

Matthew XIII, 9 is also a little doubtful, for the omission of ἀκούειν is supported only by  $\aleph$ BL (*a*) *e* *ff*, *k* and Sinaitic Syriac

<sup>1</sup> Souter (Jour. Theol. Studies, XIII, p. 122) misses the point entirely in his criticism. The fact that *loream* is an adjective, while the Syriac uses a single noun to express the idea "thong", proves that *k* has borrowed and combined from Syriac, not *vice versa*. The change in the Syriac was occasioned by the use of the verb meaning "to girdle".

<sup>2</sup> Horner's magnificent edition of the Gospels in Sahidic did not appear in season to be used by Hoskier.



(not Curetonian). I have mentioned only cases where I think there is ground for arguing against a pure Syriac origin, and even in these few picked cases the bilingual character of the tradition is undeniable.

The other Old Latin MSS are more briefly treated, but good examples are given showing Syriac influence on *a b c d e* and *q*, both singly and in combination. A very interesting passage is found in Luke V, 3, where *c* alone has *in altum* for *aliquantulum* of the other Old Latin MSS (*b e ff, l q*) and *pusillum* of the Vulgate. Old Latin *r*, Moling, Sinaitic Syriac, Peshitto, and Diatessaron have the combined form (*aliquantulum in altum*). D<sup>gr</sup> has *οσον οσον* (= *d quantum quantum*) for the regular Greek *ολιγον*. Armenian omits. There seems to have been a bilingual tradition giving a substitute for *ολιγον*. An older Syriac may or may not have agreed, but the combined form must be very old, even if we admit that it may be a later insert in the Diatessaron. If *r* and Moling are to be traced to this Syriac error, they must represent a later stage of the bilingual text than *c* or even *d*.<sup>1</sup>

Chapter III continues with similar examples of Syriac influence and at the end enumerates the chief syriacizing Greek cursives, viz. fam. 1, fam. 13, 28, 157, 565 (= 2 pe), 700 (= Scr. 604). There follows an attack on the Hort nomenclature, especially the term "Western". Von Soden calls this type of New Testament text the I recension, Gregory, the "rewrought text", and its existence in the East, as well as the West, is fully recognized. We are now learning that it is only the bilingual tradition, with the added probability that the latter included the Service Bible of the early Church and the earliest lectionaries.

On p. 55 occurs a notable sentence which will bear quoting: "Evang. 28 and the Armenian Version, with the others cited above (syriacisers), should afford keys to unlock that very difficult problem of what lay behind the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriacs, some of which survives in old readings in the Jerusalem or Palestinian Syriac (Codices A, B, C) and in the Peshitto itself".

A more thorough understanding of this older Syriac, as well as the determination of the true Old Latin text, is a most urgent need of New Testament study to-day. In the same way we can

<sup>1</sup> Hoskier's references to this passage on pp. 43 and 352 must be corrected by reference to p. 245.



often combine Ethiopic with the bilingual tradition to establish the existence of an earlier Coptic than we now possess, though I doubt if it will be possible to restore much of it with the material now available.<sup>1</sup>

Chapter IV treats primarily of the relative age of the Diatessaron and the first Syriac translations of the Gospels. It is interesting to note how often the bilingual tradition readings, which appear in Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac, fail in the Diatessaron. This is certainly hard to reconcile with the theory of Burkitt<sup>2</sup> and others, that the Diatessaron was the first Gospel in Syriac and that the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriacs represent a Later Syriac translation influenced by Tatian's great work.

As illustrative examples note Mark II, 27, *εκτισθη* for *eyereto* in fam. 1, 700, Sinaitic Syriac and Peshitto, while the Diatessaron agrees with the great mass. This can, of course, be explained as an innovation of Sinaitic Syriac or rather of its parent, and so later than the Diatessaron; But the finding of *εκτισθη* in Greek W has seemed to make the tradition too old for such an explanation.

Similar is the omission of *εγω* after *ειμι*<sup>3</sup> in John III, 28, as shown by D<sup>sr</sup> W<sup>sr</sup> 245, *a d ff, l aur* and Curetonian Syriac.<sup>3</sup> Either the influence of the Diatessaron has been much overestimated or the Arabic Diatessaron has preserved only a small portion of the peculiarities of the original. It is certain that some adaptation to the later Syriacs is shown in the Arabic Diatessaron, but examples like the first one cited by me above, where the Peshitto also goes with the bilingual tradition against the Diatessaron seem to make such an explanation inadequate. I am inclined to deny any extensive influence of the Diatessaron on the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriacs and to explain the relationship through Tatian's use of the Syriac column in the old bilingual tradition.

Chapters VI to XI deal with the character and relationships of the Old Latin MS *r*, collated by Abbott in 1884 and since then practically forgotten. This is a fine example of the Irish type of text, sparingly revised on the Vulgate, but having a good Old Latin base throughout. After noting the Vulgate

<sup>1</sup> An excellent almost complete MS of the gospels in Sahidic has just come to light in the famous collection of Coptic MSS recently purchased by Mr. Morgan.

<sup>2</sup> See the Introduction of his edition of the *Evangelion Da Mepharreshe*.

<sup>3</sup> For other examples see Hoskier *passim*.



descendants of *r*, and its parent, Hoskier then passes to the text of the MS itself. Its closest relative is *k*, with which it also shares the Syriac base. Over two hundred examples are discussed, illustrating this, and while they do not all show pure Syriac influence, all may be classed as evidence of the bilingual tradition. A few examples will illustrate the general nature of the evidence.

In Luke XII, 47, *et non fecit* is omitted by *r, b c e ff, i l q*, Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac, Peshitto, Diatessaron, and Armenian, but by only LW 13, 330, 556 of the Greek MSS. In Matthew XI, 26, *placitum fuit* is read in *r, P\**, Wurzburg J, Hieronymus, Ambrosiaster, and Coptic (teste Tisch); *k* has *placitum factum est*, Augustine, *placitum est*. Of the Greeks only NBW, 1, 33, Marc. ap. Irenaeus have this order. All others as well as most of the Latins and all the Syriacs have the order *εὐδοκία εὐδοκία*. Sahidic expresses with a single word, as also *f* and *ff*, (*complacuit, placuit*). I believe we have here a plausible reason for the error, and would prefer to call it Old Coptic influence. This would also explain its presence in the "Hesychian" recension.

Luke IV, 36, + *magnus*; thus *r, b d r* and some Vulgates (GP gat Moling) together with Greek D 253 and Bohairic (10 MSS). Perhaps to be explained as the preceding example.

Luke VI, 26 (*vae*) + *vobis*: *r, b d Moling*, Syriac, Bohairic, Sahidic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Irenaeus, but in Greek only DΔW\* fam. 13, 700 (=Scr. 604), 1 183 and the late cursives. That this reading, after gaining such a foothold in the Byzantine period, was taken over by the Textus Receptus was doubtless due to the parallels in the previous verses. In the earliest period it seems to be defended by the bilingual tradition only.

Luke IX, 28,—*et*: *r, Moling EGJR*, Sahidic, (Bohairic), Armenian, Ethiopic, but only NBH 28 of the Greeks omit. Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriacs agree with the great majority of the Greek and Latin MSS. For that reason and because it is an old Coptic characteristic to omit conjunctions, I am inclined to see Sahidic influence here rather than Syriac with Hoskier, though it must be admitted that the agreement of Greek 28 and Armenian point towards an earlier Syriac.

Luke XI, 33, + *ponit* (after *supra candalabrum*): *r*, with the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriacs and Sahidic only. This may be



due to a chance insertion in  $r$ , but it looks decidedly like a curious survival.

Luke XII, 56,—*quomodo*:  $r$ ,  $c d e f f$ ,  $i l r$  Moling, Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriacs, Bohairic (B 28) but only D of the Greeks.

Luke XIII, 13: against λαβων ανθρωπος εβαλεν of all Greek MSS, *accepit homo misit* is found in  $r$ , alone of the Latins. This reproduces exactly the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriacs, Diatessaron, and Sahidic. Even these few examples, chosen from the many, show clearly, I think, Syriac influence and probably also Coptic. The medium of the influence was in all cases the bilingual tradition.

Chapter VII is devoted primarily to the individual errors of  $r$ , or its Latin ancestor, but even here some of the examples can be claimed for the bilingual tradition. We may compare Mark XIV, 24, + *in remissionem peccatorum* (borrowed from Matthew XXVI, 28) in  $r$ ,  $a g$ , Sahidic (all MSS exc. 73, 120), Bohairic and Greek W, fam. 13, 9, 18, 472 and lectionary 13. This combination seems to demand an Old Syriac form to correspond, but it has disappeared, if it ever existed.

Chapter VIII takes up various groups of the Old Latin MSS and shows their interrelationships. All must go back to a common base, which shows Syriac influence. Numerous lists of examples are given showing close relationship in the following groups:  $a d r$ ;  $a r$ ;  $a d$ ;  $a e$ ;  $a e r$ ;  $a d e$ ;  $a d e r$ ;  $a d h$ ;  $a d k$ , etc.

Chapter IX compares  $k$  and  $r$ , in the portions where both are extant and establishes the identity of the text tradition. The authorities are cited fully for all the numerous examples given, so that here also much additional evidence for the bilingual tradition is found. An interesting example is cited from Mark XI, 12;  $r$ , writes *cum X essurivit* II (*cum XII esurivit* in Vulgates D  $\mathfrak{P}^*Q$ ), while  $k$  has *esurivit h $\tau$*  (= *hiesus*). Hoskier merely says that  $k$  shows the secret of  $r$ 's madness. I cannot quite agree. Compare Hoskier's Genesis, p. 111, that DLQR used the parent of  $r$ , while  $\mathfrak{P}$  seemed to have used  $r$ , itself. Therefore we establish the addition of *cum XII* for the parent of  $r$ , with which also  $g$ , agrees. The addition was copied from the previous sentence, not intentionally but by accident. For  $r$ , has also changed *a Bethania* to *in Bethania* (= *Bethaniam*) to correspond with the same verse. εις Βηθανιαν in W $\mathfrak{B}$ , Bohairic (6 MSS), and Syriac g (36) traces the origin of this part of the transfer to the



bilingual tradition and establishes the age of the error. *Essurivit*  $\overline{\text{IHS}}$  of *k* text is supported also by *c*, so that this addition is likewise old. If *r*<sub>1</sub>'s *essurivit* II points to the addition of  $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ , as seems probable, it must go back to an earlier stage than either *hī* of *k* or *iesus* of *c*. Therefore it would have to be an error in the parent, not the scribe of *r*<sub>1</sub>.

In addition to other Syriac material chapter X contains special agreements between the Peshitto or the Jerusalem Syriac and various Old Latin MSS against the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriacs. The inference is that the latter have suffered revision and that the real bilingual base is seen in the others. A good example is found in Matthew XXII, 23. *r*<sub>1</sub>, *Dimma*, and F omit *et*<sup>1,2</sup>. This omission seems to be supported elsewhere by Peshitto alone.

Chapter XI sums up this part of the work with a full study of *r*<sub>1</sub>, *k*, and their Latin allies in Matthew. Examples which show Latin-Syriac affiliation receive special attention. This involves, in some cases, repetition of passages treated earlier, but thereby a better picture of *r*<sub>1</sub>, *k* is undoubtedly given. The examples are of the same character as those cited above and are very numerous. I shall single out only a few, in which I should differ somewhat from the author in my treatment.

"Matthew XXII, 1,—*iterum*: *r*<sub>1</sub>, Fgr. *Iterum* (παλις) is variously transposed by Latins and Greeks, but not omitted outright by others, nor by Diatessaron, nor by Syriac, which, in the case of Curetonian and Sinaitic, heads the verse with it". We may add to the Greek testimony for the omission W and 243. Hoskier is right in calling attention to the frequent transpositions of the word, for we can almost establish the rule that where many MSS transpose, some will omit, and *vice versa*. This however helps us little towards the place of origin of the error, until we find that the Bohairic MSS A\*DΔEFΘJ, NOS omit. So the omission may well have occurred first in the bilingual tradition, and the peculiar order of Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriacs, Sahidic and Armenian be due to careless reinsertion. Most Greek MSS, Old Latin *f*, Syriac *g* (15), Ethiopic place παλις after *ιησους*; 33, Origen and the Vulgate transpose after *ειπεν*; Old Latin and Bohairic (8 MSS) transpose after 'to them'.

"Matthew XXVI, 9,—*istud*: *r*<sub>1</sub>. So reads Abbott, and with this apparently only Dimma and Moling agree. But Lawlor for *r*<sub>1</sub> prints *haec*, omitting *enim*, but possibly Abbott is right and



this  $h\sim$  stands for *autem*". Thus Hoskier, evidently in despair of reconciling the difficulties. But Greek cursive 157 also omits, so we should claim the omission for the Syriac bilingual tradition and agree with Abbott in the reading for the parent of  $r_1$ , if not for  $r_1$  itself. The abbreviations for *haec* and *autem* are so often confused in Irish hands that the parent of  $r_1$  may well have had *autem*, even if we decide that Lawlor has read  $r_1$  correctly. Furthermore his reading may have been influenced by the well-known variants *hoc* for *istud* in  $d$  and  $h$ ; also Ambrosius seems to have *hoc*, while omitting *enim*, in two passages. Whether we claim  $r_1$  or not for the variant, we have Dimma and Moling joined to the syriacising Greek cursive 157. The omission of *istud* must then be compared with the omission of  $\tau\omicron\ \mu\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  in  $\aleph ABDE^* L\Delta\Theta^c\Pi W$ , Syriac, Sahidic, Bohairic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and most MSS of the Old Latin and Vulgate. Only  $F^2$   $r$  uncials 8,  $c$   $q$ , Chrysostom and the late cursives give us the combined form,  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ . We must consider  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$  the original text and explain  $\tau\omicron\ \mu\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$  as an explanatory addition, perhaps due to the influence of Mark or John. In a branch of the bilingual tradition it was regarded as a substitute instead of an addition, and so  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$  was omitted.

"Matthew XXVII, 11,—*dicens*; so  $r_1$ ,  $R^*$  and no other Latins, Greeks, or Syriacs. Hilary alone supports". The author inserts this merely for the sake of completeness, but the explanation is apparently the same as in the passage discussed, for Horner notes that the Sahidic lectionary  $m$  omits. Most Greek MSS read  $\omicron\ \eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omega\nu\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega\nu$ , but  $W^{\text{gr}}$  and Sinaitic Syriac omit  $\omicron\ \eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omega\nu$ . This is, I believe, the older error, even if not the original text. How old is suggested by the omission in the Old Latin-Sahidic tradition, for there *dux*, when inserted as an addition was evidently considered a substitute for *dicens*.

Matthew XXVII, 41 also requires mention, as Hoskier has omitted to note how well it establishes that the Diatessaron was later in origin than the basic translation from which Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriacs come. " $r_1$  reads *farisseis* for *senioribus*, agreeing with Sinaitic Syriac, while Diatessaron and Peshitto amplify, including both the elders and the Pharisees, as do a number of the later Greeks (Antioch recension = v. Soden's  $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$ ). Of the Latins  $\Theta$   $a$   $b$   $c$   $d$   $ff$ ,  $h$   $q$   $r$  *gat* Cassiodorus agree with  $r_1$  here, as does  $D^{\text{gr}}$  and a few cursives". The cursives noted by Tischendorff as "al 10" are 63, 64, and the lectionaries



2, 7, 9, 12, 36, 47, 183, 253, etc. This reading is further supported by W<sup>sr</sup>, so we can safely refer it to the old bilingual tradition, which D<sup>sr</sup> and Sinaitic Syriac so regularly represent. In spite of its age it is almost certainly an error, which perhaps crept into the text of some old church service book (cf. the lectionaries above), because the reader thought the Pharisees should be joined with the scribes here, as so often. This change took place in Syriac territory, and there also the combination form was first made, possibly in the Diatessaron, unless we think that the Arabic Diatessaron does not here represent the original form, but only an adaptation to the Peshitto.

In chapter XII there is a discussion of the Diatessaron of Tatian and its relationship to the Old Latin MSS as well as to the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriacs. Our author has treated this subject briefly in an earlier chapter also, and its main thesis is suggested by numerous examples throughout the book, such as the one I have just added above. Hoskier's proofs seem to me conclusive that the bilingual tradition is older than the Diatessaron and therefore not indebted to it. The close relationship which sometimes exists must be due to Tatian's use of an Old Syriac version, and so we win a *terminus ante quem* for the first Syriac translation. In fact, it does not seem that Christianity could have spread far through Syriac territory without some sort of a Syriac translation of the New Testament, even if it were only a sort of interlinear like Δ.

Chapter XIII takes up the Old Latin and the so-called "Western text" again, continuing with a severe attack on the "Neutral text" of B and its allies. Chapter IV, which handles the same theme, should have been transferred to this point and the two united. With the argument as a whole I cannot agree, yet if Hoskier would insert "B text" for "B scribe" in most of the passages treated, I should hardly oppose. In some of the passages there is other fairly good Greek support (cf. omission of δευτερονπρωτω in Luke VI, 1), and to accuse B scribe of the error here is to exalt B as the parent of all having the same error. Yet Hoskier's assertion that there are many deliberate editorial changes and his collection of examples illustrating this view is quite convincing. I believe we must unite the views of Hoskier and von Soden on this point and convict the "H recension" of all these cases of deliberate editing. B may then still remain the most accurate copy of the best early recension.



Whether the editor of this recension really had Unitarian leanings or not, cannot be so hastily decided, and even if convicted, he will doubtless seem less criminal to some of us than to Mr. Hoskier.

The chapter closes with a very full discussion of the noteworthy variants in Luke XXIII, 34, Mark XV, 39 and similar cases of omission. In the case of the omission of the last cry of the Saviour in the form of text found in  $\aleph$ BL, there is a real excursus, which is further supplemented in the Appendix by a long quotation from Dr. Stroud (On the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ; London, 1871). The interested reader is referred to an article in the Expositor of October, 1911, for the medical attitude towards this question.

Chapter XIV draws conclusions and criticises Mrs. Lewis's rather excessive exaltation of the Sinaitic Syriac. On page 436 the author adds some 70 special readings of the Latin MS *gat* (taken from J. M. Heer's new edition), which agree with the parallels previously discussed. Two excellent indices complete the volume.<sup>1</sup>

Volume II contains appendices and is of prime importance. We find first a collation of the Old Latin MS *h* in Mark, Luke, and John (regularly assumed to be pure Vulgate). On pages 3-6 a list of the more interesting readings is given, and also in the collation proper all the important readings are illustrated by a full list of parallels.

The second part contains a study of the Book of Dimma, giving a complete collation of John and all the important readings in Matthew. The value of the MS and its Old Latin-Syriac relationships are well established.

The third part deals with the Book of Moling. This careful study showing the relationship of Moling to the other Old Latin MSS, and also to Greek, Syriac, and especially Coptic, is made extremely valuable by the inclusion of a careful collation of those

<sup>1</sup> I suggest corrections for a few misprints: p. 25, l. 15, omit *P*; p. 27, l. 8, insert *which* before *read*; p. 28, l. 20, omit 473; p. 40, line 18, read—*σε παραδω*<sup>2</sup>; p. 124, l. 26, read  $\Xi$  for X; p. 129, l. 28, read *many Greeks*; p. 139, l. 5, read *εν τη ερημω*; p. 142, l. 7, omit 131 (it belongs to fam. 1); p. 154, l. 1, omit *in* (?); p. 213, l. 24, omit *ra*; p. 229, l. 2, read *omits* for *subdue* *v*; p. 357, line, 25 "*so also syr on coptic*" is not clear (perhaps read "*syriac survivals in coptic*"); p. 361, l. 10, read VII, 37; p. 448, l. 6, omit ,, 10 102; p. 448, l. 15, below l. 15 insert V, 10 102.



parts of Luke not given by Lawlor in his publication of the MS, viz. I to IV, 5 and IX, 56 to the end. While Moling shows Vulgate revision, the base is Old Latin, which is indeed the foundation of the whole Irish text. This is a most important observation, for the same methods of text dissemination were doubtless used in most other provinces. Only on the basis of such wholesale correction of MSS in use in the various communities, can we explain the rapid spread of the Antioch text. Furthermore rapid and careless correction was sure to leave many traces of the older text. This is the true explanation for the mixed character of text in some at least of the cursive MSS and groups of MSS.

In conclusion I wish to emphasize again the value of the great collection of examples illustrating bilingual influence which Mr. Hoskier has brought together with such industry and accuracy. These will be almost equally useful to those who favor calling this text tradition the "I recension" or the "rewrought text", for they set forth the character and affiliations of a most puzzling text tradition. To me it seems that the use of bilingual MSS is the most adequate explanation for the phenomena studied. The same occurrences are explained in the "rewrought text" of Gregory as due to the action and reaction of the various provincial texts upon each other. This is possibly an easier and more general explanation, but would seem to involve closer intercommunication and a more frequent interchange of Bible MSS between provinces than is generally accepted. The various sub-recensions of von Soden's I recension may be only another way of setting forth the same influences, but does not, on the whole, seem as probable.

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### III.—APOLLONIUS RHODIUS AND CYZICUS.

That part of the first book of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius which describes the adventure at Cyzicus, 1. 936-1152, is one of the longer episodes of the poem. It is also one of the important passages in extant literature dealing with Cyzicus. Naturally, the latest and fullest work upon the history and topography of this region, Hasluck's *Cyzicus*, Cambridge, 1910, makes frequent reference to the passage of Apollonius and to the questions that are involved in its interpretation. Another recent treatment of a part of the material appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXVII. 222-225, as an appendix to an article on Pelasgian Theories by J. L. Myres. Earlier discussions of vexed points, particularly in the interpretation of the scholia to the passage, are to be found in a Leipzig dissertation by E. Knorr, 1902: *De Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticorum Fontibus Quaestiones Selectae*, and in a review of this dissertation by Knaack in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, May 7, 1904; and further, in an earlier article by Knaack, *Hermes* XXXVII. 292-297, and in the same author's *De Fabulis Nonnullis Cyzicenis*, Berlin, 1887. The purpose of this paper is to submit the passage to a new inspection from the point of view of the topography of the region.

This passage of the *Argonautica* is, in form, poetry; in fact its chief interest is not poetical but topographical and antiquarian. He who reads side by side the narrative of Apollonius and the parallel accounts of Valerius Flaccus, 2. 614-3. 468, and of the Orphic *Argonautica*, 486-631, will mark this difference between the earlier and the two later poets: the adventure as Apollonius relates it is closely adjusted to a definite locality; the adventure as it is related by the other poets might have taken place at any port. An inspection of the account of Apollonius shows that the poet worked with a definite topographical scheme in mind, and that his whole narrative is dominated and determined by the fixed points where a living local tradition recognized monuments of the *Argo*. The very fact that the *Argo* lay in five different roadsteads in the territory of Cyzicus is significant. Each one



Fig. 2. A part of Klepert's Specialkarte vom Westlichen Kleinasien, 1896, as given in Hasluck's *Cyzicus*. The cross + shows approximately the site of the Thracian Village as determined by Hasluck.



of these has a name or a monument. In four out of five cases this name or monument is expressly related to the visit of the Argonauts. In order to discover if possible what plan lay in the poet's mind let us recall the physical features of the region.

According to the most trustworthy testimony Cyzicus was an island (Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 2), but an island that lay so close to the mainland that the intervening channel became in time an isthmus. The eastern and western shores of the island sloped gradually toward the mainland lying south of the island, and left a narrow channel at the point of closest approach. Apollonius says of the island, 1. 939, that it had a two-fold strand, ἀκταὶ ἀμφίδυμοι. This epic word ἀμφίδυμος (cf. *Od.* 4. 847), in its application to the harbor of Cyzicus is so defined in the scholia to 1. 936: ἀμφίδυμοι δέ, ὅτι ὁ τῆς Κυζίκου λιμὴν δισπᾶς εἰσόδους ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἔχει; cf. *Sch.* 1. 940; *Et. Mag.* s. v. This reference to the two entrances I understand to apply to the possibility of an approach from the east and from the west. In other words, Cyzicus is an island, not a peninsula. Mariners from the Bosphorus, following the shore of Asia Minor, would naturally use the eastern approach. Those coming through the Hellespont and passing Lampsacus would enter from the west. For these latter, the western coast line afforded more than one shelter. The first landing-place was Artace, a bay where eight ships might lie (*Steph. Byz.* s. v.). Pococke, the English traveler, approaching Cyzicus from the Hellespont, stopped first at Artace, the modern Erdek, and gives this description of his further course: "To the east of the town (Artacui) there is a small cape which was antiently fortified; between this and the land to the south there is a narrow passage into one of the ports of the antient Cyzicus, which is a large basin, about a league in length; and at the east end of it is the Isthmus or neck of land that leads to the town of Cyzicus". *Travels*, II. 2, p. 114. It would seem, from the narrative of Apollonius which will presently be considered, that this large natural basin included an artificial harbor, called Chytus. Concerning this harbor there is the following note in the *Etym. Magn.* 816. 4. Παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίῳ χυτὸς λιμὴν Κυζίκου. χυτὸς δὲ καλεῖται ὁ περικλεισθεὶς καὶ λίθοις οἰκοδομηθεὶς καὶ μὴ αὐτοφυὴς ὢν.

Turning now to the text of Apollonius, 1. 953-960, we learn that the Argonauts did exactly what Pococke did in later times: approaching from the Hellespont they ran into "Fair Haven". The locality is fixed by the near-by fountain Artacia. Apollonius



tells how the heroes left one of their mooring-stones, and how in later times the Milesian colonists by Apollo's direction consecrated the relic. Of course the existence of this relic conditioned the narrative of Apollonius: here must be the first landing-place of the Argo.

Artace is not, strictly speaking, Cyzicus, but only an outlying harbor. Nevertheless, the Argonauts are hospitably received by king Cyzicus and his people, the Doliones. A part of the hospitable reception is that the guests are counseled to advance their ship to the city harbor (vs. 965). This they presumably do. At this second halting-place they build an altar on the strand to Apollo Ecbasius, offer sacrifice, receive entertainment at the hands of Cyzicus, and learn from him about the coast of the Propontis. In the morning they ascend Mt. Dindymum that they may see with their own eyes the course that lies before them. But they first shift anchorage to the *χυτὸς λιμήν*. The way by which they went toward the mountain top is still called the Jasonian Way (vss. 986-988).

Here, then, are three places where the Argo lay, Artace, the City Harbor and Chytus Harbor. Each has its monument of the Argo: Artace its sacred stone, the City Harbor the altar of Apollo Ecbasius, Chytus Harbor the Jasonian Way. And further, Chytus Harbor owes its name to the event which is described in vss. 989-1011. Earth-born monsters with six hands, dwelling on the heights descended to the shore and "fenced in with rocks the sea-ward mouth of spacious Chytus Harbor, as if they were entrapping a beast". This attempt to close in the harbor where the Argo lay is met by Heracles who had remained behind with the younger men. The Argonauts who had set out for the summit turn back and join in the battle. The monsters are all slain.

This story is plainly aetiological in character. Chytus Harbor is Mole Harbor. The note in Etym. Magnum already cited describes the harbor as "shut in and built with rocks and artificial". Apollonius essays to tell how this artificial harbor came to be what it was. His narrative is brief and is burdened with an anachronism, for the new name occurs in vs. 987 at a time when nothing existed to justify the name. In spite of this difficulty, which may well be due to the condensed form of the narrative, it seems to me clear that Apollonius meant to account for the peculiar formation of the harbor by this peculiar attempt



upon the Argo. The scholiast to vs. 987 so understood it: he twice uses *χάω* the prose equivalent of *χέω*, *χυτός*, to describe the action of the monsters.

The testimony of Apollonius, then, points to the location of Chytus Harbor as the last of the places where a ship would naturally stop in its approach to Cyzicus from the south and west. Such seems to be the view of Hasluck (Cyzicus, p. 3, 5), although on p. 158 he apparently identifies the harbor of the city with Chytus, as if the second and the third landing-places as above discussed were in reality but one. Accepting Merkel's text in vs. 987, *χυτὸν λιμένα* for *χυτοῦ λιμένος* of the MSS, and *χυτῷ λιμένι* of Etym. Magnum, I do not see how one can avoid the conclusion that Apollonius meant to describe a third landing-place. The justification of Merkel's text is to be found in vss. 989-991. These verses assume that the Argo lies in Chytus Harbor. Merkel's text explains how she came to be there.

After the adventure with the earth-born monsters, the Argonauts set sail. The assumption is that they take their final leave of Cyzicus. Their course is not expressly stated by Apollonius. Hasluck is undoubtedly right in saying, p. 2, that they passed through the strait between island and mainland. The course is, then, along the Asiatic shore. As the poet tells the story, vs. 1012 ff., the heroes sail on their way until nightfall. The wind shifts, and a gale drives them back to the land of the hospitable Doliones. Disembarking in the darkness, they make fast to a rock that is still, says the poet, called *Ἱερὴ Πέτρη*. The unwitting Argonauts are attacked by the friendly natives who for their part believe that this is a night attack from Pelasgic foemen. The truth is not discovered until king Cyzicus and many of his fighting men are slain. Afterwards the Argonauts are windbound for twelve days, vs. 1078 ff., and at length receive a command to do honor to the Great Mother on Mt. Dindymum as a condition of receiving a fair wind. Then follows an occurrence that has its parallel in the earlier shift of the Argo to the Chytus Harbor: while the younger men drive the sacrificial animals toward the mountain, others slip the cables of the Argo and row to the Thracian Harbor.

The whole matter of shifting the vessel's position is dispatched by the poet in five verses, 1107-1111. Evidently he felt that the Argo must somehow be brought to the Thracian Harbor. The necessity that was upon him was obviously some local tradition,



we know not what. No explanation is offered and the incident results in nothing. It is incident, pure and simple. Nevertheless Apollonius thought it worth his while to include the Thracian Harbor in his account of the visit of the Argonauts. These two anchorages, belonging to the second or accidental visit of the Argonauts to Cyzicus are evidently somewhere on the shore opposite the Asiatic coast east of the narrows. The "Thracian Village" mentioned by Plutarch (Lucullus 10), has been identified by Hasluck (Cyzicus, p. 50), on the Asiatic side opposite the easterly side of the Cyzicene territory. Apollonius knew of Thracians living on this part of the mainland. In the description of the view from Mt. Dindymum, mention is made of "the Macriad cliffs and the Thracian territory that lay opposite, quite near at hand". "Opposite" in this context means on the Asiatic mainland, as it was viewed from the island Cyzicus. The Macrones are recognized by the scholiast to vs. 1024 as a neighboring race to the Doliones. The Thracian territory right opposite undoubtedly included the "Thracian Village". The "Thracian Harbor" in Cyzicene territory is the harbor where these neighbors land.

These two places, then, Ἰερὴ Πέτρη and the Thracian Harbor, where the Argo lay during this second or accidental stop in Cyzicene territory were to the east of the narrows and in the line of direction which a mariner would take if heading for the Bosphorus. They were not far apart, as one may judge from the incident of shifting the anchorage. Ἰερὴ Πέτρη where the Argonauts were driven back to land by an adverse wind was the place where the Doliones expected their Pelasgian foemen to land (vs. 1024). The Argonauts were mistaken in the darkness for hostile Pelasgians. Apollonius, then, conceives of the Pelasgians as coming from the Asiatic shore nearby. The scholiast to vs. 1024 in explaining the epithet Μακρίων understands that a neighboring tribe is meant. Pelasgians are not difficult to find on the opposite shore: at Placie and Scylace (Hdt. 1. 57).

It follows that the "Pelasgian danger" as Apollonius conceived it came from the Asiatic coast and was directed against the island of Cyzicus. If this is, as I believe it to be, a sound interpretation of the passage, it renders impossible the view which Mr. J. L. Myres advances in the Appendix to his discussion of Pelasgian Theories (J. H. St. XXVII. 222-225). Mr. Myres maintains, in general, that the true home of the Pelasgians is to



be sought not in Thessaly nor anywhere on the Greek Mainland, but on the Thracian Chersonese, where Homer (Il. 2. 840-843), places them. This piece of testimony, it is argued, became so obscured by aftergrowths that its prime importance was forgotten. But, says Mr. Myres, Apollonius has preserved in one passage, I. 1021-1024, a brief reference which agrees with nothing else in the *Argonautica*, which has no parallel in all the literature between Homer and Apollonius, which is therefore a precious relic of a very early Argonautic poem; a poem which "goes up certainly into the early days of Milesian colonization, probably into the Homeric Age".

This conclusion to which Mr. Myres comes would be an important addition to our knowledge of the sources of the *Argonautica* if it could be established. But the premise of his reasoning is that the Pelasgian attack is expected from the European side, whereas the text of Apollonius refers us to a point of Cyzicene territory which is least of all subject to invasion from the European shore. There is then no sufficient ground for connecting this passage with Pelasgians on the Chersonese. Nor may a high antiquity be fairly claimed for this episode of the *Argonautica*, which is so slight and so easily explicable on the opposite theory.

Returning now from this digression to the main theme and surveying as a whole the narrative of Apollonius, we find that it is clear and intelligible if read with an eye on the map. Had not the poet been exactly informed as to the locality and the traditions, he would not have shaped the story as he has. Even that particular feature which seems most like a piece of epic convention may be shown to be a bit of local color. The Argonauts are driven back to land by an adverse wind. This happens on the easterly side of the narrows, as the ship is headed toward the Bosphorus. Later they are detained by adverse winds for twelve days. These are not mere fanciful incidents. The poet, we may believe, knew of the difficulties of navigation in just this region. His description is instructive, when read in connection with the experience of a modern traveler, as recorded in Vol. XXIX, p. 293, of the *Athenische Mitteilungen*. On Aug. 14, 1904, Dr. Wiegand set out from Panderma in a steamer of 15 tons burden and 28 horse power, to circumnavigate the peninsula as far as Artace. In the night a strong north wind arose and the



vessel had to put in at Perama, a short distance from the starting-point. On the following day an attempt was made to proceed in spite of the elements. The result was that Dr. Wiegand was glad to get back in safety to the port of Panderma from which he had at first set out.

Since the narrative of the various landing-places of the *Argo* is strung on a topographical thread one need not be surprised to find in the scholia a series of notes affirming the indebtedness of Apollonius to a local historian, Deiochus.<sup>1</sup> These notes are not free of difficulties, but they do yield one positive result. They show that Apollonius is following Deiochus in that most salient feature of his story, the series of landing-places in both the western and the eastern harbors. According to Schol. 1. 966 Deiochus knew of an altar to Apollo in the City Harbor. There is not entire agreement as to the epithet applied to this cult of Apollo. Apollonius called it Ecbasius; Deiochus, Jasonius; Sophocles, Cyzicenus. The agreement in the locality is more significant than the variation in the epithet. Deiochus had the Argonauts land at this point, as did Apollonius, and both knew of an altar of Apollo that dated from their visit. Again, he knew that the *Argo* lay for a time in Chytus Harbor, and that hostile dwellers, whom he called Pelasgians, tried to block the mouth of the harbor (Sch. 1. 987). Here is a parallel device: Deiochus and Apollonius agree in connecting a peculiarity of the harbor with a hostile movement against the *Argo*. There are, then, two localities west of the narrows which Apollonius and Deiochus agree in associating with the visit of the Argonauts. This same local character is found in another group of references to Deiochus in the scholia. Apollonius describes the battle at night after the accidental landing at *Ἰερὴ Πέτρη*, gives the names of the natives who were slain (1. 1040-1047), and tells of the funeral of Cyzicus and of the "Tomb in the Meadow that remains to this day", (1061-'2). The scholiast remarks, to vs. 1061: τοῦ δὲ Λειμῶνίου πεδίου μέμνηται Δηίοχος, περί τε τοῦ τάφου Κυζίκου ὁ αὐτός. To the roll

<sup>1</sup> The alternative form Deilochus is the prevalent one in Codex Laurentianus of the Scholia Apolloniana, but Deiochus is found even there three times, to 1. 139, 987, 989; and it occurs in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, de Thucyd. 5. It underlies the corrupt form Δηίχορος in Steph. Byz. s. v. Δάμψακος. There is a similar variation in the form of the Epic name, Il. 15. 341, where Deiochus is better attested. The evidence is given in full by Schwartz, Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encycl. s. v. Deiochus.



of slain Doliones this note is added (to vs. 1039): *μνημονεύει Δηίοχος τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων, ὥς φησι Σοφοκλῆς*. Deiochus mentioned, too, the death of Clite by her own hand (Schol. to 1. 1063, 1065). It cannot be doubted that in these particulars Apollonius is following Deiochus. We have here to do with localities, with the Tomb and the Meadow. Evidently Apollonius in his poetical account put these localities where Deiochus had put them, in the vicinity of Ἱερὴ Πέτρη, on the easterly shore. Then it follows that Deiochus preceded Apollonius in the use of that complex form of the story which included a series of landing-places distributed over the western and the eastern shore. Since Apollonius follows Deiochus closely in his account of the sequel of the battle, it is reasonable to suppose that he followed him also in the account of the battle itself. This is, in fact, exactly what is affirmed by the scholiast to vs. 1037, where Ephorus who knew of but one feud and one battle is set over against Apollonius and Deiochus. Deiochus then, like Apollonius, knew of two battles, one in Chytus Harbor (Schol. to 1. 987), and one on the eastern shore (Schol. to 1. 1037). The points of agreement between the two writers are structural. They concern the total scheme. The points of disagreement are incidental. They concern names. We may fairly conclude then, from the evidence thus far presented that Apollonius had before him a topographical scheme of Cyzicus, its harbors and its monuments, which was that of the local antiquary Deiochus.

This conclusion is not new.<sup>1</sup> But since it has been disputed by Knorr in the Leipzig dissertation already cited, I have drawn the conclusion again, approaching the problem from a different angle. The conclusion must, however, be submitted to a further test, for there are other fragments of Deiochus that demand consideration. Let us call those that have been already treated the first group. There is a second group. And there lies the difficulty. Those of the first group are free of textual difficulties and tell a coherent story. This cannot be said of the second group. We begin with Sch. 1. 989: *Δηίοχος Θετταλούς εἶναί φησιν ἐγχειρογάστορας. τοὺς δὲ Γηγενεῖς φησι τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις ἐπιβουλευσαι, δοκοῦντας ληστὰς εἶναι, ὥς Δηίοχος*. Variant explanations of the attacking party, the *Γηγενεῖς* of vs. 989, are here given. "Deiochus says that they (i. e. they who made the attack) were Thessalian

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Berl. Philol. Woch. May 7, 1904.



enchirogastores". We should expect to find next the note which is actually found below, Sch. 1. 996: Πολύγνωστος δὲ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κυζίκου ληστὰς αὐτοὺς λέγει. This sentence where it now stands interrupts an intelligible context which sets forth three labors which Hera contrived for Heracles, that of the Cyzicene prodigies, that of the Nemean lion, and that of the Cerynean hind. Transferring this sentence to its proper place as a part of the comment upon vs. 989, we get two variants, that of Deiochus, and that of Polygnostus, then an evident paraphrase of the text: "the Earth-born, he (i. e. Apollonius) says, plotted against the Argonauts, thinking that they were robbers, as says Deiochus". In calling this an evident paraphrase I have in mind the subject of φησί, not the phrase δοκῶντας κτέ. This phrase in its natural meaning as above rendered involves two difficulties. While the first part of the sentence, "they plotted against the Argonauts", agrees with the poem, this latter part does not. For Apollonius thinks of the whole matter mythically, as Homer thinks of the attack of the Laestrygonians on the ships of Odysseus. Nor does Deiochus, according to the perfectly coherent scholium to vs. 987, think of robbers. He rather attributes the attack to an ancient feud. As a solution Knorr (l. c., p. 19, note), following Wachsmuth proposes to read for Δηίοχος, Πολύγνωστος. He then refers δοκῶντας ληστὰς εἶναι to the Earth-born in the sense, "seeming to be robbers" and presses the expression further to mean "praedonum modo". This proposal is in the right direction, for the word ληστὰς is undoubtedly connected with the variant view of Polygnostus as found in Schol. 1. 996. But the simple substitution of one name for another does not clear away all difficulties. If it be granted that δοκῶντας ληστὰς εἶναι is equivalent to "praedonum modo", the resultant sense is not satisfactory. As far as concerns Polygnostus, one expects rather ὄντας than δοκῶντας εἶναι. As far as concerns Apollonius nothing is gained. It should be said that Knorr argues for his version on the ground that it does correctly represent what Apollonius says. He appeals, in particular, to the choice of the word σίνοντο, vs. 951, as evidence that the poet conceived of these monsters as a robber-folk. This seems too slight a reason, in view of the general tenor of the narrative, which makes of this people not robbers but monsters, μέγα θαῦμα (vs. 943). Furthermore, on the basis of epic usage, σίνομαι is rather *harm* than *rob*.



The difficulty, then, in this fragment of Deiochus, is not removed by the textual change that has been proposed. The case is here, as it is in the scholium to vs. 943:<sup>1</sup> the words read smoothly, but they contradict other and credible testimony. What has been handed down to us is an abbreviation of a longer commentary. In the process of abbreviation, disturbances have arisen. That our text of the scholia is, at the best, in a disturbed state is the conclusion above reached. In the passage under discussion, there is further evidence on this point. The words *ὡς Δηίοχος* are found in Codex Laurentianus alone. The Scholia Florentina omit them. The Scholia Parisina, besides omitting them show a widely different text, in which the notes to 989 and 996 appear combined into one. The variant explanation of Polygnostus here stands in its natural place. Aside from this, the text of the Sch. Parisina is inferior. It is to be hoped that a new edition of the scholia (cf. A. J. Ph. XXXI. 93), will bring new light. Meantime, until new light comes, one can only say that the contribution which Codex Laurentianus makes to the text by adding the words *ὡς Δηίοχος* is an embarrassment rather than a help.

The last fragment of Deiochus is in the scholia to 1. 961: *Δηίοχος τοὺς μὲν Δολίονας οὐκ ὀνομάζει, τὸν δὲ Κύζικόν φησι πυθόμενον τὴν τῶν ἀριστίων γενεὰν ξενίσαι.* That which immediately follows in Keil's text of the scholia is certainly a paraphrase of the poem, and no fragment of Deiochus. The same is, I believe, true of the concluding sentence: *καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Δολίονες ἀποικοὶ Θετταλῶν εἰσι· διὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς ὁμοφύλους ἐδέξαντο.* This is, still, the point of view of Apollonius as distinct from that of Deiochus. All that can be attributed to the latter, then, is contained in the words: "Deiochus does not name the Doliones, but!Cyzicus, he says, when he learned the lineage of the heroes, received them".<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Knorr, l. c., p. 30; Knaack, B. Ph. W., 1904, col. 584.

<sup>2</sup> The exposition in J. H. S. XXVII. 224, needs correction on this point, and on at least one other. For the reference made on p. 223 to the testimony of Apollodorus, so-called, in the Bibliotheca I. 9, 18, 1, concerning the Pelasgian foemen, does too much credit to the Bibliotheca as an independent witness. It is in general true, as was first pointed out by Carl Robert, that the account of the Argonautic expedition in the Bibliotheca is based upon Apollonius. The Cyzicene episode is a good illustration, and we have, then, in the Bibliotheca no independent witness concerning the Pelasgians, but a secondary statement whose source can be traced.



purpose of this note is to mark a difference between the poet and the chronicler, in this matter of the reception of the Argonauts. What the poet tells we know: a friendly reception was extended by king and people when they learned of the expedition and of the lineage of the heroes. The chronicler said nothing of the people. He gives a similar motive, attributing it to the king only. Since then Deiochus does not name the Doliones in this connection one infers that he mentioned the subjects of king Cyzicus, if at all, under some other name. Knorr argues from the reference to Pelasgians in Sch. i. 987 that Deiochus attributed to king Cyzicus Pelasgian subjects, and that these Pelasgian subjects are the equivalent of the Doliones of Apollonius. But this is at most an inference, and the inference is opposed to the plain sense of the scholium to i. 1037. Exactly this view is there ascribed to Ephorus, and the view of Ephorus as a whole is expressly set in opposition to the view of Deiochus whom Apollonius "followed". What then is this view of Deiochus and Apollonius, as the scholiast knew it? It was, as I have argued above, that there were two attacks made upon the Argonauts, at two different points upon the coast. One attack was made deliberately and was connected with the artificial shape of Chytus Harbor. The other attack, which resulted in the death of king Cyzicus, was accidental. This general form of the story in which Apollonius followed Deiochus is not dependent upon the particular name which the subjects of Cyzicus bore, nor upon the name which the unfriendly local tribe bore. There was divergence here. What name Deiochus used for the subjects of king Cyzicus we do not know. Apollonius used a name that was as old as Hecataeus (cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Δολίῶνες). It is not after all a matter of names, but of the structure of the narrative. We find in Apollonius and Deiochus that the action involves a certain number of actors. These are, first of all, the Argonauts, then, an unfriendly people who close in the harbor with stones, and finally a friendly king and people who fight with the Argonauts only by accident. This complex form of the story is conceivable only in a given locality, with a given coast-line and with definite traditions and monuments. In this sense Apollonius followed Deiochus. In every detail he certainly did not follow him. The scholiast who was better informed than we recognized that and stated it. But he knew and stated also that in the controlling outlines of the story Apollonius followed Deiochus.



This conclusion is disputed by Knorr, who in his discussion of the fragments of Deiochus does not begin by considering the first group, as above given, but takes up the most difficult, viz., those found in the scholia to 1. 987, 989. Having reached his conclusions from these, he does not consider the remaining fragments, but attempts at once a restoration of the narrative of Deiochus by the help of the mythographer Conon, who in ch. 41 of his *Διηγήσεις* tells the story of Cyzicus. By this faulty method the other fragments of Deiochus do not come to their rights and the whole investigation takes a wrong course. Furthermore, the Narrative of Conon can claim no such preeminence as is here accorded to it. There is in it no trace of local color and no sign of familiarity with topography or monuments. The mention of Pelasgians in Conon's version, the only point of likeness between Deiochus and Conon, is not peculiar to these two, but belongs to Ephorus as well. If Knorr had argued that Conon's Narrative is based on Ephorus one might well agree with him. But there is no ground for going further, as Knorr does, and questioning the explicit testimony of the scholiast to 1. 1037, who puts Ephorus on one side, and Deiochus with Apollonius on the other. Conon, and apparently Ephorus, knew of but one landing and one encounter. Deiochus and Apollonius knew of two. Ephorus and Conon show the story simplified and detached from its local relations. Deiochus and Apollonius agree in adjusting it to the locality and to local traditions. The complex form of the story is the local form, and the local form is the earlier.

The account of the visit of the Argonauts to Cyzicus, as told by Apollonius, is a singular combination of elements. A mass of tradition lies before us in a state of imperfect fusion. I have not attempted to discuss all the traces of union,—as, for example, in the character of king Cyzicus,—or all the attempts which the poet has made to weld into one things incoherent and independent. One group of facts has been singled out. Ordinarily it may be assumed that the attempt at fusion is referable to Apollonius himself, not to his source. The result of this investigation has been a surprise to me, for the result has been to refer the process of composition and fusion not to Apollonius but to his source. Believing that the method followed is sound I accept the conclusion. Earlier discussions of the text and scholia have been carried on too much as if the events described had relation to no particular place. I have endeavored to show that Apol-



lonius wrote with his eye on a definite locality, with a map before him, if you please; and that his narrative of the Cyzicene adventure has in that regard a higher value than has heretofore been accorded to it. It should be said in conclusion that I write primarily as a student of Apollonius, and not as one who has first-hand knowledge of the region. This paper attempts not to throw light on questions of topography but to give what is, I believe, the true approach to the interpretation of the text and the scholia of Apollonius.

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#### IV.—THE PARTHENEION OF ALKMAN.

(FRAGMENT 23 BERGK).

Students of the papyrus fragment of Alkman's partheneion have called to one another in mottoes of encouragement—*Nil desperandum, ἐς Τροίαν πειρώμενοι ἦνθον Ἀχαιοί*, “*λαβέτω δὲ καὶ ἄλλος*” —and little by little from Egyptian darkness they have brought words and meanings gallantly to light. But even yet many passages are so obscure that scholars have been unable to agree on the general line of thought, much less to appreciate the beauty of the literary finish.

The manuscript has already been studied with such pains that it can hardly yield new data of any considerable value. Through the kindness of M. Charles Boreux, I have had the privilege of examining the papyrus at the Louvre, only to be convinced that in general the readings of Blass are worthy of all confidence. Changes of interpretation, however, and slight modifications of the text—modifications the more justifiable because the copyist seems to have been rather careless—may resolve some of the long-standing puzzles and give us a clearer insight into the argument and the manner of choral presentation.

The first half of the poem, sadly fragmentary in its present state, contains myths that show the penalty attending rash presumption. Of the first myth little more is extant than an enumeration of those who fell on the field of battle—*Hippokoontidai*, as we learn from other sources.

[κράτησε γ]ὰρ Αἴσα παντῶν  
[καὶ Πόρος,] γεραιάτοι  
15 [σιῶν.]

Some difficulty has been found in explaining the scholiast's remark that *Poros* is the same as *Hesiod's Chaos*. If we accept the note, despite the untrustworthiness of some of the scholia, we can account for the equation without assuming a reference to *Eros*. *Πόρος*, etymologically connected with the root *ΠΕΡ*, ‘pierce, bore through’, might easily be a name for *Tartaros*, which *Plato* describes as *ἐν τι τῶν χασμάτων τῆς γῆς ἄλλως τε μέγιστον*



τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ διαμπερὲς τετρημένον δι' ὅλης τῆς γῆς.<sup>1</sup> And Tartaros is at times called Chaos. In a personal sense, Poros as god of the lower world<sup>2</sup> would be suitably coupled with Aisa.

The latter part of line 15 runs: ΕΔΕΙΛΟΣΑΛΚΑ.<sup>3</sup> A conjecture by Blass, ἀπέδιλος, is now generally accepted. Some scholars have thought that Ἀλκά was a divinity mentioned along with Αἴσα and Πόρος, while others have supposed the word to refer to the strength of the presumptuous. Neither explanation is convincing. With the context in mind, we might naturally look for some such expression as the Homeric οὐδέ τις ἔστ' ἀλκή.<sup>4</sup> Inasmuch as the putting on of sandals is a customary preparation when Homeric heroes go forth and gods come down to succor mortals, is it not possible to interpret ἀπέδιλος ἀλκά as 'help came not'?

After a warning,

[μή τις ἀνθ]ρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω,  
[μηδὲ πει]ρήτω γαμὲν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν, κ. τ. λ.,

there follows a passage that has been thought to refer to the battle of the Giants. But the few words extant point rather to the myths of Otos and Orion. These two transgressors are mentioned in similar connection by Kallimachos.<sup>5</sup> The superlative -τάτοι, with which our passage opens, is certainly appropriate.<sup>6</sup> The words [ἔδ]ωκε δῶρα<sup>7</sup> (v. 25) and ἰφ<sup>8</sup> (v. 30) have

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Phaid. 111 E.

<sup>2</sup> If we are to connect herewith the Poros of Plato's myth (Symp. 203 B), we may compare the favorable aspect in which Hades appears under the name Pluton-Plutos.

<sup>3</sup> The cross-bar of the second E falls on a ridge of the papyrus, but under a strong glass may still be traced.

<sup>4</sup> μ 120; cf. χ 305, θ 140, φ 528.

<sup>5</sup> Hymn. in Art. 264 f.:

μηδὲ τινα μνᾶσθαι τὴν παρθένον· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ὀτος,  
οὐδὲ μὲν Ὀρίων ἀγαθὸν γάμον ἐμνήστευσαν.

<sup>6</sup> Hom. λ 308 ff.:

Ὀτόν τ' ἀντίθεον τηλεκλειτόν τ' Ἐφιάλτην,  
οὓς δὴ μηκίστους θρέψε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα  
καὶ πολὺ καλλίστους μετὰ γε κλυτὸν Ὀρίωνα.

<sup>7</sup> [Erat.] Katast. 32, p. 162 R.: Ὀρίων] τοῦτον Ἡσίοδος φησιν Εὐρύαλης τῆς Μίνως καὶ Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι, δοθῆναι δὲ αὐτῷ ὠρεᾶν ὥστε ἐπὶ τῶν κυμάτων πορεύεσθαι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

<sup>8</sup> Hom. ε 121 ff.:

ὥς μὲν δτ' Ὀρίων' ἔλετο ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
τόφρα οἱ ἡγάασθε θεοὶ ρεία ζῶντες,



parallels in the story of Orion; γὰ ρέον<sup>1</sup> (v. 26) and ὄλεσ' ἦβα<sup>2</sup> (v. 27), on the other hand, fit the story of Otos. As Hyginus (Fab. 28) tells us that in the lower world Otos was bound to a pillar, we may suppose Alkman to have said (v. 31 f.), 'Hades bound<sup>3</sup> the other to a mill-stone'. The mention of a mill-stone is interesting in view of the relation of Otos to grain.<sup>4</sup>

The scanty data will not permit us to determine in just what form these myths were presented by Alkman. But since μήτις ἀνθρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω (v. 16) is applicable to Otos, it may be inferred that μηδὲ πειρήτω γαμὲν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν, κ. τ. λ., refers to Orion. The latter warning has been adduced<sup>5</sup> as an argument for regarding amorous affairs as the cause of the strife between the Tyndaridai and the Hippokoontidai; and it is indeed probable that this myth had a similar motive.

Passing to the second half of the partheneion, the poet turns from these dark pictures of the punishment of evil-doers to the bright counterpart, the happiness of the pious.

ὁ δ' ὀλβιος, ὅστις εὐφρων  
ἀμέραν [δι]απλέκει  
ἄκλαυστος.

Εὐφρων refers to a moral quality; ἄκλαυστος<sup>6</sup> implies freedom from punishment. As those who are seeking divine favor, the maidens now present their cause. They begin to sing of the radiant

ἕως μιν ἐν Ὀρνυγίῃ χρυσόθρονος Ἀρτεμις ἀγνὴ  
οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχομένη κατέπεφνεν.

Hygin. Astron. 2. 34: Alii dicunt cum Callimacho, cum Dianae vim voluerit adferre, ab ea sagittis esse confixum.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodor. 1. 7. 4: καὶ τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν χῶσαντες τοῖς ὄρεσι ποιήσειν ἔλεγον ἠπειμον, τὴν δὲ γῆν θάλασσαν.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. λ 315 ff.:

Ὅσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, ἀντὰρ ἐπ' Ὅσση  
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἱν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.  
καὶ νῦν κεν ἐξετέλεσσαν, εἰ ἦβης μέτρον ἴκοντο.

<sup>3</sup> ἔ δ η]σεν? Blass (Rh. Mus. 40 (1885), pp. 7, 20) reads ΣΕΝ, but Diels (Hermes 31 (1896), p. 346) favors ΔΕΝ.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Toepffer in Pauly-Wissowa I 1590 ff. Mayer, Giganten u. Titanen p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Zielinski, Arch. f. Relig. 9 (1906), p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Kallim. Hymn. in Art. 266 f.:

οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἴκπῳ  
ἀκλαντεῖ περὶ βωμὸν ἀπείπατο κυκλώσασθαι.







also as a transferred epithet of ἵππον—a turn at once ambiguous and suggestive, and therefore well adapted to a riddling allusion.<sup>1</sup> For ἑνετικός we may read αἰνικτικός :

50 ἢ οὐχ ὀρῆς ; ὁ μὲν κέλῃς  
αἰνικτικός .

The chorus thus draws attention to the riddle, and then returns to the praise of the χορηγός. Hence the expression of the name Ἀγῆσιχόρας (v. 53) is not only unembarrassing, but actually necessary.

Yet beautiful as Hagesichora is, it must be admitted that she is less beautiful than Agido. Ἴππος Εἰβήνῃ Κολαξαῖος δραμεῖται seems to be a proverbial expression for a close match.

The meaning of Πελειάδες in the sentence following is a vexed question :

60 ταὶ Πελειάδες γὰρ ἄμιν  
Ὀρθία φᾶρος φεροίσαις  
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε σήριον  
ἄστρον αὖειρομένοι μάχονται.

The connection of thought is such that the word appears to refer to Hagesichora and Agido; but under what metaphor? Not as doves, for that is incompatible with the predicate μάχονται; nor yet as the star-group Pleiades, for that spoils the punning comparison, ἄτε σήριον ἄστρον. But these two meanings do not exhaust our resources. From the scholiast on Theokritos 13. 25<sup>1</sup> we learn that Πελειάδες may mean also the daughters of the queen of the Amazons—virgins who instituted nocturnal choral dances. This interpretation fits our passage perfectly. Speaking of Hagesichora and Agido in figurative terms, Alkman passes, by an easy transition, from Skythian and Lydian horses to the horsewomen dwelling in the same region. Under this explana-

<sup>1</sup> Even with the meaning, 'dwelling under the rock', ὑποπετρίδιων might have this double reference; for, according to Hesiod (Theog. 282 f.), Pegasos was born near the springs of Okeanos, and Homer (ω 11 f., quoted by the scholiast on Alkman) groups together Ὠκεανοῦ ῥοάς, Λευκάδα πέτρην and δῆμον ὀνείρων. To Alkman the adjective may have been changeable in color (cf. p. 66 below).

<sup>2</sup> αἱ Πελειάδες, φησὶ Καλλίμαχος, τῆς βασιλίσσης τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἦσαν θυγατέρες, αἱ Πελειάδες προσηγορεύθησαν. πρῶτον δ' αὐταὶ χορείαν καὶ παννυχίδα συνεστήσαντο παρθνεύουσαι.



tion the simile, ἄτε σήριον ἄστρον, has full value, and the predicate μάχονται is eminently appropriate.<sup>1</sup>

In order to understand the force of μάχονται, we need not have recourse to any doubtful hypothesis about a contest of beauty or a match between rival choruses. The occasion is a religious sacrifice; the opposing parties are the worshipers and the deity. The thought that mankind is prone to offend and the gods must be propitiated recurs throughout the poem, and furnishes the explanation of several passages that have been more or less misunderstood.<sup>2</sup>

The divinity in question is here called Orthia, but it is difficult to determine her nature from a name susceptible of so many interpretations. Perhaps originally the name referred to the moon<sup>3</sup> under the same figure that appears in the expression, ἱσταμένου τοῦ μηνός.<sup>4</sup> A nocturnal festival would then be appropriate, and the sickle given as prize at the contests would be explicable as once, at least, a lunar symbol.

The offering that the maidens are bearing to Orthia is mentioned in verse 61 under the designation φᾶρος. Two interpretations of this word are current—'plough' and 'robe'; but there is no evidence that either object was actually presented to Orthia. Again, however, we are not on the horns of a dilemma. Φᾶρος is the Doric form of φῆρος, which is said by Hesychios to be ἡ τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν τροφή. This interpretation is confirmed, first, by the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kallim. Hymn. in Art. 237 ff.:

σοὶ καὶ Ἀμαζονίδες πολέμον ἐπιθυμήτειραι  
ἐν ποτε παρραλίῃ Ἐφέσῳ βρέτας ἰδρύσαντο  
φηγῶ ὑπὸ πρέμνῳ, τέλεσεν δέ τοι ἱερὸν Ἴππῳ  
αὐταὶ δ', Οὐπι ἄνασσα, περὶ πρύλιν ὠρχήσαντο  
πρῶτα μὲν ἐν σακέεσσιν ἐνόπλιον, αὐθι δὲ κύκλῳ  
στησάμεναι χορὸν εὐρύν· ὑπήεισαν δὲ λίγειαί  
λεπταλέον σύριγγες, ἵνα ῥήσωσιν ὁμαρτῇ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. on vv. 37-39 above. Εἰρήνη (v. 91) is appropriately used of the reconciliation. Μέγ' α[ὐδῶ] (v. 97, Wilamowitz) is undoubtedly the correct reading.

<sup>3</sup> On v. 55 f. cf. Jurenka, Sitzungs-Ber. d. Wiener Akad. 135 (1896), p. 16 f., and Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gym. 58 (1907), p. 1084, n. 2. Kukula, Philol. 66 (1907), p. 208.

<sup>4</sup> "Dass die worte μὴν μείς lat. *mensis* unser *monat* ursprünglich den mond selbst als den (zeit)messer am himmel bezeichnet haben, ist heute anerkannt". Usener, Götternamen, p. 288.



word *θωστήρια*<sup>1</sup> (v. 81), which Hesychios defines as *εὐωχητήρια*, and secondly, by an allusion in Xenophon,<sup>2</sup> from which it may be inferred that Orthia received as offerings *τυρούς*.<sup>3</sup>

The next strophe asserts that the chorus depends for safety not on its outward adornment,<sup>4</sup> rich as this is, nor on the charms of individual members, but on the leader, Hagesichora.

Then follows a strophe with a similar close—

90 *ἐξ Ἀγησιχόρας δὲ νεάνιδες*  
[εἶρ]ήνας ἐρατὰς ἐπέβαν—

and we may reasonably expect a parallel line of thought. Since the beauty of Hagesichora has already been extolled, and the final strophe praises her singing, the present strophe presumably deals with her ability in the dance. This idea is suggested at the outset by the epithet *καλλίσφυρος*, and appears again in the words,

[δι' αὐτῆς] γὰρ ἄνα  
καὶ τέλος χοροστάτης.

As regards the succeeding lines, hitherto μάταν λέλακε γλαύξ. A different reading, palaeographically easy, will come closer to the mark. The first hand in the manuscript gives βέβακα.<sup>5</sup> Con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kukula, l. c., p. 226 ff. Farrell, Ann. Br. Sch. Ath. 14 (1907-8), p. 52. The Samian festival described by Herodotos (3. 48) is in some respects parallel.

<sup>2</sup> De Rep. Lac. 2. 9: καὶ ὡς πλείστους δὴ ἄρπάσαι τυρούς παρ' Ὀρθίας καλὸν θεῖς, μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε. Cf. Nilsson, Griech. Feste, p. 193 f.

<sup>3</sup> In a former article (A. J. P. 30 (1909), p. 188 f.) I have endeavored to trace a connection between *τυρός* and ambrosia. *Σπειροφόρος* (cf. Heberdey, Jahresh. d. österr. arch. Inst. VII (1904), p. 213) may be a compound, not of *σπεῖρον*, but of *σπεῖρα* (*σπίρα*), a cake made ἐκ τυροῦ (Ath. 14. 647 D).

<sup>4</sup> The use of the headband and of purple in certain cults of Aphrodite (Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Rel., p. 1349 f.) may be compared, now that the excavations at Sparta give "evidence of a close relation" between the Knidian Aphrodite and Orthia (Farrell, l. c., pp. 49, 65 ff.). With *δράκων* (v. 66) cf. the serpent on an ivory plaque from Sparta (Thompson, Journ. Hellen. Stud. 29 (1909), p. 288).

<sup>5</sup> In line 86 ΠΑΡΣΕΝΟΣ and ANΩBEBAKA may be easily read. The intervening letters are more or less indistinct, but can hardly be other than those given in the current text: MATANAIΠOΘP.



sidering that *βαίνω* is not infrequently used of dancing, we may conjecture that the lines should read :

85                    ἐγὼν μὲν αὐτὰ  
παρσένος μάλ' α κατ' ὠθ' ἄνω βέβακα  
γλαύξ.<sup>1</sup>

These words give a satisfactory parallelism of thought: Beautiful as are the other members of the chorus, and zealous as they have been in the dance, they nevertheless depend for success upon their leader, Hagesichora.<sup>2</sup>

At the opening of the final strophe, Hagesichora is evidently likened to a *σειραφόρος* and to a *κυβερνήτης*. But the full text of the passage has not been deciphered. To complete the thought, we might read :

τῷ τε γὰρ σειραφόρῳ  
αὐτῷς ἐπέοικε πάλ' λην·  
τῷ κυβερνάτῃ δὲ χρὴ  
95 κήν ναῖ μάλ' ἢ χεῖν (ἄ χ ε ν) ὤκα.<sup>3</sup>

The verb *πάλλειν* is certainly here the *mot propre*, for it is used of horses by Euripides (El. 477), and of Lakonian dancers by Aristophanes (Lys. 1304, 1310). Similarly, *ἡχεῖν* is suitable in connection with both captain and chorus-leader, for each must sound a signal to insure unanimity of action.<sup>4</sup> The first image,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Autokr. ap. Ael. N. A. 12. 9 (Kock I 806): οἷα παίζουσιν φίλοι παρθέναι Δυδῶν κόραι κοῦφα πηδῶσαι κόμαν κἀνακροῦνσαι χεροῖν 'Εφεσίαν παρ' Ἀρτεμιν καλλίσταν, καὶ τοῖν ἰσχύοιν τὸ μὲν κάτω, τὸ δ' αὖ εἰς ἄνω ἐξαίρουσα, οἷα κίγκλος ἄλλεται. A certain dance was called γλαύξ (Athen. 14. 629 F. Hesych. s. v.). Cf. σκῶψ. Bergk long ago (Philol. 22 (1865), p. 13) queried, "ob auch γλαύξ auf den unter diesem namen bekannten tanz geht?"

<sup>2</sup> Is the unknown 'Αῶτις (v. 87) Εὐ ὦ π ι ς in disguise? With vv. 88-9 cf. Wide, op. cit., p. 127 f. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa II 1347.

<sup>3</sup> In verse 93, ΤΩΣΕ are the only letters that are clear and complete. The next is probably Δ, hardly Α. The right side of the letter is broken off, for the face of the papyrus is gone at this point and for the space of another letter. The rest of the line is very faint, but may be read with Blass, Ο (or Ρ) ΗΚ (or Μ) ΕΓΑΛ· Η. In the next line, the dative, τῷ κυβερνάτῃ, is the manuscript reading, but may be a corruption occasioned by the parallel dative, τῷ σειραφόρῳ. In verse 95, the traces after ΜΑΛΗ suit ΧΕ. The next letter is read as Φ by Blass and as Ν by Diels.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Luk. Dial. Mort. 10. 10: ὥστε λύε τὰ ἀπόγεια· τὴν ἀποβάθραν ἀνελώμεθα. τὸ ἀγκύριον ἀνεσπάσθω· πέτασον τὸ ἱστίον· εὐθύνε, ὦ πορθμεῦ, τὸ πηδάλιον.



then, illustrates the thought previously expressed, and the second forms the transition to that which follows:

ἀ δὲ τῶν Σηρηνίδων  
ἀοιδοτέρᾳ.

Inasmuch as Hagesichora, in point of beauty and skill in the dance, has been compared with the other maidens, it is natural to expect that in singing, too, she should be compared with the rest. That such a comparison was really made is indicated by the word ἀντί preserved in verse 98. What follows is not very legible. Faint traces at the end of the line seem to correspond to the traditional ἔνδεκα, supplied from the scholion. But so far as the text of the poem gives information, the chorus, apart from the leader, appears to have consisted of Agido and the eight maidens mentioned in the third strophe of the latter half. Perhaps, therefore, we should read:

ἀντὶ δ' [ἐ ν ν ε ῖ α]  
παίδων δεκ[ὰς οἷ' ἀεί]δει.

The demand for a continuation of the same grammatical subject would in this way be perfectly satisfied.

The reading ἐννεία has the merit of doing away with any puzzle as to the composition of the chorus. Ten maidens, all of whom are named,<sup>1</sup> make up the band. The leader is Hagesichora, and she has as her partner in the dance the beautiful Agido. Since the success of the chorus depends upon the leader, the latter half of the partheneion is largely occupied with Hagesichora's praise. Indeed, Hagesichora, like Antheia in the Artemis festival at Ephesos, seems at times almost to impersonate the goddess.<sup>2</sup>

Here it may be noted that the singular and plural of the first person are not used indiscriminately. The singular refers to the rest of the chorus as over against the leader, Hagesichora; the plural includes both chorus and leader when there is a bond of common interest.

We are now better prepared to appreciate the song as the work of a master in the composition of partheneia. The poem is not to be regarded as made up of two independent pieces that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 32 (1897), p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kukula, l. c., p. 208.



overlap just enough to be, as it were, glued together. There is a fundamental unity. The underlying thought is the importance of reverence for the gods, and this is illustrated, first, from the negative side, by myths about the overthrow of the presumptuous, and then from the positive side, by commendation of Hagesichora and her chorus. Not only does the second part have echoes of the first (vv. 65, 77, 91), but the first part anticipates the motive of the second (v. 20f.).

If we had the poem in its entirety, we should be better able to judge of its literary form; but even as it is, we can perceive a certain symmetry. Balancing the enumeration of the Hippo-koontidai is the enumeration of the members of the chorus. As in the first part of the poem the moral is repeated, so in the second part the thought of Hagesichora as the defense recurs like a refrain. The last three strophes have more or less parallelism of thought and structure.

A noteworthy feature of the poem is the play upon words. An example such as occurs in lines 100-101, *πάνθω . . . ξανθῶ*, is in itself of little importance; but in some cases word-play may throw considerable light on the interpretation. It has been shown above that the pun in *παγόν* (v. 48) is a key to the passage. Again, lines 60-63 become quite clear when we recognize the double play on the word *Πελειάδες*. If we interpret *Πελειάδες* as a metaphorical characterization of Hagesichora and Agido as daughters of the queen of the Amazons, we have a punning reference, first, in the words *φᾶρος φεροίσαις νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν* to the ambrosia-bearing *πέλειαι*, and secondly, in the words *ἀτρε σήριον ἄστρον* to the constellation Pleiades. If Orthia was associated with the moon, *ΑΥΕΙΠΟΜΕΝΑΙ* might also have double reference.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One is tempted to think that the word *φιλόψιλος*, cited from Alkman (Fr. 152 Bgk.), was used of Hagesichora in the lost lines that formed the close of this partheneion. (Cf. Ten Brink, *Philol.* 21 (1864), p. 134.) According to the notes of Suidas (s. v. *ψιλεύς*: *ἐπ' ἄκρου χοροῦ ἱστάμενος· ὅθεν καὶ φιλόψιλος παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι, ἢ φιλοῦσα ἐπ' ἄκρου χοροῦ ἱστασθαι*) and Pausanias (3. 19. 6: *ψίλα γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ Δωριεῖς τὰ πτερὰ*), the epithet would, with word-play, be appropriate for Hagesichora as chorus-leader, as *κύκνος*, and—looking back to the opening simile—as Pegasus. Cf. the winged figures recently found at the Spartan sanctuary of Orthia (Thompson, l. c., p. 286 ff.). The argument from word-play, however, might easily be pushed to an extreme, and unaided is hardly of sufficient strength to establish the reading [*Ἀλκιμό*] *ν τε τὸν βιατάν* (v. 4), or [*Βωκόλο*] *ν τὸν ἀγρόταν* (v. 8).



The life and grace of the poem are far removed, it is true, from all this critical analysis, this talk of jots and tittles. But it is only by such study of the crabbed text that we have made progress since the days when the papyrus was thought to contain disconnected verses, illustrating perhaps some law of metric ; and unless good fortune shall give us another manuscript, we must continue to work with patient care toward a true appreciation of this, our only fair specimen of a poem by Alkman as well as of a Greek partheneion.

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## V.—PHOENIX IN THE ILIAD.

If there is one point of agreement among disbelievers in the unity of the Iliad it is that Phoenix had no part in the original version of the Presbeia of book nine. The presence of Phoenix at the tent of Agamemnon, the persistent use of the dual, the part played by him rather than Cheiron as the instructor of Achilles, the fact that when Ajax nodded to Phoenix Odysseus arose and spoke, and also the abruptness with which he is introduced, all these unite to give absolute assurance to the critics, or in the words of Christ, *Homer oder Homeriden*, p. 75, *Hier haben wir also festen Boden unter den Füßen und können mit Zuversicht für die verschiedenen Partien des 9. Gesanges zwei Verfasser annehmen.* Leaf, *Introduction to I*, p. 371, in his edition of the Iliad, "All the evidence goes to show that he, Phoenix, is an intruder. The abruptness of his introduction and the dual number used of the envoys alike point to this". Similar comments abound in the writings of other Homeric critics.

A possible solution of this problem is to be found in observing the method by which Phoenix is introduced in subsequent books of the Iliad. A list of the leaders of the Myrmidons is given  $\Pi$  173 ff. Each of the five leaders Menesthius, Eudorus, Peisander, Phoenix, and Alkimedon is named with the addition of the name of his father and some detailed description or characteristic except Phoenix; he is simply introduced as, *γέρων ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ*. This scant description can have but one explanation, namely, Phoenix has been previously described, so that the verses  $\Pi$  173 ff. presuppose just such a part as the one played by him in the Presbeia. This will hardly be questioned, and all critics who remove Phoenix from the Presbeia agree that these verses were added subsequent to his appearance in the ninth book. Christ prints the verses which refer to Phoenix in each of these books in the same small type, thus assigning them both to the same stratum.

The next appearance of this name, Phoenix, is P 555, where Phoenix does not act himself, but Athena assuming his form urged on Menelaus to attempt the rescue of the body of Patroclus;

*εἰσαμένη Φοῖνικι δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν.*



The part here played by Athena is essential to the plot, so that Christ, who removed all traces of Phoenix from book nine, made this appearance of Athena in the guise of Phoenix part of his Ur-Ilias, printing this episode in the same large capitals in which, e. g., the quarrel-scene in A is printed.

When a god appears in the form of a definite, named person a detailed description is immediately added, unless the god assumes the form of a person who has already been described or has appeared in the action of the poem. Homer has no exceptions to this rule.

This rule is of such prime importance in the solution of the present problem that all the examples to which it applies will be given.

When the deceptive dream came to the tent of Agamemnon ;

B 20: *στῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς Νηληϊῶ υἱ ἑοικώς,  
Νέστορι, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα γερόντων τῷ Ἀγαμέμνων.*

A detailed description of Nestor has been given in the preceding book, hence sufficiently identified by the phrase *Νηληϊῶ υἱ*.

Iris came to warn the Trojans of the advance of the Greeks ;

B 791: *εἰσατο δὲ φθογγὴν υἱ Πριάμοιο Πολίτη,  
ὃς Τρώων σκοπὸς ἔζε, ποδωκείησι πεποιθώς,  
τύμβῳ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ Δισνῆταο γέροντος,  
δέγμενος ὁππότε ναῦφιν ἀφορμηθεῖεν Ἀχαιοί.*

Polites has not been previously mentioned, hence it is necessary to tell the hearers who he is and why Iris assumed his form.

Iris appeared to summon Helen to view the assembled Greeks ;

Γ 122: *εἰδομένη γαλόψ, Ἀντηνορίδαο δάμαρτι,  
τὴν Ἀντηνορίδης εἶχε κρείων Ἑλικάων,  
Λαοδίκην, Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην.*

This is the first reference to Laodice, hence the detailed description.

Athena searched for Pandarus throughout the army of the Trojans ;

Δ 86: *ἥ δ' ἀνδρὶ ἱκέλη Τρώων κατεδύσεθ' ὁμίλον,  
Λαοδόκῳ Ἀντηνορίδῃ, κρατερῷ αἰχμητῇ.*

First mention of Laodocus, hence description and patronymic, but, as Antenor, his father, has already been named, additional details are unnecessary.



Mars came to arouse the faltering sons of Priam ;

Ε 462: εἰδόμενος Ἀκάμαντι θοῶ ἡγήτορι Θρηκῶν.

Two men with the name of Acamas have already been mentioned, one the son of Antenor, the other a leader of the Thracians, hence the necessity of the identifying phrase, ἡγήτορι Θρηκῶν.

Hera came to arouse the Greeks to whom she shouted ;

Ε 785: Στέντορι εἰσαμένη μεγαλήτορι, χαλκεοφώνῳ,  
ὃς τόσον αὐδήσασχ' ὅσον ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα.

First reference to Stentor, hence the detailed description.

Poseidon coming from the sea urged on the Argives ;

Ν 45: εἰσάμενος Κάλχαντι δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν.

Calchas has appeared in the earlier books, hence no description.

Poseidon chided the faltering Idomeneus ;

Ν 216: εἰσάμενος φθογγὴν Ἀνδραίμονος υἱὸν Θόαντι,  
ὃς πάσῃ Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι  
Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἀνασσε.

Thoas has been previously mentioned, but as there are two others of this name referred to in the Iliad, this detailed description removes all possible ambiguity. This is a fine illustration of the rule that Homer never leaves in doubt the identity of the person whose form the god assumes, if that person's name is given.

Apollo appeared to Hector inspiring him to return to the battle.

Π 716: ἀνέρι εἰσάμενος αἰζηῷ τε κρατερῷ τε,  
'Ασίῳ, ὃς μήτρως ἦν Ἑκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο,  
αὐτοκασίγνητος Ἑκάβης, υἱὸς δὲ Δύμαντος,  
ὃς Φρυγίῃ ναίεσκε ῥοῆς ἐπὶ Σαγγαρίοιο.

This is the first appearance of this Asius, but another Asius, the son of Hyrtacus from Arisbe, has been mentioned, hence the long and detailed description is doubly necessary.

Apollo inspired Hector to rescue the arms of slain Euphorbus ;

Ρ 73: ἀνέρι εἰσάμενος, Κικόνων ἡγήτορι Μέντη.

First mention of Mentès, hence the necessary description.



Apollo came to Aeneas to urge him to join in the fighting ;

P 323: *Αἰνείαν ὤτρυνε, δέμας Περίφαντι ἐοικώς,  
κήρυκε Ἑπυτίδῃ, δς οἱ παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι  
κηρύσσων γήρασκε, φίλα φρεσὶ μῆδεα εἰδώς·*

First reference to this Periphas, hence detailed description.

P 555: *εἰσαμένη Φοῖνικι δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν.*

There is no description of any sort. This verse furnishes the motive for the present investigation, therefore the conclusion will be drawn later.

Apollo came to Hector to urge him to renew the struggle ;

P 583: *Φαίνοπι Ἀσιάδῃ ἐναλίγκιος, δς οἱ ἀπάντων  
ξείνων φίλτατος ἔσκεν, Ἀβυδόθι οἰκία ναίων.*

Two sons of Phaenops have been named, but he himself has not appeared in the action of the Iliad, hence the detailed description.

Apollo urged Aeneas to turn and face Achilles ;

Υ 81: *νίει δὲ Πριάμοιο Λυκάονι εἰσατο φωνήν.*

Lycaon has already been named as the brother of Paris, but as there is another Lycaon, the father of Pandarus, the identifying phrase, *νίει δὲ Πριάμοιο*, is necessary. The hearer is never left in doubt.

Apollo having rescued Agenor appeared to Achilles ;

Φ 600: *αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐκάεργος Ἀγήνορι πάντα ἐοικώς.*

Agenor has just played a prominent part, hence no description.

Athena came to deceive Hector and to betray him to Achilles ;

Χ 227: *Δηϊφόβῳ εἰκνία δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν.*

Deiphobus has repeatedly appeared in earlier books of the Iliad, hence sufficiently designated without added description.

There are no other examples in the Iliad of a god appearing in the form of a person whose name is given.

There are a few illustrations of this rule in the Odyssey ; Athena came to Ithaca in order to arouse and encourage Telemachus ;

α 105: *εἰδομένη ξείνῳ, Ταφίων ἡγήτορι, Μέντη.*

This particular Mentès has not been mentioned previously, hence detailed description. This description is much supplemented, vv. 180 ff.



The participle refers to Athena in β 268, 401, γ 206, ω 503, 548 ;

*Μέντορι είδομένη ήμην δέμας ήδὲ καὶ αὐδὴν.*

Mentor had taken part in the action of the poem before the first appearance of Athena in his guise, hence there is no description.

Athena moved among the Ithacans preparing for the departure of Telemachus.

β 383: *Τηλεμάχῳ εἰκνῖα κατὰ πτόλιν ῥχετο πάντῃ.*

Telemachus had already been prominent in this and the preceding book of the Odyssey, hence there is no description.

Athena made a divine image which she sent to hearten Penelope ;

δ 796: *είδωλον ποίησε, δέμας δ' ἤικτο γυναικί,  
'Ιφθίμῃ, κόρυῃ μεγαλήτορος 'Ικαρίοιο.*

First reference to Iphthime, hence detailed description is necessary.

A god often appears in the guise of some unnamed person or character, such as a messenger, a young man, an old man, a maiden, or a woman, but such appearances necessarily do not individualize, hence do not belong to the subject now discussed.

All the passages have been quoted in which a god assumes the form of a person whose name is given. In every case the person whose form or voice has been assumed is well-known, or a detailed description is added. The hearer is never left in doubt for one moment about the identity of the person whose characteristics the god has taken.

To which class does the verse in question belong? To quote the verse, P 555: *εἰσαμένη Φοῖνικι δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν*, is to answer the question ; since the absence of any sort of description shows that Phoenix is a person already well-known to the hearers of the previous books of the Iliad. Christ was quite right in observing that P 555 is essential to the action of the Iliad and to his Ur-Ilias, and in assigning it to his earliest stratum, but he failed to observe that this scene is impossible unless Phoenix has had a part in the earlier scenes of the Iliad. This verse cannot remain without assuming a Phoenix in the Presbeia and also a Presbeia in the Ur-Ilias. This fact seems to me to demolish the structure which Christ reared with such labor and such assurance.

The next appearance of Phoenix is in T 310. Achilles after



the reconciliation with Agamemnon dismissed the others, while those of more advanced years remained to comfort him ;

T 310: *δοιὼ δ' Ἀτρεΐδα μενέτην καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
Νέστωρ Ἰδομενεύς τε γέρων θ' ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ,*

How could Christ have explained the presence of Phoenix in this small group of companions and friends, if this were his first appearance in person in the action of the Iliad? The manner in which he is here named assumes that he is a familiar figure and that he must have had a part in the story of some earlier book. However Christ assigns these verses to an older stratum than any in which Phoenix has himself appeared. The only possible excuse for the abrupt mention of Phoenix in this group of intimate companions is to be found in the fact that previously he has appeared as a friend and associate of Achilles. The needed explanation is given in the Presbeia.

After the quarrel is over and well-nigh forgotten, and the battles of the Iliad are ended the poet once more brings the heroes of his poem before his audience in the games in honor of Patroclus. Phoenix himself is too old to take part and, since, unlike Nestor, he has no son to admonish, it might have seemed impossible for the poet to present him at this final gathering of the Greeks. However in the chariot-race it was necessary that some responsible person should be placed at the outer end of the course to watch that the drivers ran the full length and did not turn back until they had rounded the outmost point; this must be some one in the confidence of Achilles, and one not biased by the fact that a kinsman or close companion was a participant. Phoenix satisfied every condition, so he too appears at the games to make his farewell; although his part is a small one, it is essential.

† 358: *σήμενε δὲ τέρματ' Ἀχιλλεύς  
τηλόθεν ἐν λείῳ πεδίῳ· παρὰ δὲ σκοπὸν εἶσεν  
ἀντίθεον Φοῖνικα, ὁπάονα πατρὸς ἐοῖο  
ὥς μεμνέωτο δρόμους καὶ ἀληθείην ἀποεῖποι.*

The task assigned to Phoenix must have been assigned to some one, since the tricks actually employed in the course of the race show that the outer goal would not have been rounded unless some one had been placed there for this very purpose, namely, to prevent the shortening of the course. Critics who object to this office being given to Phoenix must be prepared



to substitute another in his place, for this was an office that could not have been neglected. The fact that each driver went the full course shows that some one was at the far goal. Naturally Phoenix was not called upon to decide the subsequent dispute, since the fact of rounding the goal was not the subject of contention.

These four passages subsequent to book nine in which reference is made to Phoenix are consistent and imply that he is a familiar figure in the action of the poem, each assumes the *Presbeia* with Phoenix a member or companion thereof. If there is any objection to the retention of Phoenix in the *Iliad* it must be founded on the basis of the earlier book, and if rejected from that book he must be rejected from all.

The first difficulty to present itself in the story of Phoenix is that his initial appearance is at the tent of Agamemnon, when he would naturally be in the company of Achilles. Phoenix was a supernumerary in the Greek army, Peleus had no especial need of him in Phthia, he had no family-ties to keep him at home, so came along with the Myrmidons to the war. However necessary the old man may have thought he was to his foster-son, the latter never made any reference to reciprocal sentiments, but in his reply to the pleadings of Odysseus he says that he himself intends to return home to Phthia, but as for Phoenix he can remain or go along with him just as he prefers. This shows that the bonds uniting them were so loose that Phoenix could at will absent himself from Achilles, and that he, Achilles, felt himself under no especial obligations either to watch over him at Troy or to bring him safely back to Greece.

Doubtless his years gave Phoenix the freedom of the Greek camp so that he could remain where he chose.

All the context and the fact that he did not return to the place of starting show that Phoenix was no essential member of the embassy. He was with the army solely because he had been a nurse and boyhood companion of Achilles, so nothing could be more natural than his being asked to lead the way for Odysseus and Ajax to Achilles' quarters. It is worth noting that it was not one of the younger leaders, but Nestor, who suggested that Phoenix conduct the others, himself an old man, he felt the advantage the ambassadors might have in the coöperation of a man of advanced years.

When they are started, even though the party consists of five



members, Phoenix, Odysseus, Ajax, Odys, and Eurybates, its movements and numbers are frequently described by the dual, e. g., v. 182: τὼ δὲ βάτην. This dual involves no inconsistency, it is not used for the plural, but simply records the patent fact that the real embassy had but two members, Phoenix simply conducted them to Achilles, and having fulfilled that task, was under no obligation to return with the others. This use of the dual to refer to the two members of a group that are of especial importance is of the same type as the singular in Xen. Anab. I, 10, 1: βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον. Although many participate in the action denoted by the participle and the verb, yet because of the importance of the king the singular is used.

However it is in regard to verse 223 ;

νεῦσ' Ἀλας Φοῖνικι. νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,

that critics speak with the greatest confidence; and it was the absurdity of the statement that when Ajax nodded to Phoenix, Odysseus arose and spoke, that made Christ certain of "festen Boden unter den Füßen". When the embassy was preparing to depart Nestor knew and everyone must have felt that the success of the undertaking depended on Odysseus, hence it is especially to him that Nestor directs his advice; 180: δεινῶν δὲ ἐκαστον, Ὀδυσσῆι δὲ μάλιστα. Now when the crisis has come Ajax with his wonted sagacity starts to upset all their plans by nodding to Phoenix, as if that ineffectual and loquacious individual were the proper person to present the cause of the despairing Greeks: Odysseus perceives the situation in an instant, and that is just like him, does not give Phoenix a chance to begin, but opens the case himself.

It was exactly like blundering tactless Ajax to do that sort of a thing. He never could see the point in Achilles' anger, so when he speaks makes the telling argument, "You are angry over just one girl and here we offer you seven". Homer never gives Ajax the honor of an aristeia, and in spite of his great strength he was not victor in a single game, although he competed in three. In the wrestling match with Odysseus Ajax whispered to make it a sham, ἢ μ' ἀνάειρ' ἢ ἐγὼ σέ· then stupidly allows Odysseus to throw him, but it is to be noted that the wily Odysseus did not reciprocate. It is, no doubt, a thrust at this same stupidity that makes Ajax, though he had no chariot to



help him, labor and sweat under his bronze-covered shield of seven hides. Hector struck it when he called to him N 824: *Αἶαν ἁμαρτοεπές, βουγίαε*. Nothing could be more consistent than the Homeric picture of Ajax as a man of immense brute strength, but with no tact and shrewdness. Ajax was just the sort of a man to nod to Phoenix when Odysseus was prepared and present. If there is another phrase in the Iliad which sums up the traits of character with such a masterly stroke as the words "Ajax nodded to Phoenix", I have not seen it.

In A 831 Eurypylus begs Patroclus to treat him with some of the skill in healing which has been taught him by Achilles whom Cheiron one of the Centaurs has taught. To which Leaf notes, "The scholia properly remarked that the legend of the education of Achilles by Cheiron is entirely inconsistent with the tale of Phoenix in I". The relevant passage begins with verse 485, where Leaf has a similar note. "This is inconsistent with the legend of Achilles' education by Cheiron, and is another indication that the Phoenix-episode is a composition independent of the accepted legends of the Iliad". The verses which apparently contradict the Cheiron legend are;

I 485: *καί τε τοσοῦτον ἔθηκα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
ἐκ θυμοῦ φιλέων, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐθέλεσκες ἅμ' ἄλλῳ  
οὐτ' ἐς δαῖτ' ἰέναι οὐτ' ἐν μεγάροισι πάσασθαι,  
πρίν γ' ὅτε δῆ σ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γούνεσσι καθίσσας  
ὄψον ἄσαιμι προταμῶν καὶ οἶνον ἐπισχών.  
πολλάκι μοι κατέδενσας ἐπὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα  
οἶνον ἀποβλύζων ἐν νηπιέῃ ἀλεγεινῇ.*

The duties and trials of Phoenix closely resemble those of the nurse of Orestes as told by herself in the Choephoroi. No doubt these things seemed to him sufficient to make him a man of great importance in the eyes of Achilles, as they surely do in the eyes of the critics. I am unable to follow the argument that because Achilles had been an infant "mewing and puking" in old Phoenix's arms he could not therefore have been instructed in medicine by Cheiron or by anyone else. To such a pass has higher criticism brought men of the greatest learning and the soundest judgment! Düntzer objected to the use of *ἐς δαῖτα* in the third verse quoted above, since he was "offended at the idea of an infant in arms going to a banquet", quoted approvingly by Leaf. Telemachus sends the beggar-Odysseus to the city, ρ 10: *δοῦρ' ἂν ἐκεῖθι δαῖτα πτωχεύῃ* which means that he may there beg his



food, the idea of beg a "banquet" would be absurd. This is but one of the many places where the word must refer to the simplest sort of food. The verse in question then simply means, "Thou wouldst not go to thy meals with another, nor take food in thy room, until I put thee on my knees".

The events and speeches of the Presbeia and all references to Phoenix in subsequent books agree in showing that he was an original though unimportant participant in the action of the Iliad.

The presence of Nestor made it impossible for another old man of decidedly inferior rank and ability to play more than a humble part in the economy of the poem, while on the other side the prominence of Patroclus excluded him from achieving eminence as the friend and companion of Achilles.

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Professor Rothe, *Ilias als Dichtung* 227 ff., has discussed the arguments previously advanced in regard to Phoenix and has so fully covered the literature of this subject, that I have limited my references to the writings of von Christ and Doctor Leaf, two of the foremost defenders of the Kernel or Ur-Ilias theory of the composition of the Iliad.



VI.—ΠΑΡΑΛΟΥΣΘΑΙ IN ARISTOPHANES' ANAGYRUS  
FR. 55 K.

Twice in his lost plays Aristophanes employed the unusual composite *παρалоῦσθαι*, which he probably coined himself (it is cited for no other author), once in the *Tagenistae* (*παρалоῦται* Poll. 7. 168 = fr. 524 K.) and once in the *Anagyrus* (fr. 55 K.). Its use in the last-named play gave rise to an ancient comment which is preserved in Photius and Suidas (in an abbreviated form in Hesychius) as follows: *παρалоῦμαι παροιμακῶς. εἰώθεισαν γὰρ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς βαλανείοις οἱ πλούσιοι παρалоῦειν τοὺς πένητας. Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀναγύρῳ· "ἀλλὰ πάντα χρὴ παρалоῦσθαι καὶ τοὺς σπόγγους ἐάν"*. This quotation from the *Anagyrus* is in turn explained as follows, in the usual scholiastic manner: *οἶον συνεισιέναι τοῖς πλουσίοις, ὥστε μηδὲ σπόγγους φέρειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκείνων χρῆσθαι*. Bergk (in Meineke), Dindorf, Blaydes, and Kock all treat the quotation as complete and as forming a single Eupolidean verse. Kock alone attempts to explain its meaning, and Bergk alone frankly acknowledges that the passage is obscure.<sup>1</sup>

It is a singular fact that no scholar, so far as I am aware, has drawn attention to the noticeable lack of harmony between the quotation, as it now stands in Photius and Suidas, and the explanations, manifestly based upon the passage in Aristophanes, that precede and follow the quotation.<sup>2</sup> To the ancient grammarians the gloss *παρалоῦσθαι* seemed to be a proverbial expression. Characteristically they sought the origin of the proverb in an *ἔθος*, and the passage in the *Anagyrus* appeared to supply

<sup>1</sup> Kock follows Bergk in citing under the same number, as belonging to the same passage in the *Anagyrus*, a reference in Eustathius (1604. 18) to a certain article used in bathing as a substitute for the sponge, but both of them neglect to quote the pertinent portion of the Eustathian passage. From Eustathius it appears, as Blaydes justly observed, that the word used in the *Anagyrus* was *σπαρτίον*. This should be listed as a separate fragment, for the word was not used in the passage which Suidas and Photius quote, though it may have come from the same neighborhood.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf in the *Thesaurus* expresses the opinion that the first sentence (*παροιμακῶς το πένητας*) should follow the quotation, as being in explanation of it.



the necessary details for the construction of the ἔθος. Since this passage furnished the sole evidence for the "custom", we are of course not bound to accept the explanation of the proverb if the passage really gives no authority for it.<sup>1</sup> We are first told that "in former times (referring, of course, to the time of Aristophanes) the rich used to παραλούειν the poor in the public baths". In the quotation which follows as a witness to the ἔθος nothing is said about either the rich or the poor, but only that "all should παραλούσθαι and never mind their sponges". It would seem either that the full context required for the confirmation of the preceding statement was not quoted by the author of the article, or else that a portion of the quotation originally in the article was omitted by the epitomizer or by a copyist of the work from which Photius and Suidas drew. That the latter inference is correct is at once apparent when we read the interpretation that follows the quotation: "Equivalent to saying that they should go into (the bath) with the rich, so as not to be obliged even to bring sponges, but to be able to use theirs". From this interpretation we cannot avoid drawing the conclusion that in the original quotation there was not only a reference to the rich, but also a verb equivalent in meaning to συνεισιέναι. If this is so, there was also a reference to the poor, and the whole quotation furnished, or rather seemed to furnish, a complete illustration of the statement of fact given, as an explanation of the origin of the proverbial expression, at the beginning of the article.

For so serious an omission an epitomizer or a careless copyist is more likely to have been responsible than the first author of the article, and the omission is not likely to have been intentional, but caused rather by an inadvertence of a mechanical, scribal, sort. The explanation which suggests itself is that, between the beginning of the quotation and the verb παραλούσθαι (which furnished the lemma), the verb or participle intervened which is represented in the paraphrase by συνεισιέναι, and that this verb or participle was perhaps initially similar to παραλούσθαι, for example παρακολουθεῖν. On this assumption it is a simple matter to supply from the article as a whole the gist of the original quotation, though of course the forms actually used by

<sup>1</sup> But see Kock's interpretation, referred to below. On the large proportion of such notes, purporting to give ἱστοριῶν ἀπόδοσις, that contain nothing but inferences from the text, see Rutherford, Chapter in the History of Annotation, p. 387.



the poet, apart from those which are preserved intact, are beyond our reach. The thought, at any rate, certainly was: ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς πένητας χρή, παρακολουθοῦντας τοῖς πλουσίοις εἰς τὰ βαλανεῖα, παραλοῦσθαι καὶ τοὺς σπόγγους εἶναι.

The words which the editors have given as a single verse were, therefore, not originally so written, for between ἀλλὰ πάντας and παραλοῦσθαι must have stood the subject of the infinitive, defining πάντας, and the clause in which the poet explained the means by which the desired result, παραλοῦσθαι, was to be attained. However, though the Eupolidean verse is broken up, yet the unmistakably Eupolidean character of the last five words, which are probably preserved in their original order, furnishes sufficient evidence that the passage was written in this metre. Its use in the parabasis of the Anagyrus is attested by fr. 54 K. The words fall readily into Eupolideans, as for example:

ἀλλὰ πάντας, φήμ' ἐγώ,  
παρακολουθοῦντας μετὰ τῶν πλουσίων ἐκάστοτε  
τοὺς πένητας χρή παραλοῦσθαι, καὶ τοὺς σπόγγους εἶναι.

It is obvious that the poet is proposing an innovation,—that the poor shall do in future a thing which they have not been in the habit of doing. The ancient grammarian, we see, had no warrant for deducing from this passage the existence of so absurd a "custom" as the bathing of the poor by the rich. It is obvious, again, that the poet is suggesting in mock earnestness a preposterous arrangement which is to prove to the advantage of the unwashed classes. The poor are no longer, for lack of money, to go without baths, as the poet in Nub. 835 accuses the philosophers of doing ὑπὸ τῆς φειδωλίας. The grammarians correctly interpreted the injunction "never mind your sponges" as meaning that the poor are to use the sponges which the rich bring to the bath, instead of their own. We are reminded of the trick which the stingy man in Theophrastus (Char. 30. 8) employed in order to save himself a trifling expense at the bath. Shouting to his slave "The oil you bought for me is rank", he borrowed his neighbor's oil. The well-to-do citizen went to the bath provided with the necessary toilet articles, including soap and sponge. His slave (ἀκόλουθος) carried them,<sup>1</sup> together with

<sup>1</sup> Arist. Fr. 139 K. εἰ παιδαρίοις ἀκολουθεῖν δεῖ σφαῖραν καὶ στλεγγίδ' ἔχοντα, Luc. Lex. 2.



the fee for the βαλανεύς. The fee was of course the heaviest single item of expense.<sup>1</sup> In order to get out of paying it the shameless man in Theophrastus (Char. 9. 8) dips up his own water from the λουτήρ and tells the bath-attendant to go hang; cf. the metaphorical expression Arist. Pac. 1103 ἐγὼ ἐμαντῷ βαλανεύσω with the scholium. The rich man was usually attended in public by one or more attendants, and these would naturally assist him at the bath by sundry services. The ἀκόλουθοι of course paid no fee, although they too *incidentally* got a bath. This fact, as it seems to me, furnishes the motive underlying the poet's interesting proposal, which is characterized by the same sort of absurdity as is found in most of the innovations recommended in parabases, e. g., Ach. 717 ff., Vesp. 1120 f., Av. 752 ff., Thes. 832 ff. The poor are henceforth to follow the rich into the bath-houses, pretending to be their attendants, and in this way are to get their baths for nothing, without having to provide for themselves sponge, soap, fee, or anything. It is an entirely practicable plan, for all its absurdity, since the presence of an extra ἀκόλουθος in attendance upon a rich man would pass unnoticed.

From this interpretation emerges a clear and appropriate meaning of the verb παραλούσθαι. The active cannot mean "iuxta lavare" (Thesaurus), "bathe together" (L. and S.), "simul lavare (cum ditioribus)", "have a joint bath" (Blaydes). This definition seems to have been framed under the influence of συνεισιέναι; but the preposition παρα- could hardly be practically the equivalent of συν-. παραλούσθαι is middle, not passive; the active, which occurs only in the article in Photius and Suidas, was probably never used in antiquity. The meaning of the middle is "get a bath on the side", "incidentally", or "on the sly", in short "get a free bath". The notion of slyness or secrecy is occasionally found in compounds of παρα-, e. g. Arist. Eccl. 226 αὐταῖς παροψωνοῦσιν, where the scholiast correctly interprets λάθρα ὀψωνοῦσιν, Vesp. 481 παρεμβαλοῦμεν "slip in parenthetically" (see Starkie's note), and Eur. Med. 910 γάμους παρεμπολῶντος ἀλλοίους "smuggle in alien wedlock" (Earle). But more often the preposition indicates simply an activity or thing that is

<sup>1</sup> Two obols, according to Lucian, l. c., who probably had in mind the classical period at Athens. Starkie ad Nub. 835 states that it was two chalkoi, but that was for the sanctuary at Andania in 96 B. C.; see Dittenberger, Syl.<sup>3</sup> 658, I. 106.



incidental or extra, as in *παραδιδάσκειν* (see Wilhelm, *Urk. dramat. Aufführ.*, pp. 23, 28) and *παραχορήγημα* (see Rees in *Class. Phil.* II, p. 394).

The meaning of the passage quoted from the *Anagyrus* is therefore very different from what Kock thought it to be when he surmised that the poet seriously admonishes all the citizens to revive "antiquum illum lavandi morem" of the good old days, when "qui lavabantur alter alterum adiuvant, pauper divitem, dives pauperem, ut spongiis non opus esset". This particular "ancient custom" is Kock's own gratuitous invention, due to the old grammarian's innocent *εἰώθεισαν πρότερον*. The sponge was not to be discarded, as Kock thought, in favor of the helpful neighborly hand, but the rich man's sponge was to serve for the poor man also. The proposal was for the benefit of the unwashed poor, not of the whole body of citizens. And the whole thing was a joke.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by Sir JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1911.

During the past year the following Parts of the Oxford English Dictionary have appeared: Jan. 2, 1911, Si-Simple (Volume IX), by W. A. Craigie, M. A., LL. D.; April 1, 1911, Scouring-Sedum (Volume VIII), by Henry Bradley; July 1, 1911, Team-Tezkere (Volume IX), by Sir James A. H. Murray; Oct. 2, 1911, Simple-Sleep (Volume IX), by W. A. Craigie, M. A., LL. D. Thus the great work is gradually approaching completion, and those of us who saw the beginning may possibly see the end. The usual epithets of "magnificent", "monumental", and the like, have been long since exhausted, and we have simply to record the facts, and leave epithets to the imagination. The plan and treatment are familiar to all scholars, and those of us whose regular business it is to record progress have only to attend to our business, hoping to live long enough to see the end.

Pursuing the illustrations of words, with which the readers of these articles are familiar, I note the O. E. 'sib', of which examples are given from Beowulf on to 1858 of the substantive, and from Beowulf on to 1891 of the adjective, e. g., "Grand 'sib' hen canaries, pink-eyed strain, to breed light mules",—a technical use of the word 'mules'. The adjective use of 'sibbe', in the sense of "related", is seen from Wyclif to Christopher North; and in that of a kinsman or kinswoman, 1894, F. S. Ellis, Reynard the Fox, "My old-time 'sib', my ancient crony". So note 'sibness' and 'sibred', and, in the East Anglian dialect, "the banns of marriage", "Probably from the mention, in the banns, of 'sibred' as an impediment to the marriage", example given as late as 1884.

Interesting examples are found of Sibyl from the Cursor Mundi (1300) to 1842, and even later, for we have in Dr. Coles's *Dies Irae*: "Teste David cum Sibylla". So examples of the adjective 'Sibylline' from 1579-80, North's Plutarch, on to 1882, Farrar's *Early Christianity*. While we find, 'side-step', we miss 'side-swipe', but it may come in when we reach the main-word 'swipe'. We owe 'Simon Pure' to "The name of a Quaker in Mrs. Centlivre's comedy, A bold stroke for a wife (1717)".

Simony' is found from the 'Ancren Riwe', 1225, on, the latest example being from Freeman's *Norman Conquest* (1876), although it is very common since the 13th century.



Passing on, we find the word 'Scratch-back' in the sense of an instrument, and of a toy, but we miss the use, common in America, applied to a piece of cornbread with rough, corrugated surface, often used for breakfast in the southern parts of the United States. 'Scratch' is well-known from Caxton on, and is probably formed by metathesis.

'Scuppernong' is marked U. S., and defined as the name of a river in North Carolina, and applied to the grape that is indigenous to the valley of the river, but it is a question whether the grape does not give its name to the river, and so precede the river in terminology. Cannot some writer settle the question?

In a vain effort to perpetuate correct spelling, it is well to repeat the note appended to 'Scythe': "The etymologically correct spelling 'sithe' was preferred by Johnson, but his authority has not prevailed against the currency of the spelling with 'sc', due to erroneous association with L. 'scindere', to cut. Cf. 'scissors'". And yet the great argument of sciolists in behalf of our present spelling, is that, if we change it in accord with the spelling reformers, "we obscure the 'etymology'". O wonderful etymology! Let not the public be deceived by that argument for our present incongruous spelling. The simple 'Sea' fills over twenty-one columns, and its compounds some twenty more, so that we have a very large number of words and phrases of which this simple little Old English word forms a part.

The word 'Seal', the animal, is of Teutonic origin, whereas Seal, the device, is of Latin origin, 'sigillum', both as noun and verb. The latter part of the article contains many words of Latin origin, but on the whole the two portions of the language are here fairly mixed.

"The double section Team-Tezkere contains 2068 main words, 255 combinations explained under these, and 417 entries of obsolete forms, etc., amounting to 2740". Comparison of this Dictionary is made with Johnson, Cassell, Century, and Funk, showing the great superiority in number of words of the New English Dictionary over each of the others. Dr. Murray's Prefatory Note should be read for useful information, and for reference to certain words.

The 'Th' words are reserved for the next Part in 'T'. The pronunciation of Teat is given as 'tit', although in our youth we heard only 'tīt', dim. 'tittie', which is marked 'dial'. The word 'telegram' is not traced further back than 1852, but while 'telegrapheme' is given the preference in formation, 'telegram' prevailed over it in use. The editor thinks that "tells his tale", Milton L'Allegro 67, probably belongs under Tell 17, "relate a story", but most editors explain it as "counts his number or sum (i. e. of sheep)", and this writer agrees with the editors, even if "no instance has been found before the 19th c.<sup>1</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> But cf. Prof. Hart's letter in *The Nation* for Jan. 11, 1912. See also *per contra* Prof. Kenyon, *Nation*, Jan. 25, and Prof. Hart's reply, *Nation*, Feb. 15.



expression in a numerical sense". Tell fills eight columns with its definitions. But lack of space will not permit much further notice of this Part.

While 'tertium quid' is briefly defined, we miss any notice of its application in American politics during Mr. Jefferson's administration to that small section of the state-rights Democrats who opposed his administration, of which section Mr. John Randolph was the leader, Mr. James Mercer Garnett and others were his followers, and who were known as the 'quids'. While all American usages of terms are not noted, we find 'the Texas' marked 'Western U. S.' and defined as "The uppermost structure of a river steamer, containing the pilot-house and officers' quarters", and illustrated by a quotation from 'Americanisms' by the late Professor Schele De Vere, of the University of Virginia. The last word 'Tezkere, teskere' may need definition for some readers, as it did for this one, meaning "A Turkish official memorandum or certificate of any kind". It is illustrated by quotations from Coryat, 1612, on to 1905, the Dundee Advertiser, where it is applied to a passport.

The last Section, 'Simple-Sleep', issued during the year is also a double section, containing "1611 main words, 220 combinations explained under these, and 577 subordinate entries of obsolete or variant forms, in all 2408". Comparison with some other prominent dictionaries gives the following: words recorded in Johnson 259; Cassell, 1109; Century, 1250; Funk, 1265; Here, 3277. 'Sin', as 'noun', fills over two columns, as 'verb', over one more, and as 'adv., prep., and conj.', in the Scotch and northern dialects, about one more. 'Since', a reduced form of 'sithence', fills about two columns. In a note on 'Sincere', we are glad to find that "there is no probability in the old explanation from 'sine cera' without wax". It is only surprising that there should ever have been such in anyone's imagination. We are informed that the common Latin phrase *sine qua non* "occurs in Boethius, and had its source in Aristotelian expressions". A little more than four columns are given to the common verb 'sing', and more than a dozen to 'single' and its compounds or derivatives, among which we find 'singlefoot' marked "U. S.", and defined also as "fox-trot", but we miss the more common definition in this country "dog-trot". It is a very comfortable gait, especially for a long journey, and if the English do not know it, they don't know what they miss. The word 'Sistine', common as it is in usage, is omitted as a separate word, but under 'Sixtine' we find "more rarely used as a variant of 'Sistine, the special epithet of the chapel and bridge built by Sixtus IV (1471-1484)". Why, then, should 'Sistine' be omitted?

'Skedaddle' is marked 'colloq.', and explained as "Orig. U. S. military slang, introduced during the Civil War of 1861-5", the earliest examples being from 1862, although we had a notable



example of the fact on July 21, 1861 (cf. "Battlefields of the South", London, 1863, I. 250). A transitive use is also given in the sense "To spill (milk, etc.)", and marked 'dial.', with example from 1862. Many words beginning with 'sk' are of Scandinavian origin, but 'skillet', with its ending 'et', "makes it probable that the source was AF. or OF".

JAMES M. GARNETT.

A Concordance to Beowulf, compiled by ALBERT S. COOK, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University. Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1911. [G. E. Stechert & Co., agents, New York City.]

Professor Cook has conferred a benefit upon students of English by his recent publication of this work. In the opinion of this writer the work was worth doing, and will prove very useful to students of "Beowulf". When I look back thirty years, and recall the hesitation with which I committed to the press a certain translation of "Beowulf", made while reading the poem with a graduate class of students at St. John's College, Annapolis, Md., I cannot but be astonished at the progress which the study of "Beowulf", and indeed the study of Old English, has made since that time. We have just lost the coryphaeus of our studies, full of years and of honors, "*manna mildust ond mon-ðwærust, lēodum līdost, ond lof-geornost*". He has not lived in vain, and wherever Old English is studied, the name of Professor March will be honored and revered.

Professor Cook has used the text of Wyatt's second edition (Cambridge, 1898), but he rightly says: "The progress of scholarship will certainly result in a better text". While Wyatt's is the best in English, we have Holthausen's in German, but I am inclined to think that someone of our younger scholars will have to issue an eclectic text. When that is done, *si vita maneat*, I should like to revise the translation referred to above, for I have long been aware of the necessity, but I wished to see *first* a revised text, which might serve as the basis for a revised translation. All work done on the poem is an aid to the desired end, and I trust it may be eventually attained. I have observed a disposition in some English translations to use my bibliography without acknowledgment, for when it was first made, there was nothing to go on, as far as I know, and I made the first compilation. This concordance, Professor Cook says, was prepared some years ago as the first instalment of a projected concordance to the complete extant remains of Old English poetry. I have not heard of any further instalment, but I hope that Professor Cook will not relinquish his intention. The work was printed in Germany, doubtless because printing is done there much cheaper than in this country. The printing is beautifully done, and, it is



hoped, accurately, for, as a general thing, works printed in Germany are more liable to mistakes in composition and proof-reading than those printed in this country. I cannot spare the time necessary to test this point, but in a book of 436 octavo pages, it is likely that there are some errors. Only *eight errata* are given, all in occurrences of words, that number having been omitted. The printers will be fortunate if these are all, for it is almost impossible to avoid *errata*. Professor Cook and his printers are to be congratulated on the completion of the work.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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**Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A study in Survivals** by JOHN CUTHBERT LAWSON, M. A. Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Formerly Craven Student of the University. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1910. Pp. xii, 620.

Mr. Lawson has been unfortunate in the manner in which he has chosen to treat his most interesting subject. In two years' residence in Greece, he had the opportunity of observing, and hearing of local beliefs, customs, and traditions. Presented as a personal narrative his book would have had an original documentary value. But the author preferred to write a formal treatise, based on the well-known works of Bernard Schmidt and Politis on the popular customs and conceptions of the modern Greeks, introducing his own observations, and the results of his readings in the works of modern travelers in Greece. Fifty years ago such a treatment of the subject would perhaps have been adequate, when the study of comparative religions, and the collecting of folklore, tales and traditions, were in their initial stages. But Mr. Lawson is perfectly ignorant of the literature of these two important branches of human knowledge, of which the title of his book is so suggestive, and as a result, almost every page calls for comment in the way of the confirmation or denial of facts, the questioning and refutation of theories. A critic cannot undertake to rewrite a book of six hundred pages, but he can at least point out the defects in treatment, and the gaps in the author's knowledge in certain parts of the book.

If modern folk-etymology attributes to blue (*γαλάζιος*) beads in virtue of their color, the power of assuring an abundant supply of milk (*γάλα*) in the breasts of women and animals (13), the belief really goes back to the virtues attributed to the stone "galactites" of the lapidaries (cf. Psellus, Migne, Patrol. Graec. CXXII, 891 a, Orphei Lithica, ed. Abel, 21, 139-140; 188-191), which also advise the use of the same stone as a charm against



## CHAPTER II.

### TEXT AND ANNOTATION.

#### § 1 Plotius.

Lead tablet 31.6 x 11.3 cm. without writing on the reverse.  
A preliminary transcription without restoration was published in  
The Johns Hopkins University Circular, 1910, No. 6, pp. 8-9.

bona · pulchra proserpina .lut.nis · uxor  
seiue · me · saluam deicere · oportet  
eripias · salutem · c.....lorem · uires · uirtutes ·  
ploti · tradas · .....uiro · tuo · ni · possit · cogitati  
5 sueis · hoc · uita.....illunc · \ onibus  
febri · quartan.e · t.....nae · cottidia.ae  
quas · .....uct.....  
eu..cant.....usq.....  
...s · eripia.....nc · uictimam  
10 tibi · trad.....rpi.....e · me  
proserpin.....ue · m.....<sup>iam</sup>eruos dicere  
oportet · m.....rcessitum · canem  
tricepitem · qui.....cor · eripiat · polliciar  
illi · te · daturum t.es · uictimas · \ us  
15 palma.....rica · por.um · nigrum ·  
hoc · sei · pe...cerit.....  
m.....r.....  
cum · compote · fe...is · do tibi · cap..  
ploti · auon.....oserpina · s.....  
20 do tibi · fron.....ti · proserpina · saluia  
do ... b. su.....ploti · proserpin.  
saluia do.....s · plo..







the evil eye, a superstition inveighed against in modern Greek confessors' manuals (W. R. Paton, *Folklore*, V. 275). Further, blue beads have a world-wide use outside of Greece for the same purpose (e. g. *Folklore*, XII, 268; XIII, 202, 337; XV, 189). If the word *βασκανία* is being superseded in popular speech by *ματλαχμα* (9), it is still retained in a number of written charms which should have been cited (e. g. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 295 ff.). When use has not been made of Roscher's study on Ephialtes (*Abhandl. d. Philol.-Hist. Classe d. Königl. Sächsischen Gess. d. Wiss.* XX (1903) Part II), which would have elucidated so many points in this book, it is perhaps superfluous to note that in Auvergne a spirit named Tsouton (*presseur*) fills the same part (P. Sébillot, *Litt. oral de l'Auvergne*, 210), as the Greek *βραχνᾶς* (21). Since the author has not considered (23-5) the analogous forms of the rain ceremony, in which a naked person is drenched with water (Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed. I, 146; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed. I, 272-5; Haddon, *Head Hunters*, 106, 218), one must accept with hesitation his statement that the rain-maker was a boy and not a girl, and one must doubt whether *περιπορεία* is the etymology of *περπερία*, when one finds a more probable Servian source for it (L. Sainéan, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Philologie*, XXXI, 279). In view of the mass of evidence that has been gathered by Grimm and others (D. M. I, 144-5, III, 64; F. S. Krauss, *Mélusine*, II, 43; A. Vermoloff, *Rev. des trad. pop.* XXII, 345 ff.), Mr. Lawson should not have had any doubt (44-552) of the position the prophet Elijah occupies as the successor of the sun- and thunder-gods. For the Greek celebration of the Roman festivals, Rosalia and Brumalia (45, 221), use should have been made of what Tomaschek has written (*Sitzungsb. d. Wien. Ak. Phil.-Hist. Classe*, LX, 352 ff.), and such a popular book as Dyer's *Gods in Greece* (86-90) contains a number of references to modern Greek authorities on their survival, unknown to Mr. Lawson.

"A genuine remembrance of Pan" is a much abridged version (77-8) of the cycle of tales represented in the "Jude im Dornschen" (Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 110; cf. Bolte, *Herrigs Archiv* XC, 289 ff.). But why has the author failed to connect with the ancient dread of whistling at noon for fear of Pan (79) modern analogous instances of the same superstitions noted by himself (143, 154, 160) and by others (e. g. Georgeakis & Pineau, *Le folk-lore de Lesbos*, 342 ff.). It is unfortunate, too, that he does not know what a far traveled cry is "Pan is dead" (F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde* 257). When Mr. Lawson shows no acquaintance with two such important studies on Charon (98-117) as those of Pio (1877) and Hesseling (1897), one can not fairly criticise his treatment of the subject from an archaeological point of view, but what to say when he considers himself as the first to find in the custom of Charon's obol (106 ff.; 405 ff.) a misunderstanding of a primitive practise, due to



the fear of a soul returning to its body. A succession of scholars of whom Rohde is the most important, had come years ago to the same conclusion in regard to the misunderstanding of an earlier custom, and Sartori (*Arch. für Religionswissenschaft*, II, 205) and Karłowicz (*Mélusine*, X, 56 ff.) presented the evidence for the existence of the belief, which inspired the primitive practise. Then it is equally beside the mark to find peculiarly Greek characteristics in a Greek version of "Gevatter Tod" (Grimm, No. 44; R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 291), of which Schmidt (*Griechischen Märchen*, 151) and Carnoy and Nicolaïdes (*Traditions de l'Asie Mineure*, 144) have published versions, and to find the Greek fates in a much abridged version of "Die drei Spinnerinnen" (Grimm, No. 14; cf. F. Liebrecht, *Jahrb. f. röm. und engl. Lit.* III, 218; R. Köhler, *op. cit.* 47, 64, 102, 345).

The attribution of goats' or asses' feet to Nereids, far from being a local trait, borrowed from a characteristic of satyrs (133), is characteristic of supernatural beings from Arabia to Spain and the far North (W. Hertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 421, 424, 425, 441, n. 8, 443; Vernaleken, *In the Land of Marvels*, 294; Menendez y Pelayo, *Tratado de los romances viejos*, II, 52; Grimm, *D. M.* I, 356, n. 4), and as there are analogous traditions of families due to the union of such beings to mortals, from Greenland to the South Sea Islands, not quite to the point is the remark (134-5) that "the epithet 'Nereid-born' may formerly have been not merely an exaggerated compliment to the lady's beauty, but a recognition of high birth calculated to conciliate the future mother-in-law". Just as widely spread is the belief (136 ff.) that the possession of the cap of a spirit gave a mortal power over him (Laistner, *Rätsel der Sphynx*, I, 155, 222, 340, II, 49; Politis, *Μελέτη*, II, 437 ff.), if Mr. Lawson has not found evidence for it in classical Greek literature. But to attribute a greater antiquity to this method of catching a Nereid, than to that of stealing her clothes, merely betokens a perfect ignorance on the part of the author of the thousand and one swan-maiden stories (cf. e. g., V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes* VII, 37; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, 255 ff.; Maass, *Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alterthum*, XIV, 26, n. 4). That the sixteenth century Cretan tradition of the appearance of "Diana and her fair nymphs" (164) is a survival of the worship of the local goddess of the island, is clear, but it is most probable that the Italian name had been adopted in Crete, where the local deity was identified with Diana under Roman rule, and where the Italian influence due to four centuries of Venetian rule from the beginning of the thirteenth century, has revealed itself in beliefs less widely spread (e. g. Hesseling, *Charos* 41-2), than that of Diana, which has survived to the present day in almost every Romance country (Romania, XXXIV, 201; XXXV, 112; XXXVI, 625; Studimed, III, 461, n. 4). With the *καλαὶς κυράδες*



(171) are to be compared the "bonae mulieres" of Occidental Europe, and the offerings made them (Grimm, D. M. II, 885; Schönbach, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Ak. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, CXLII, Part vii, 23) and it is to be noted that the "bona dea" (Grimm, D. M. I, 235, 356-7) is as distinctive a personality as ἡ καλή (169).

When the section on Gelloudes has been written without an acquaintance with the texts published, and the studies on the child-slaying witch Gyllo, due to Sathas, Gaster, Pradel, Reitzenstein and Worrell, one can hardly criticise it in detail, but it may be noted that the name still occurs in the singular in the Cyranides (F. de Mely, *Les lapidaires grecs*, II, 70). The story of the princess who was discovered to be a strigla or ogress, is only known to the author (183) as the introductory episode of the story of the mother, who sends her son on dangerous quests for the sake of her dragon-lover, such as it appears in a Tenos version of which Adamantios collected several variants (281-2). The first episode, itself a variant of "Der goldene Vogel" (Grimm, No. 57; cf. Köhler, *op. cit.* 54; Macculloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, 350 ff.; Paton, *Folklore*, X 495; Kennedy, *Fireside Stories*, 47), in which the youngest of three brothers succeeded, where the two others failed, is found as an independent story in Hahn's *griechische und albanesische Märchen* (II, 25), which contains two analogues of the combined stories (II, 279, 283). Of the second story Hahn gives three variants (I, 176, 215; II, 234), while other versions have been collected in Cyprus (F. Liebrecht, *Jahrb. f. röm. und engl. Lit.* XI, 379) and Calymnos (W. R. Paton, *Folklore*, XI, 340). That there is a connection between the minor episodes of the quests of the hero for the water of life, fruits, etc., in this widely spread tale (cf. Liebrecht, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1870, 1418; Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, 24, 29, 35, 289; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 276-7), and "the ancient fable of Heracles' journey to the land of the Hesperides in search of the golden apples, and of his victory over the guardian-dragon Ladon" is scarcely perceptible. On the other hand one finds the closest analogues of the Tenos version of the tale in Indian versions.

But it is useless to continue to uncover the sins of Mr. Lawson's scholarship, when it is much easier to say once for all that he was not in any way prepared for the task he took up. Nor as a novice can all the blame be laid at his door. It was the part of those who directed his studies to impress upon him the breadth and difficulties of his subject, and to only recommend the book to be printed if it showed the necessary powers on the part of the author. What is most astonishing is that such a work should come from Cambridge, the home of the greatest living scholar of comparative religion in its widest definition, Dr. J. G. Frazer.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.



**The Vitality of Platonism and Other Essays.** By JAMES ADAM.  
 Edited by his Wife ADELA MARION ADAM. Cambridge,  
 University Press, 1911. Pp. viii + 242.

Six essays, dating from the last five years (1902-'07) of the author's life, are collected in this volume. In the first, entitled *The Vitality of Platonism*, Plato's thoughts on Nature and on human nature are sketched in outline, with parallels from English poets, chiefly Wordsworth and Tennyson, calculated to refute the opinion of those who would number Plato with the dead. Reference is of course made to his description of man as a *φύττον οὐκ ἔγγειον, ἀλλὰ οὐράνιον*, and to his doctrine of the World-Soul. The first of these points introduces us to the theme of the second essay, *The Divine Origin of the Soul*; the other leads up to the third, *The Doctrine of the Logos in Heraclitus*, which in turn serves as prelude to the fourth essay, *The Hymn of Cleanthes*. To speak of Cleanthes is to speak of the Stoic theodicy; hence we are naturally conducted to a consideration of the subject of the fifth essay, *Ancient Greek Views of Suffering and Evil*. In the final essay, which bears the title *The Moral and Intellectual Value of Classical Education*, the author states with obvious conviction the just claims of his favorite studies upon the attention of a thoughtful world.

Written for various occasions and (the last alone excepted) for oral presentation, the essays in their present state possess an inner coherence greater than one expects to find in posthumous publications of the sort. The logical arrangement of the whole and at least to some extent the adaptation of the lecture to the essay form we may confidently set down to the credit of the accomplished editor, who not only rendered a like service for her husband's *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, but shares with him the honors due to their joint edition of Plato's *Protagoras*. Yet the real cause of the essential congruity and coherence of these essays among themselves and with the earlier publications of the author is to be sought in the continuity of his thought. In all these works the same mind is revealed engaged upon the same large themes. Inevitably there is much repetition, which must have been even more conspicuous in the lectures as delivered; for in the essays the same thoughts and illustrations are continually recurring. But no one would find fault with them for that reason; the fact is rather a source of added interest, since it is in itself a means of revealing the inner life of a singularly sincere and ardent scholar. The work of James Adam is a mirror in which one may read his character and note with graphic distinctness the influence exerted on it by the study of the ancient classics, particularly of Plato; and it is no mean tribute to the character thus disclosed, that the reader instinctively feels that to know the man was to love him. If the author in



the last of these essays offers, as it were, the *apologia pro sua vita*, the Hellenist may justly comfort himself with the conviction that few kinds of study so fully vindicate in practice the validity of their claims as does his own.

In reviewing a posthumous volume one is naturally reluctant to temper with criticism the praise which is its due. In the present instance, fortunately, the points to which one would take exception are insignificant relative to the total matter presented. Yet since it is to be hoped and expected that many will read these essays, one may be pardoned for signaling several apparent errors and pointing out the need of further prosecuting researches which Dr. Adam had auspiciously begun. Thus it appears to the writer rather more than doubtful whether it were correct to speak of "the aetherial creative reason indwelling in the world" (p. 48) in reference to Euripides fr. 593 N.<sup>2</sup>: *σὲ τὸν αὐτοφυᾶ, τὸν ἐν αἰθερίῳ | ῥύμβῳ πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξανθ', | ὃν περὶ μὲν φῶς . . . ἀμφιχορεύει*. Here *πάντων φύσις* is the "universal frame" which the divine aether encircles, as in Troad. 884: *ὃ γῆς ὄχημα καπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἔδραν* it is said to be beneath and above the earth. So also in fr. 941 N.<sup>2</sup>: *ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἀπειρον αἰθέρα | καὶ γῆν περικτίζονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις*. The conception had a history, and one might almost say a career, in literature; for it may be traced through Ennius, Sc. 345, and Pacuvius, 86 ff., to Lucretius, 5, 317 ff., and onward. From this view it is still a far cry to the *πνεῦμα διήκον* of the Stoics, which appears in Vergil, Georg. 4, 221: *deum namque ire per omnes | terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum*. A relation subsists between the conceptions, but it is not that of identity; and it is only with the Stoic doctrine that one may justly compare the lines of Wordsworth which our author quotes (p. 48).

We may next refer to the doctrine of the *λόγος* in Heraclitus and its antecedents. Very much has been said on this subject, but it is still far from having obtained a satisfactory solution; for, as of all great conceptions, it is true of this that it looks before and after. To speak first of its antecedents, what is the precise implication of the words of Aristotle, Phys. 203<sup>b</sup> 11: *περιέχειν ἅπαντα καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾶν*, which are commonly referred to Anaximander? There are other passages in the literature of early Greek philosophy in which the verb *κυβερνᾶν* or an equivalent occurs. An historical view of such a doctrine obviously requires more than a vague allusion to "pantheism" or "hylozoism". The latter term, a prime favorite of certain historians in relation to the Milesians, appears to date from the time of Cudworth. If Cudworth chose to use it in describing his own doctrine, none would dispute his right to do so; but was he the type of a scholar fitted to define the thought of Thales or Anaximander? The exact study of early Greek philosophical thought and the interpretation of it in contemporary or fairly contemporary terms still remains largely a task for the future. In saying this one



does not imply that the historian may not regard the outcome of an historical process and work backward as well as forward. On the contrary, that is precisely the business of the historian ; but in doing so, he must guard against the insidious temptation to read the end into the beginning and thus to degrade development to the level of a growth in technical terminology. It is well to grasp the clue of continuity, for it alone distinguishes the labyrinth from chaos ; but, except as one notes the rise or extinction of differences, the progress registered will be little better than a succession of names and dates. Coming now to Heraclitus, it seems certain that his philosophy was a pantheism which made no distinction of physical and spiritual. His λόγος, then, may in a sense be said "to possess the attribute of Reason" (p. 92), being from one point of view the cosmic process itself, and from another the conscious subject of nature's operations. Yet all this might be true, and the λόγος still not owe its appellation to this fact. Burnet seems to be quite right in saying that the term λόγος means not reason, but discourse or word. In view of this fact the later history of the conception may prove to be significant. Thus we know that in the N. T. λόγος is often the synonym of εὐαγγέλιον, and that in the Johannine doctrine of the λόγος, the Christ is the Gospel Incarnate. Before the Christian era, but at a time not yet more clearly defined, the cult-myth or ιερὸς λόγος assumed in certain Mysteries the meaning of a holy evangel or θεῖος λόγος, as Christian writers said. In certain philosophical schools also, the λόγος of the school was esteemed sacred and eternal, as the Christian Fathers spoke of the αἰδῖος λόγος or the αἰώνιον εὐαγγέλιον, the 'Eternal Gospel'. Thus Epictetus(?), fr. 36, says, ἀθάνατον χρῆμα ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ αἰδῖον. One naturally thinks of Heraclitus, fr. 1 Diels: τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος ἀεὶ ἀξύνετοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρόσθεν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἀκούσαντες τὸ πρῶτον γινόμενων γὰρ πάντων κατὰ τὸν λόγον τόνδε ἀπείροισιν εἰκόασι. It will be admitted that there is here a most interesting strand of clues, but not one of them has yet been followed far enough to be of much use to the historian. Taken together, however, they seem to suggest that the doctrine of the λόγος is far from being fully understood.

The character and destiny of the soul likewise present a subject of great interest, to which Dr. Adam devoted much thought. But here too there are unsolved problems and matters calling for clearly marked distinctions. Thus when, according to the Orphic view, the soul at death returns to the gods, this homecoming may be differently conceived. Everything depends on the way in which the divine source of the soul is defined. At a late date, not yet determined, God, regarded as a metaphysical entity, was believed to utter the individual souls by a process of emanation, which implied the change of qualities or the acquisition of qualities. The return was effected by the process of reabsorption, whereby the soul was merged and absolutely



identified with the unitary Deity. Probably this development was due to Stoicism, but its history is not at all points clear. It was unmistakably accomplished by the time of Philo and the Neoplatonists. Dr. Adam cites Marcus Aurelius 4, 14: *μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναληφθήσῃ εἰς τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τὸν σπερματικὸν κατὰ μεταβολήν*. But this was clearly not the primitive conception. When Jacob said (Gen. 49, 29) "I am to be gathered unto my people; bury me with my fathers", he spoke after the manner of primitive man. Body and soul alike return to their sources: dust unto dust, but the spirit unto God who gave it. As Lucretius 2, 1113 says: *corpora distribuuntur et ad sua saecula recedunt*, and Hippocrates (6, 278 L.): *ἐπαναφέρει πρὸς τὴν ὁμοεθνήν ἕκαστον πρὸς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ*, so Plato, Tim. 79 E, says: *(πῦρ) πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν φερόμενον*. So also Lazarus (Lk. 16, 22) "was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom", whereas in John 1, 18: "the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him". In the latter passage it is clear that the Son is regarded both as the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and as the *λόγος προφορικός*. These passages show the need of sharp distinctions. The "bosom of the Father" is quite differently conceived from "Abraham's bosom", though both concepts spring from a common source: one is relative to metaphysics, the other to primitive thought. In earlier Greek literature the divine source of the soul is rather a republic of spirits than a metaphysically conceived Deity: the soul, at death, becomes *a* god, not God. In other words, early Greek religion knows nothing of emanation and reabsorption. We cannot, therefore, accept Dr. Adam's interpretation (p. 53 ff.) of Euripides, Suppl. 533: *πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα, | τὸ σῶμα δ' εἰς γῆν*, as implying reabsorption. So also Euripides, fr. 911 N.<sup>2</sup>: *Ζηνὶ προσμείξων* should be interpreted by Aristophanes, Nu. 229: *εἰ μὴ κρεμάσας τὸ νόημα καὶ τὴν φροντίδα | λεπτήν καταμείξας εἰς τὸν ὅμοιον ἀέρα*. This whole complex of ideas is inextricably interwoven with that of the philosophical *ἀρχή*, of which I have elsewhere written somewhat at length.

Erwin Rohde devoted his brilliant scholarship and comprehensive erudition to the study of *ψυχή*. On the anthropological side there is perhaps little of consequence to the Hellenist which he failed duly to note and correlate; but his survey of the history of the word and of the conceptions which cluster round it leaves much to be desired. It is a far cry from the Homeric *ψυχή*, regarded as a shadowy *εἶδωλον* of the living man, to the complex soul of the Platonic and Aristotelian psychology. When, and under what influences, did the *ψυχή* come to be regarded as the seat of the intellectual, emotional, and moral life of man? In later times the soul was regarded as tripartite, or one may even say that man was supposed to have three souls. So distinct were they that they could be distributed and assigned to different parts of the body, and they were so disparate that one might be thought mortal while the other was immortal.



This was in fact the most difficult point in regard to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. It seems clear that the concepts loosely united in the composite notion of the soul must have had a history, or rather each must have had a history of its own. From their several homes they come trailing clouds of glory or reproach. Yet this most interesting chapter of history remains still to be written. The doctrine of the divine origin of the soul is usually traced to Orphic influence, and Pindar is one of our earliest witnesses to it; yet, as Dr. Adam well observed (p. 37), in the very fragment (131 Bergk) in which he most emphatically states the "Orphic" view, the soul, in strict conformity with the Homeric conception, is called αἰῶνος εἰδωλον. Many similar illustrations might be offered to show that there is much left to be done before we shall understand the development of the ψυχή; but every honest effort to grasp the thought of the Greeks must help to define the problem and therefore to advance its solution.

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## REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOGIE, Vol. LXVI (1911).

Pp. 1-37. Zu Aischylos Agamemnon. E. Petersen. In line 12, for εὖτ' ἄν we should perhaps read αὐρῶν. Lines 250-2 mean: 'Gerechtigkeit gibt dem der litt das Wissen auf der Wage zu, was kommen soll, kannst du, sobald es geschah, hören'. The subject of προχαιρέτω, 252, is Klytemnestra. Τὰπὶ τούτοισιν, 255, is probably accusative rather than nominative: 'kehre denn wenigstens für das Weitere Wohlfahrt ein'. At 411, λέχος means 'wife', and στίβοι φιλόνορες refers to Helen's departure with Paris. At 412, for πάρεστι read Πάρις τε. At 415, φάσμα means Helen, not Menelaos; and κολοσσῶν, 416, refers to two famous statues of Apollo in Sparta. At 806, for πόρος read πόλις—a conjecture by no means new. Other passages discussed are: 801, 933, 985, 1116, 1455-61, 1468-73, 1478-9.

Pp. 38-55. Zu den attischen Uebergabeurkunden des 4. Jahrhunderts. W. Bannier. In the early years of the fourth century the treasures of the city are listed according to the place where they were stored. In the succeeding years the property of Athene is as a rule listed separately from that of the other deities.

Pp. 56-80. Humanistisches in der Anthologia Latina. L. Bertalot. Some of the poems which have been included in the second edition of Riese's Anthology (1906) really belong to the fifteenth century. No. 789 was written by a Milanese jurist, Ruggero del Conte, perhaps c. 1463. No. 811 is variously ascribed to Guarino of Verona, to his son Battista, and to Tito Vespasiano Strozzi. Nos. 831-847, 851, 854-5, were 'tituli' composed for the Palazzo Trinci at Foligno; their author was the Roman humanist Francesco da Fiano. Nos. 856-863 are a similar series of 'tituli' from Milan; they were written by Filelfo.

Pp. 81-93. Zu Caesars Bellum Civile. A. Klotz. The Bellum Civile was never revised by its author. It was not published until after his death, and then only in its unrevised form. This accounts for certain peculiarities in the language, and for various irregularities in the composition (e. g., 1. 7. 5; 2. 29. 3; etc.).

Pp. 94-139. "Theopomps Hellenika". W. Judeich. The author of this Oxyrhynchus fragment cannot be Theopompus. In all probability it is a part of the eighteenth book of Ephorus.

Pp. 140-146. Hom. πεφυζότες und Verwandtes. F. Solmsen. Πεφευγώς was changed to πεφυζώς (with reference to φύζα), in order



to express more clearly the intensive meaning of the perfect. So with Hesiod's word *λελιχμότες*. That is, *λελοιχότες* was assimilated to *λιχμάζω*.

Miszellen.—Pp. 147-149. Th. Birt. Orthographie in Athen. The word *ὀρθογράφος*, implied in an Attic inscription of the second or third century after Christ, meant a "litterator", a teacher of spelling.—Pp. 149-155. A. Brinkmann. Zur Geschichte der Schreibtafel. The practice of writing parallel to the shorter side of a book seems to have come in with the use of 'tabulae multiplices' or the many-leaved 'pugillares membranei'.—Pp. 155-160. A. Klotz. Miscellanea Vergiliana. (1) On the relation to one another of the various *Vitae Vergilianae*. Donatus follows Suetonius, and is himself followed by Servius and Philargyrius. Philargyrius in turn is the source of what we find in Focas and in the Scholia Bernensia. (2) The author of the Scholia Bernensia used three different authorities in his commentary on the *Bucolica*. (3) The statement in the *Vita* which bears the name of Probus, that Andes was thirty miles from Mantua, is merely a copyist's error. What was originally written was doubtless 'tria milia', not 'triginta'.—P. 160. G. Mercati. Zu Bd. LXV 607 ff. The *Ἐκθεσις λόγων περὶ Μακαρινῶν* and the *Ὀδοιπορίαὶ ἀπὸ Ἑδέμ τοῦ παραδείσου εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων* are found also in Cod. Vat. Gr. 1114.

Pp. 161-175. Randbemerkungen. W. Kroll. XVI. Textual notes on Anaximenes, p. 16, 25; 59, 3; 74, 14; 93, 17. XVII. On the Rhetor Anonymus ("Kornutos"), §§ 18, 157. XVIII. Notes on Süß' 'Ethos'. XIX. Notes on Menander, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*. XX. Notes on Seneca, *Quaest. Nat.* III 15, 3; III 18, 3.

Pp. 176-182. Eine aristophanische Reminiszenz? L. Radermacher. A comparison of the story of Herakles (in the *Frogs*) with the story of 'der starke Hans' (in Krauss, *Märchen der Südslaven*, I 195 ff.).

Pp. 183-189. Theramenes der Rhetor und Verwandtes. W. Süß. The passage about Theramenes, in the *Frogs*, 534 ff., refers not to his political activity, but to his rhetorical teaching. He wrote a treatise *περὶ σχημάτων*. A study of the early history of the term *σχῆμα*.

Pp. 190-198. Die Stufen der Wahrscheinlichkeit bei Karneades. H. Mutschmann. The three degrees of probability were (1) *φαντασία πιθανή*, (2) *φ. πιθανή καὶ περιωδευμένη*, (3) *φ. πιθανή καὶ περιωδευμένη καὶ ἀπερίσπαστος*. For an illustration, see the closing scene of Euripides' *Alcestis*, 1008 ff.

Pp. 199-225. Epigraphica. A. Elter. Notes on IG. 12, 5, n. 225; I. G. A. 370, 492 (*ἐπόεισεν* = faciundum curavit, and 'Aesop and his brothers' may be struck out of the list of artists), 412 (the artist was Grophon of Melos, not Ekphantos); C. I. A. 1, 332; I. G. A. 401 (in this inscription of the sixth century, from



Paros, both the hexameters and the pentameters are divided after the 'full third' foot'. Apparently the pentameter was regarded as a verse of five feet, not as a combination of two catalectic trimeters or penthemimers). [A. J. P. XXIX 370.]

Pp. 226-230. Ein Brief Platons. A. Brinkmann. The sixth letter of Plato has been called a forgery, because it is inconsistent with a passage of Strabo (XIII 1, 57, p. 610). But this whole passage of Strabo is inaccurate, and it cannot be used to disprove the genuineness of anything.

Pp. 231-236. Zu Ciceros erstem Buche de finibus. R. Philippson. Reply to H. Bignone's article, Riv. di Filol., 1909, pp. 54 ff. Discussion of §§ 30 ff. and 66.

Pp. 237-274. Das synchronistische Kapitel des Gellius (Noct. Att. XVII 21). O. Leuze. A part of this chapter is derived from the Chronica of Cornelius Nepos. A much larger part is taken from some writer, or writers, who followed a different scheme of Roman dates, the Varronian. For details, see p. 269.

Pp. 275-317 and 321-355. Der angebliche Einheitlichkeits- und Gleichheitsfanatismus in der Homerkritik und Homerehexegese Aristarchs. Ad. Roemer. A protest against the traditional opinion that Aristarchus attached an undue importance to the principle of analogy.

Miszellen.—Pp. 318-319. L. Radermacher. Nachtrag zu Rhein. Museum LXIII S. 551 ff. Parallel to the story of Damocles in a Westphalian folk-tale.—Pp. 319-320. F. Solmsen. Noch einmal arkad. ἀψευδῆων. This is a first singular subjunctive.

Pp. 356-392. Aristoteles 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία und die politische Schriftstellerei Athens. A. v. Mess. Aristotle's πολιτεία is based on a treatise written by some partisan of Theramenes.

Pp. 393-416. Ein spätrömischer Dichter und sein Glaubensbekenntnis. H. Schenkl. There is nothing in the works of Rutilius Namatianus which proves that he was a Pagan. Examination of passages: I 383-398, 439-452, 517-526.

Pp. 417-451. Humanistische Handschriften des Corpus agrimensorum Romanorum. C. Thulin.

Pp. 452-457. Zu Petronius. K. Busche. In Cap. 17, p. 14, 22 B<sup>4</sup>., for *subtilitate* read *subtili arte*; Cap. 45, p. 30, 15, for *male* read *valeat*; Cap. 79, p. 53, 23, for *diutius* read perhaps *distentius*; Troiae Halosis, 31, p. 60, for *tranquillo minor* read *tranquilla eminus*; Cap. 90, p. 61, 4, for *vocaret* read *invocaret*; Cap. 93, p. 63, 31, for *renovata* read perhaps *involuta*; Cap. 101, p. 69, 28, for *ingenti* read *intento*; Cap. 109, p. 76, 23, for *unda* read possibly *umor* or *umbra*; Cap. 114, p. 80, 12, after *manifesta* perhaps supply *pestis*; Bell. Civ. 14, p. 85, for *auro* read perhaps *Tauri*.



Pp. 458-471. Die 'Οδοιπορία ἀπὸ 'Εδέμ τοῦ παραδείσου und die Legende von Alexanders Zug nach dem Paradies. F. Pfister.

Miszellen.—Pp. 472-473. U. Hoefler. Die Landenge Kleinasien und die Hellenika von Oxyrhynchos. Note on W. Judeich's article, p. 139 above. The passage cited from Skymnos cannot have been derived from Ephoros.—Pp. 473-477. H. Kallenberg. Zu Polyb. II 23. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Präposition *eis*. Here we should probably read *eis τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία*, or *eis τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πάδον τόπους*. Such expressions as *eis τὸν Πάδον ποταμόν* are not found in the literary language before the time of Appian.—Pp. 477-480. P. E. Sonnenburg. Carmina vigilata. The writer defends this expression in Cinna, fr. 3 M, 11 B: Arateis multum vigilata lucernis | carmina. The passage should be compared with Callimachus, Epig. 27 W: Ἀρήτου σύμβολον ἀγρυπνίης.—P. 480. P. Becker. Lautes Lesen. The "ancient practice of reading aloud" is illustrated in the Acts of the Apostles, 8, 30.

Pp. 481-492. Kritische Beiträge zu Menander. S. Sudhaus. Textual notes on Samia, 264 ff., 68 ff.

Pp. 493-499. In Damascii Platonici de orbe lacteo disputationem a Ioanne Philopono relatam animadversiones. P. Corsen.

Pp. 500-512. De Sillii Punicorum libris VII ss. post Domitianum abolitum editis. E. Bickel.

Pp. 513-572. Studien zu den Panegyrici Latini. A. Klotz. I. Der handschriftliche Bestand. II. Die Verfasser von Paneg. II-IX. III. Die Studien der einzelnen Redner. IV. Kritischer Anhang.

Pp. 573-584. Der Ursprung des Pilums. A. Schulten. This weapon was borrowed by the Romans from the Iberians, perhaps after 218 B. C.

Pp. 585-606. Kastor als Quelle Diodors im 7. Buch. W. Aly. The author adds an excursus on Die Gründungsdaten von Rom und Karthago.

Pp. 607-615. Die Novelle von der Bürgerschaft im Altertum. H. Gasse. An examination of the ancient story of Damon and Phintias.

Pp. 616-625. Ein Denkmal des Neupythagoreismus. A. Brinkmann. The earliest evidence for the 'littera Pythagorae'. It is carved on a Lydian tomb relief of the beginning of the first century after Christ.

Miszellen.—Pp. 626-628. J. M. Stahl. Intransitives βάλλειν.—P. 628. J. M. Stahl. Zu Euripides. At Troad. 566 read Ἀχαΐδαι κουροτρόφῳ.—Pp. 628-629. S. Sudhaus. Nachtrag zu Samia 209.—Pp. 629-632. A. Klotz. Zu Caesars Bellum Gallicum (IV 1, 6; VI 22, 1).—Pp. 632-635. G. Krüger. Zu Horat.

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carm. 3, 17. The key to lines 14, 15, is found in Plaut. Men. 288-292.—Pp. 635-636. W. Meyer-Luebke. Barba 'Onkel'. —Pp. 636-640. Νίκος Α. Βέης. Was ist die sogenannte ὀξύρυγχος-Schrift? In Michael Psellos (XI. cent.) it means tapering majuscule.—P. 640. L. Bertalot. Nachtrag zu S. 56-80.

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REVUE DE PHILOGIE, Vol. XXXIII (1909), pp. 1-162.

Pp. 5-8. Bernard Haussoullier, ΑΣΤΗΡ . . . ΓΕΝΟΜΗΝ. The words ἀστήρ . . . γενόμεν of the epitaph, Inscriptiones graecae, XII, 7 (1908), No. 123, are illustrated by the following lines of an unpublished inscription from Miletus:

Ἄλλὰ σ' ἔχων ἐς Ὀλυμπον ἀν[ήγαγεν] εὐσφυρος Ἑρμῆς,  
ἐκ χαλεπ[ῶν] μερόπων ῥυσάμενος βίον.  
Αἰθίρα δ' ὀκταέτης κατιδὼν ἄστροις ἄμα λάμπεις  
παρ κέρας ὠλενίης αἰγὸς ἀνερχόμενος,  
Παισί τε νῦν ἐπαρωγὸς ἐνὶ σθεναραῖσι παλαίστραις  
φαίνη, σοὶ μακάρων τοῦτο χαριζομένων.

Apropos of the last verse but one of the Milesian inscription the author discusses the question of the age at which Greek boys were dismissed from the palaestra and were admitted to the gymnasium.

Pp. 9-17. Bernard Haussoullier, Inscriptions of Chios and Erythrae. Observations on several of the inscriptions belonging to the collection that was published in Ἀθηνᾶ XX (1908), 113-381, under the title: Γεωργίου Ἰ. Ζολώτα χιακῶν καὶ ἐρυθραϊκῶν ἐπιγραφῶν συναγωγή ἐκδιδομένη μετὰ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ Αἰμιλίας Γ. Ζολώτα, and on the same author's Βραχεῖαι ἐπανορθώσεις καὶ προσθήκαι εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ παρόντι τόμῳ χιακὰς ἐπιγραφὰς καὶ νέαι τινὲς ἐπιγραφαί, on pp. 508-526 of the same volume.

Pp. 18-27. H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Plorare, explorare*. Bréal's etymology (Essai de sémantique, p. 85) of explorare as "*erweinen*", 'obtain by tears', then 'obtain information by this means, or by some other means', then, in general, 'obtain information', and Cuny's hypothesis (p. 100 of 'Latin Explorare' in Mélanges offerts à Louis Havet, pp. 85-106) of an original substantive *ploro* in the sense of 'sol, terrain', are rejected by de la Ville de Mirmont, who derives the word explorare from the root *pl* (= πλ in Greek πλῆσσω), 'to beat', recognized by Regnaud (Dictionnaire, s. v. ploro) as common to the verbs *ploro* and *plaudo* (de l. V. de M. would add *plango*). According to this



view *plaudere* is 'to make a noise or a sound by applauding', *plorare* to do this by lamenting, and *plangere* 'to make a noise or sound by beating the body as a sign of grief'. There is an easy transition from the simple *plorare*, with the radical sense of 'beating, making a noise', to that of *explorare*, the meaning of which, according to Cuny (p. 99), is 'faire une reconnaissance, aller à la découverte, battre la contrée, fouiller, sonder le terrain'. *Explorare*, 'to cause to come out by beating, making a noise', is related to *plorare*, 'to make a noise by crying', as *excutere*, 'to cause to come out, or fall, by shaking', is related to *qualere* 'to shake'.

Pp. 28-58. Philippe Fabia, *The Official Accession of Tiberius—A Study of the Narrative of Tacitus, Ann. I, 11-13*. There have come down from antiquity several accounts of the session of the senate at which Tiberius, who had been emperor *de facto* since the death of Augustus, was officially invested with the imperial power. Rejecting the account of Velleius as a mere rhetorical effusion, and the chapters of Aurelius Victor as affording no independent evidence, Fabia presents a minute comparative study of the three remaining sources of our information in regard to Tiberius' accession. The passages examined are Tacitus, Ann. I, 11-13, Suetonius, Tib. 24-25, and Cassius Dio, LVII, 2, 3 sqq. Of these accounts that of Tacitus is far superior to the two others both in historical value and in literary merit. But Suetonius and Dio are by no means negligible. In addition to furnishing supplementary and more specific information in regard to some features of Tiberius' investiture, they contribute to a better understanding of Tacitus, and make possible a juster estimate of his worth as an historian, and a higher appreciation of his work as an artist. Not content with an analysis of the narratives simply for the historical elements they contain, Fabia also takes up the question of the sources. He reaches the conclusion that neither Suetonius nor Dio have copied Tacitus, nor has Dio borrowed from Suetonius. As to the hypothesis of a common source, the writer finds nothing in the three narratives that would positively militate against such an hypothesis, but, if there was a common original, he thinks that this original was not the *Acta Senatus*, but the work of some historian. After making due allowance for the prejudice that Tacitus' predecessors are known to have entertained against Tiberius, Fabia does not feel at liberty to exonerate Tacitus entirely from the charge of undue severity towards Tiberius and others, and though this unlikeness to nature in the portraiture of some of the historian's characters constitutes a blemish from the point of view of historical accuracy, it does not in the least, according to Fabia, mar the artistic value of the composition.

Pp. 59-70. Jules Nicole, *Three Unpublished Letters of Vil-  
loison*. In 1778, Senebier, the librarian of the Geneva public



library, published a catalogue of that institution. This catalogue, which contained a description of the celebrated Geneva codex of the Iliad, came into the hands of Villoison, who was at that time working at the Greek MSS of St. Mark's at Venice and had planned an edition of the Iliad on the basis of the Venetus A and the Venetus B. Villoison's desire to borrow the Geneva MS led to some correspondence between him and the Geneva librarian. Three letters that were written by Villoison to Senebier have recently come into the possession of the Geneva public library. They have here been published by Nicole and have been provided by him with a valuable introduction and foot-notes.

Pp. 71-78. D. Serruys, Christian Inscriptions of Egypt. Of the inscriptions of Philae that are comprised in Lefebvre's *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Egypte*, Nos. 596 and 597 present chronological difficulties. The closing lines of these inscriptions are as follows:

No. 597 *ἐπὶ φά της νέας ἡ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος)*

No. 596 *ἐπεὶ φ. ι. β. της // ιβ // ἰνδικ(τιῶνος).*

Serruys shows conclusively that previous efforts to establish the dates designated by these lines have resulted in failure, and, by the aid of Egyptian papyri, he makes it clear that the text as published by Lefebvre, requires emendation, and should read:

No. 597 *ἐπὶ φ α' της ἡ' νέας ἰνδικτιῶνος*

No. 596 *ἐπεὶ φ. ι. β. της // ιβ // ἰνδικτιῶνος,*

*ἐπεὶ φ* being the name of the Egyptian month, and *νέας* being used before *ἰνδικτιῶνος* to indicate that reference is made to the new cycle of indictions of 15 years as opposed to the old cycle of 14 years. From the mention of the use of the new cycle, Serruys concludes that the date of the inscriptions cannot be later than the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era.

P. 79. H. Grégoire, Note. Commenting on the preceding article, in which his own views had been combated, Grégoire accepts Serruys' conclusions, and expresses the belief that the latter's emendations are not merely probable but absolutely necessary.

Pp. 80-85. D. Serruys, Notes on several Paris MSS of Byzantine History. The author points out certain omissions and errors in Omont's *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, and furnishes correct information in regard to certain MSS of Theodoretus, Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, Georgius Hamartolus, Symeon Logothetes, Hippolytus of Thebes, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Polyaenus, that have been either imperfectly or incorrectly described by Omont.

Pp. 86-92. Book Notices.



Pp. 93-111. E. de Stoop, *Oneirocriticon* of the Prophet Daniel dedicated to King Nabuchodonosor. De Stoop presents a critical edition of a hitherto unpublished book of dreams, which is contained in a Berlin MS of the 16th century, the Phillipps 1479, fol. 4v.—10v. The title of the book is 'Ονειροκριτικὸν βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Δανιήλ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ναβουχοδονόσορ κατὰ ἀλφάβητον. Unfortunately the work is incomplete, but only the letters T to Ω are missing. The letters A—Σ, which have survived, comprise 314 interpretations of dreams. The treatise is interesting chiefly by reason of the fact that it was the most popular book of dreams of Western Europe during the Middle Ages. Two Saxon versions of it have been published, and Latin MSS abound. Of the Latin MSS, De Stoop has been able to compare the 15th century Parisinus 7349. The divergences between this version and the Greek are marked, and the Paris MS has afforded but little help for purposes of textual criticism. The exact affiliation of the 'Ονειροκριτικὸν βιβλίον τοῦ προφήτου Δανιήλ cannot readily be determined, but the points of contact with the oneirocritica of Astrampychus, Nicephorus, and Artemidorus, together with the absence of any characteristic resemblances to the work of Achmet, make it certain that the tradition which our book of dreams embodies, is Greek and not Oriental.

Pp. 112-161. Paul Monceaux, Donatist Epigraphy. The author of this article, who is well known to the readers of these reports by his previous contributions to Donatist literature, presents in these pages a study of the inscriptions of North Africa that have a bearing on the Donatist movement. Many of the inscriptions treated in this article were obtained from the as yet unpublished collection of M. Guénin entitled *Inventaire archéologique du Cercle de Tebessa*. Monceaux has divided his paper into four sections. The first section treats of the inscriptions that contain the mottoes of the warring churches, the watchword of the Donatists being *Deo laudes*, or *Deo laudes agamus*, or *Deo laudes dicamus*, and that of the Catholics *Deo gratias*, or *Deo gratias agamus*. The second section comprises the inscriptions that contain statements of Donatist principles, protests against persecution, expressions of hope or animosity, or echoes of religious debates. By the side of these inscriptions of Donatist origin are treated the inscriptions of Catholic origin that constitute a sort of rejoinder to them. So, for example, the Donatists comforted themselves in their afflictions with Scriptural passages, quoting preferably from the Psalms and from St. Paul, whilst the Catholics justified their persecution of the Donatists by appealing to the peace and unity of the church, *pax* and *unitas* being favorite phrases. Again, the Donatists arrogated to themselves the titles of the righteous and the pure, so that the expressions *iusti*, *sancti*, *mundus*, *munditia*, and the formula *bonis bene* afford marks of recognition of Donatist inscriptions, whereas the Catholics, with



a greater spirit of humility, were content to call themselves humble sinners, *peccatores*. The third section deals with the martyrological inscriptions. These documents are especially numerous because of the persecutions to which the Donatists were exposed and the exalted rôle that martyrdom played in the Donatist church. Some of the inscriptions contain the names of those who had fallen in the battles that were often fought by the contending factions; others state the names of saints that are known to have been particularly dear to the Donatists, while still others betray their origin by some formula or by some characteristic archaeological detail. Even in this class of inscriptions the voice of the Catholic church sometimes makes itself heard. The fourth section treats of the ordinary funeral inscriptions. Of the thousands of inscriptions of this kind that have been found in Africa, many must, of course, have marked the graves of Donatists, but, as a general rule, there was nothing to distinguish these graves from those of other Christians. A few years ago, however, a whole Donatist cemetery was discovered at Benian (Ala Miliaria), which brought to light a large number of inscriptions, among them epitaphs of bishops, priests, deacons and members of religious orders. In spite of the general identity of the formulae employed in the Donatist funeral inscriptions with those that are found on Catholic tombs, divergences are found. So, for example, in the later inscriptions, the formula *requievit in pace* is rejected by the Donatists in favor of the expression *requievit in fide evangelica*. A striking difference is also manifested in the treatment of the epitaphs of the bishops of the respective churches. The pompous nature of the Donatist inscriptions well accords with the exalted place that the Donatist bishop held in his community, and is in strong contrast with the simplicity of the formulae employed in the epitaphs of the Catholic bishops.

P. 162. C.-E. Ruelle, A Passage of the Septuagint in a Palimpsest portion of the Parisinus 2841. The palimpsest portion in question extends from f. 16 to f. 66. Ruelle has been able to decipher f. 25, which contains Job 42, 11 sqq. The new text has yielded a couple of variant readings, which are here published.

C. W. E. MILLER.



## BRIEF MENTION.

In my *Hellas and Hesperia*, which is a thinly disguised autobiography, I have said: 'In crises of life the words that come up to one are not always the words of the mother tongue, but those that had been acquired at school, the words of comfort and counsel that saved the lesson from being an unmitigated bore'. This also is autobiographical, and one such Greek sentence comes back to me, which I wrote as my motto on the cover of a Latin rendering of Lücke's memoir of Karl Otfried Müller, submitted for criticism to Schneidewin in the spring of 1851 (A. J. P. XXIX 501). Many a time since have I, as a follower of lost causes, had occasion to say to myself, *τρεῖν μ' οὐκ ἐστὶ Παιλλὰς Ἀθήνη*, though in certain 'crises of life' the homely German phrase, 'Bange machen gilt nicht', has also been a welcome stay. A late arrival in the field of philological authorship, recognition, such as it was, came to me at a time of life when many men had said their say, received their reward, and passed out of the game. No wonder, as I have said elsewhere (A. J. P. XXVIII 481; XXIX 503) that I put my own interpretation on Pindar's Fourth Olympian, and made *διάπειρά τοι βροτῶν ἔλεγχος* the favorite motto of my middle age. But as I reach the last scene of all, the homestretch of Erginos the Worker, I turn from the loftiness of Pindar to the flat-footed wisdom of Horace, and say to myself, 'amphora coepit | institui: currente rota, cur urceus exit?'. And 'urceus exit' is my motto now. Of course, everybody knows Browning's Rabbi Ben Ezra and the philosophy of the potter's wheel, so striking to one who has never read his Bible. Often and often have I repeated to myself De Musset's verse: 'mon verre n'est pas grand, mais je bois dans mon verre' (A. J. P. XXX 353), and I have had much pleasure out of my pipkin, 'dipping my nose', not as Thackeray says, 'in the Gascon wine', but in the *μέκτρα χυτόν* of the Greek poets.

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But the figure of the potter recalls my own characteristic of the Journal as a manner of Monte Testaccio (A. J. P. XXV 358), and of late years I have been ruefully asking whether the fragments of my own pipkin have not contributed to the mound. When, now many years ago, a distinguished grammarian woke up to the fact that a generalization on which he prided himself was naught, he is reported to have said sadly to a group of his admiring friends in one of those homely phrases that often best



sum up the situation even for the most elegant scholars, 'some fellow has been knocking a hole in the bottom of my pot'; and so, after I found that such leaders as Usener and Wilamowitz had reduced to smithereens the Hegelian triads of Greek literature, I felt that the end had come for me (A. J. P. XXIV 231; XXV 105). Trained in the methods of half a century ago, I had been engaged for years and years in the eidographic study of Greek syntax. In Greece the state was greater than the citizen, said I. In Greek literature, the department was greater than the individual. If the citizen undertook to be greater than the city-state, the city-state quelled him. However great the poet may have been, he had to submit to the laws of his art, call it *θεσμός*, call it *ταθμός*. The mask abides. Do what you choose with voice and gesture.

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And so I built up my Greek syntax on eidographic lines, just to have the whole structure brushed away by a decree from Bonn, by a ukase from Berlin. Fortunately for my peace of mind, I am still true to my early motto, and I still say with Diomed, *τρέϊν μ' οὐκ ἐᾷ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη*, still say with Theognis, *ὅττι δὲ μοῖρα παθεῖν οὔτι δέδοικα παθεῖν*; for Theognis, whom I find quite as bracing as Henley, belongs to my Göttingen period, and has ever been associated with my beloved teacher Schneidewin, who expounded to us the Megarian, with the lecturer's Delectus as our text-book; and I remember how interested I was to recognize in the gnomic poet a number of verses that Raphael Kühner had used in his Elementary Grammar, which I conned in my boyhood. Moreover, the sentiments of Theognis were not alien to me, for my early surroundings enabled me to appreciate the service another teacher of mine, Welcker, had rendered in making Theognis intelligible. That was many years before Nietzsche became a student of Theognis and drew from him the inspiration of the 'Uebermensch'. Then came in the course of my youthful studies Frere's attempt to bring about a biographical connexion between the fragments, an attempt which will always amuse, however it may fail to convince. Then again the study of Theognis is congeneric with that of Pindar as the study of Hesiod is congeneric with that of Pindar (A. J. P. XXVII 484). That the homelier soul struck deeper into the heart of things than the more resplendent spirit is a thesis not difficult to maintain, if one accepts Eduard Meyer's estimate of Hesiod's 'gewaltige Gedankengänge' and 'tiefe Empfindung' and Schwartz's estimate of Pindar's 'Junkertum' (A. J. P. XXXII 131; A. J. P. XVI 373); but they both have the tang of Boeotian soil (A. J. P. XXVII 483; XXXII 480), and if Pindar and Hesiod have the sympathy of a common country, Theognis and Pindar have the sympathy of a common order, and it is not surprising that recent students of Theognis, such as Mr. Harrison and Mr. Hudson-Williams, have drawn



many parallels between the two poets. But what of the syntax, which started this whole train of memories? In the paucity of elegiac remains, Theognis and the Theognidea are of considerable importance for the eidographic method, though it must be confessed that the eidographic method becomes somewhat perilous when one has to do with a literature of fragments, inasmuch as later writers are apt to change the syntax of their quotations, and scholiasts and paraphrasts are not to be taken as evidence for delicate points of syntax.

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Theognis, like the other elegiac poets, follows in the main the syntax of the epic, but there are deviations in the direction of later usage. The article is employed more freely, and the possessive article, which is quite exceptional in Homer, is common enough in Theognis. The articular infinitive, which is taboo in epic as vulgar in its origin, is rare in elegiac, rare even in the Anthology with its mixture of authors and ages. In the twenty-five hundred and thirty verses of Mackail's Selection from the Anthology, there are only some eight instances, and all of these except one, τὸ ῥῖψαι in an epigram of a late poet Palladas, move along the lines on which, according to my theory (A. J. P. III 195; XXIII 10) the articular infinitive was developed. τὸ θνήσκειν is found once. But Simonides, who uses it, may have caught it from lyric poetry. Then we have τὸ θανεῖν three times, τὸ θνήσκειν and τὸ θανεῖν giving sharper distinctions than θάνατος. τὸ γενέσθαι is also found, but one of the three instances of τὸ θανεῖν is a reply to another τὸ θανεῖν and one τὸ γενέσθαι to another τὸ γενέσθαι. In Theognis the solitary articular infinitive occurs v. 256: πρᾶγμα τε τερπινότατον, τοῦ τις ἐρᾷ τὸ τυχεῖν, τὸ τυγχάνειν and τὸ τυχεῖν being clearer and more exact than τύχη; but Birklein will not admit even that one example, and τὸ σῶσαι (v. 288) has been emended out of life. One of the most clearly marked Theognidean differences from epic syntax is to be seen in the not infrequent use of the consecutive ὥστε, the distinction between consecutive and final being post-Homeric (A. J. P. XXXI 364). Indeed, Theognis goes so far as to present an oratio obliqua ὥστ' οὐ with the infinitive = ὥστ' οὐ with the indicative, v. 520: οὐκ ἀπολείπειν = O. Recta, οὐκ ἀπολείπεις (A. J. P. VII 174).

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Trying the other day, against my principles (A. J. P. XXXI 359), to translate Kallimachos' famous epigram: εἰπέ τις, Ἡράκλειτε, κτέ. into rhyme, my thoughts turned to the dead friend I have just mentioned, the articular infinitive. The infinitive form in Modern Greek, we are told, is dead, the articular infinitive dead and buried, τετράπαλαι σποδιή. No wonder then that sixteen years ago my grammatical soul felt a little thrill when the articular infinitive



stared me in the face on street-corner and on steamboat and that too in the primitive sphere of the articular infinitive: τὸ οὐρεῖν ἀπαγορεύεται. There is nothing bookish about that, and I felt as I felt sixteen years before, in 1880, when I was present at an excavation in Treves. The digging was done in a cemetery used by the poorer classes, and in the funeral urns, mixed up with what the fire had left of the poor Treveri, were found a number of nails, scarcely affected by the centuries and centuries that had rolled over the burying ground. The thrill was not the thrill that shot through me as I saw the bronze charioteer of Hiero come forth feet foremost to the light of Delphi. And yet it was Pindar's articular infinitive, the articular infinitive in its original sphere of the will for or against, and I set my teeth and swore that I would suffer no change in the τὸ λαλαγῆσαι θέλων of Pindar (O. 2, 107), especially as I was a male Lalage, forever prating, if you choose, about the eidographic method. There was, doubtless, a welter of *genres* in the early time, but there was crystallization in the time which concerns me most, and I am interested in conventionalities. Of course, I delight in origins, when I can trace them satisfactorily, such as the snips in the collar of the dress-coat and the useless buttons on the back of the frock-coat; but I enjoy, as I enjoy an Aristophanic jest, the effect produced by the sliding of the buttons from the normal waist to the place between the shoulders and thence downward to the tail. My study of syntax is a study of style, it is true, but it can be made also a study of origins. Find the sphere of a certain combination, and if it belongs to the language of the people, you can trace it underground to the early times and save yourself from the fatal blunder of confusing emergence in literature with origin in language. And of such is the articular infinitive.

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Touching eidographic syntax and stylistic conventionalities, I have just come across a trivial illustration of the theme I have been pursuing in an article on Stage Directions, written by a famous vaudevillist, Mr. COHAN, not one of whose creations have I ever witnessed or cared to witness. The article was written in response to the question, 'upon what basis do the more lingering traditions of the stage rest, i. e., the traditions of the character types?' and the writer showed convincingly how and why hero, villain, heroine, adventuress, banker, débutante, butler, college-boy, Englishman, senator, congressman, lawyer and Southerner are under bond to present certain external appearances, in order to meet the expectation of the public, and so make success possible. Within this conventional range the author's genius has a certain amount of play, but really not much more than those who got up the parts of Maccus and Bucco in the Atellanae. The hero must be thin, the banker



must be stout. The hero must smoke a pipe, the villain a cigar. Senator and Congressman must both wear a Prince Albert coat, but the cigars must be carefully differentiated. The college-boy must turn up his trousers at the bottom, and the Southerner must wear a string-tie. For all these details and numberless others satisfactory reasons are given, and an important chapter in the philosophy of clothes has been added to Lotze's *Mikrokosmos*. Every now and then I am reminded of my own researches into the *raison d'être* of the habiliments of thought, which we call language, and I am more than ever confirmed in my eidographic method.

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And so I decline to give up my eidographic studies, which are really an inheritance from my old teachers and my old textbooks, for every now and then you will find in the manuals of my apprentice days hints as to the sphere of this locution and that. The difference is that we do systematically now what they did sporadically then. 'Do', did I say! Let me rather say 'did', for the kind of syntax to which I have been addicted for much more than half a century has been relegated by those who seem to be pillars to the stone age of syntax, to the time before the discovery of Sanskrit and the consequent discovery of comparative grammar. In the present number, the Journal has the honour of presenting to the philological public an article on The Instability of the Use of Moods in Earliest Sanskrit. There is no man of higher authority in Sanskrit than Professor BLOOMFIELD, and sooner than build a theory of Moods in Latin and Greek on that welter, I would trust myself to the raft constructed by Dittmar (A. J. P. XXIII 231), fearless of that 'seelische Depression', seasickness, against which I may consider myself fairly proof. As Professor Goodwin urged many years ago, you cannot construct a theory of the Greek conditional sentence on the translation of the Authorized Version. 'If our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved' (2 Cor. 5, 1) is in modern English a hopelessly incorrect translation of *ἐάν ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους διαλυθῇ*. That is not a matter of 'tendency to realization', not a matter of 'prospect of realization'—it is a dead certainty. It is one of those things for which the legal condition provides, and the Revisers have changed 'were' to 'be' and *ἐάν* is really equivalent to *ὅταν*. We can't call up the old translators and ask them whether they left death an open question or no. We can't call Homer up and ask him, or some of him, why he has no unreal condition of the present and uses instead the ideal condition. I am afraid that the old epic poet would not have been equal to such distinctions, would have found it hard to draw a line between the old-fashioned 'moral certainty' and the new-fangled 'ideal certainty'. In like manner in older Latin the ideal condition is used where Latin



of the crystallized period uses the unreal condition. Is this due to a livelier imagination, or the devil-may-careishness of a more genial world? Are we to stretch our definitions so as to embrace the whole field of Latinity, and make the beginner's mind a hurly-burly of 'aspects'?

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At all events I can console myself with the thought that by pursuing this line of study I have been able to formulate some of the conventions of the Greek language and incidentally some of the conventions of the Latin also, and when I take up a new grammar, I am interested to see whether I can gain any new light on my favorite range of research, but, unfortunately, new light seldom means anything for an old man, but new confirmation of his old doctrines. Some of my phrases have, after several decades, found a certain acceptance, but sundry categories that I have been insisting on for years have found no favour in Professor BENNETT's eyes, and I in my turn frankly confess that I am not deeply interested in the difference between the workings of Professor HALE's prism and the workings of Professor BENNETT's prism in the resolution of the subjunctive into its elements. Nor am I much impressed by the extension of Professor Wheeler's aoristic imperfect (A. J. P. XXIV 180, XXIX 394). But as the author of the article on the Stylistic Use of the Participle (A. J. P. IX 138-157) I was much disappointed by the meagreness of the section on the participle. In that section on Special Idiomatic Uses of the Participle, in which Professor BENNETT mentions 'the use whereby a noun or pronoun with the participle is equivalent to a verbal noun with a genitive of the substantive' (cf. A. J. P. XIII 257), the illustrative example, 'occisus Caesar aliis pessimum videbatur' reminds me of Monro's speaking of *αὐθάρωμα* in Homer. The sentence is clearly not *Early Latin*, and, moreover, it is sadly mutilated from the famous original quoted in Kritz's *Lateinische Grammatik*, p. 432, a book which had no success, perhaps because of its fatal date (1848), but of which I made considerable use in preparing my *Latin Grammar*, the first edition of which was published in 1867, many years before Dittmar's flood and the rainbow of the Spectroscopic School. Tacitus has it (Ann. I, 8, 7): *occisus dictator Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus <videbatur>*, but according to Professor BENNETT's quotation, there was only a difference of opinion between Caesar and his assassins, which, to be sure, is very natural. Now, there is not a sample of the nominative construction earlier than Livy in Kritz's *Grammar*, and Professor Lodge, who is responsible for the historical part of the Gildersleeve-Lodge *Grammar*, says there is none (G. L. 437, N. 2). Perhaps the Romans deemed it ambiguous. It is, indeed, in the nature of things ambiguous. 'Nec terra mutata mutavit mores' is plain enough, but there is



an example in Propertius, which has provoked comment. 2, 7, 6 we read: *devictae gentes nil in amore valent*. Standing alone, it means 'vanquished nations do not count in love', or 'nations vanquished do not count in love'. Restore the context and the sense becomes plain: At Magnus Caesar, *sed magnus Caesar in armis*. Write '*victrix causa deis placuit placuitque puellis*' and you have a grim commentary on René Bazin's *Les Oberlé*—a picture of life in Alsace. So in English 'friend remember'd not' requires a context, and even then?: 'dear as remember'd kisses' does not.

In a passage of the *Kultur der Gegenwart* (p. 139) WILAMOWITZ compares the Greek epigram to the sonnet as employed in Italian literature from Petrarch to the present day, and expresses the opinion that the sonnets of the 'Parnassiens' would at once be welcomed and admired by the Greek as epigrams, though not as epigrams of the best style—a style which disdains ornamentation (*der den künstlichen Wortschmuck verschmäht*). The obligations of the famous sonnet-writer José-Maria de Heredia to the Greek Anthology have been set forth in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, Vol. XVII 262–270; and how readily an epigram may lead to a sonnet I may illustrate by my own example. As a punishment for my sin in decrying rhyme as a vehicle of translation from the Greek, even in the hands of such a master as Gilbert Murray (A. J. P. XXXI 358–31), I have been haunted by my old enemy while in the Eden of the Anthology, and as I was reading the famous epigram (A. P. X 118), which, if not by Palladas, is in Palladas' vein, the Greek ran itself immediately into a sonnet, not of the best style:

πῶς γενόμην; πόθεν εἰμί; τίνος χάριν ἦλθον; ἀπελθεῖν.  
 πῶς δύναιμαί τι μαθεῖν, μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενος;  
 Οὐδὲν ἐὼν γενόμην· πάλιν ἔσσομαι ὡς πάρος ἦα·  
 οὐδὲν καὶ μηδὲν τῶν μερόπων τὸ γένος.  
 Ἄλλ' ἄγε μοι Βάκχοιο φιλήδονον ἔντυε νᾶμα·  
 τοῖτο γάρ ἐστι κακῶν φάρμακον ἀντίδοτον.

How came I? is a question claims reply.  
 Whence am I? will have answer at my hands.  
 Why came I? is a problem that demands  
 To be resolved. Just to depart, to die?  
 How came I? Why, no matter how I try,  
 Each Argo of adventurous thought but lands  
 My seeking spirit on a waste of sands.  
 How can I learn, naught knowing but a why?  
 Naught was I when I came, and I shall be  
 Nothing again just as I was before.  
 Nothing and Naught is all the race of man;  
 What is there in the world that's left for me,  
 Save joyance from the Wine God's purple store,  
 The cure-all holden in the toper's can?



Then came some jiggling verses, then a more serious attempt in the measure which I recommended sometime ago (A. J. P. XXX 356), and which I have employed in the following version of the famous epigram of Kallimachos, to which I have just referred:

They told me, Herakleitos, thou wast dead.  
 What tears I shed!  
 As I remembered how we two as one  
 Talked down the sun.  
 Well, Halicarnassian friend, long since thou must  
 Have turned to dust;  
 Yet live thy Nightingales, and Hades, who  
 Doth all subdue,  
 Shall never until Time itself shall close  
 Lay hand on those.

All I dare say of my rendering is that it is more faithful to the tenuous charm of the original than is the tender grace of Cory's version, as a poem a classic, as a translation a failure. But, as Verlaine says: *Oh! qui dira les torts de la rime?* Still, some points I am prepared to defend. *πανδαμάτωρ* has taken the place of *πάντων ἀρπακτῆρ*, a shift of which any anthologist would have been guilty, for the best established synonyms go to pieces at the bidding of hexameter and pentameter. 'Dust' answers quite as well as 'ashes' *ὅστέα μὲν σὰ πάλαι κόνις*, sings Poseidippos. 'Until Time itself shall close' is sheer padding, but who has translated polysyllabic Greek into monosyllabic English and has not padded (A. J. P. XXX 354)? And if Mr. Headlam claimed faithfulness for his renderings of Meleager, I may claim the same elastic virtue for my rendering of Kallimachos. Take Headlam's translation of the famous distich of Meleager:

Ὁ στέφανος περὶ κρατὶ μαραίνεται Ἡλιοδώρας  
 αὐτῇ δ' ἐκλάμπει τοῦ στεφάνου στέφανος.

On Heliodora's brow the garland pines,  
 But she, the garland of the garland, shines.

To pass over other points, 'pines' introduces the 'pathetic fallacy', which is lacking in *μαραίνεται*. It would be frivolous, I suppose, to say that the 'pine' has been consecrated by Meleager to Mnasalkas.

In his posthumous work on the *Legend of St. George* (Munich, Franz), KRUMBACHER finds it necessary to protest against what he calls the incomprehensible efforts of some scholars to derive criteria for exact dates from the language of Byzantine authors (p. 217 footnote). There are certain syntactical tests that mark off great stretches of speech, such, for instance, as the use of the negatives, but that is a matter of B. C. and A. D., and the range is too wide to be of any practical avail (A. J. P. I 45 ff.). When



the literary language is divorced from the spoken language and literature becomes a purely artificial product, chronological sequence is naught. There is only the question of the individual capacity. What is the use of collecting the perfect optatives in later Greek? What could be more futile? The optative had died the death as an organic element of living speech. A few familiar locutions survived, and one of them, *μὴ γένοιτο*, is quite applicable to this whole line of research. The optative shrinks in Polybios; it swells in Plotinos. It was still alive in Polybios; it is a dead skin stuffed out in Plotinus, as has been prettily shown by a young German scholar, Reik (A. J. P. XXX 105). The thesis may be considered proved, and it is not necessary to do the thing over and over again. Prepositional combinations encroach on the simple case-forms. That has commonly been accepted as the line of development. But Helbing has shewn that later Greek historians yield a very low average of prepositions (A. J. P. XXV 106). Well, what of it? The use of the genitive without a preposition where the preposition is used in classical prose shews that the Rhakendytes in the case has read his tragic poets. Who would be shocked by an unconventional use of *πρίν* in the dialects, in later prose and poetry (A. J. P. II 480; VI 482; cf. Justin Martyr Apol. I 4, 13 n.)? Who by the violation of one of the steadiest concords in the language, the concord of the forms of *φθάνω* with the kind of time (A. J. P. XII 76)? One is disturbed to find it broken by Dioskorides, who belongs to the Alexandrian period (A. P. IX 636), but needs must when dactyls drive, and in a Byzantine poet I should feel no discomfort. I have actually been surprised at finding so often in later Greek the monitory and minatory *εἰ* with the future indicative, but all the statistics in the world would not throw light on certain ranges in the evolution of the language. Tycho Mommsen's work was not in vain, but one must know what to look for.

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It is not often that a German scholar, or any other scholar, does penance for a false quantity or any slip in metre, as was done in the *Berliner Zeitschrift für Gymnasialwesen*, 1911, p. 767. For my part I honour the man who has the courage to make a clean breast of it, and wipes up his mistakes, as it were, with his head. I have never found out what the prodigious blunderer who emended Horace's 'fabulosus lambit Hydaspes' by 'sabulosus' did with himself after he consulted the *Gradus ad Parnassum*. Like the scholar who ventured on an unauthorized *ἀγῶν* he may have suppressed the conjecture, and said nothing more about it. How many false quantities are still flitting about *per ora virum*. Everybody says Meleäger, for which there is not the slightest warrant in either Greek or Latin, and I remember distinctly when 'angīna' was a novelty, first



insisted on by Lucian Müller in 1872 (Lucilius XXX 34). All these things are painful reminders of my own sins in that line, in one case a sin of omission, for in my mock emendation XXIII 349: δῆγμα προσστικτήριον, I omitted the note 'metrum repugnat' (letter from supposed author, written in hot haste, withdrawing the emendation), though one cannot always insist on exact responsion, and some scholars claim great freedom in that regard.

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Many reviews of philological works are simply made up of a hasty reading of preface and introduction, but Miss STAWELL in her notice of the Bonn edition of *Heracliti Quaestiones Homericæ*, Teubner, 1910 (C. R., Dec. 1911) shows that she has not read even the introduction with any care, or she would not have ascribed the work to 'Heraclitus (Heracleides) Ponticus, the contemporary [and pupil] of Aristotle'. Mehler's edition (1851) settled the question in favor of Heraclitus, and Heraclides Ponticus is a long exploded surmise. In 1850 Rudolph Schmidt took up the notion that the Ἀλληγορίαι Ὀμηρικαί, or better Ζητήματα Ὀμηρικὰ, attributed to this unknown Heraclitus, really belonged to Porphyry, a contention which I undertook to dispose of in my doctoral dissertation, *De Porphyrii studiis Homericis*, 1853; and my position has been sustained by those who have come after me. So Diels, *Dox.*, p. 98: plane incredibili iudicio Heracliti allegorias tumide et indocte scriptas Porphyrio vindicabat <Schmidtus>. The present editors, however, seem to think that this otherwise unknown author has done his very best in the way of style, and has shown more care in the avoidance of hiatus than 'the authors of the same period, such as Diodorus, the περὶ ἔψους man and others'. This careful avoidance of the hiatus would, of course, have disposed of the Porphyrian theory, if further arguments were needed.

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As I have held forth more than once on the crime of misspelling proper names (e. g. A. J. P. V 544, XXXI 367), I was promptly brought to book by a correspondent for allowing the name of James Payn, the novelist, to appear in the last number of the Journal with a superfluous *e* at the end (A. J. P. XXXII 480). The Dial, from which the paragraph is quoted proved to be guiltless (Nov. 1, 1910, p. 319), and the fact that I knew better does not absolve me, for the page passed under my eye. Correct, also, the second 'contained' (l. c., l. 33) into 'implicit'—an important variant. Yet another correspondent informs me that in the quotation from Tennyson (p. 485), 'opening chestnut-buds' should be 'drooping chestnut-buds'. But in cases like this last I hold myself free from responsibility, for I cannot



undertake to verify all the quotations made by my contributors, especially from Tennyson, for Tennyson changed from edition to edition. So in the Eagle 'hooked hands', suggested by Vergil, Aen. 6, 360: *presantemque uncis manibus*, has been replaced by 'crooked', just as in Vergil's own text the reading 'descensus Averni', once the current form, has given way to 'Averno', despite the possible reminiscence of Philetas: ἀτραπὸν Ἄιδου | ἤνυσσεν τὴν οὐπὼ τις ἐναντίον ἦλθεν ὁδίτης (ap. Stob. Flor. 118, 3). By the way, the coincidence between Shakespeare's 'traveller' in 'from whose bourn no traveller returns' and the Greek ὁδίτης is rather curious, and perhaps some one will maintain that Shakespeare either had the Greek original before his eyes, or had access to a Latin translation with 'viator' in it, just as Dowden has concerned himself to find out how Shakespeare got hold of the original of his last two sonnets. In his note, Dowden gives Hertzberg the credit of discovering the source in Marianus, A. P. IX 637 (Jahrb. der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, 1878, S. 158 fgg.); and it is possibly to Hertzberg that WILAMOWITZ in the passage to which I have just referred owes his knowledge of Shakespeare's indebtedness, but the connexion was known to English scholars years before Hertzberg, and, indeed, must have been familiar to them before the date of Bohn's Anthology (p. 252) which was published in 1852.

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The latest numbers of the LIETZMANN collection I have seen are 82. *Apollonius Dyscolus, De Pronominibus; Pars Generalis*, ed. PAUL MAAS; 83. *Origenes, Eustathius von Antiochien und Gregor von Nyssa über die Hexe von Endor*, Herausg. von ERICH KLOSTERMANN; 84. *Aus einem griechischen Zauberpapyrus* von RICHARD WÜNSCH; and 89. *Euripides, Medea mit Scholien*, Herausg. von ERNST DIEHL (Bonn, Marcus und Weber). Some months ago SÜSS's edition of *Aristophanes' Frogs*, in the same series, reached me, but unfortunately too late for use in my Aristophanic course; and I intended then to say a word in hearty commendation of an enterprise which has brought all this valuable apparatus within reach of the slenderest purse. So many of the texts published are inaccessible to the average student, and so many of them will serve to widen the range of those who are specialists in other fields.

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W. A. H.: Professor CARLO PASCAL's volume *Epicurei e Mistici*, the title of which at first awakened false hopes of studies in the relations between such Epicureans as Lucretius and the mystics, discourses in a somewhat popular tone on a number of themes possessing an interest for the student of the classics. The



essays on Petronius Arbiter and on the Greek Mysteries can hardly be said to contain anything new, and that in which he asks whether Euripides is to be regarded as a mystic, only to answer his question in the negative, offers little more than an agreeably phrased restatement of various considerations and conclusions familiar to readers of recent discussions of the *Bacchae*. But in the first essay, entitled *The Moral Character of Maecenas*, we have apparently something new as well as true. The lines of Maecenas,

Debilem facito manu, debilem pede, coxa,  
tuber adstrue gibberum, lubricos quate dentes:  
vita dum superest, bene est! sustine hanc mihi: acuta  
nil est si sedeam cruce . . .

have been hitherto, I believe, interpreted in agreement with the verdict of Seneca, who quotes them, *Epist. Mor.* 101, 10, as an expression of the epicure's inglorious love of life. The traditional view receives apparent support from the words *sustine . . . cruce*; but the appearance is fallacious. The true meaning becomes evident when one regards Maecenas as elaborating a sufficiently heroic thought of his master Epicurus: *καὶ στρεβλωθῇ δ' ὁ σοφός, εἶναι αὐτὸν εὐδαίμονα*, of which Usener's learning supplied a goodly number of echoes from Latin literature (*Epicurea*, fr. 601, p. 338 f.). It may be of interest to Professor PASCAL, as tending to support his interpretation of the lines, that I jotted them in the margin of my copy of Usener fifteen years ago with the query whether they were not to be understood in the light of this saying of the master's.

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H. L. W.: Nearly three years ago I wrote a brief notice of the *Numismatique Constantinienne* of Jules Maurice, the first part of which had then recently appeared (A. J. P. XXX 360 f.). Now comes the second instalment, which instead of completing the work as the author had hoped, is later to be followed by a third. The present volume, consisting of cxxxvi + 612 pages and xvii plates, contains the description of the coinage issued during the period in question (305-337 A. D.) at London, Lyon, Arles, Tarragona, Siscia, Serdica, Sirmium, Thessalonica, Constantinople, and Heraclea in Thrace, together with five introductory essays on pertinent subjects, and excellent illustrations of the product of each mint. Such is the importance of this work, not only for the coinage, but also for the general history of the early part of the fourth century, that every student of the period will eagerly await the final volume, which will deal with the four eastern mints, the history of the provinces, and the political and economic reforms of Constantine.



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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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PLATE I.



NAIL AND REMAINS OF LAMINAE (*Original Size*).

U of M









FRAGMENT OF VESONIA (*Original Size*).

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



# THE JOHNS HOPKINS TABELLAE DEFIXIONUM

BY

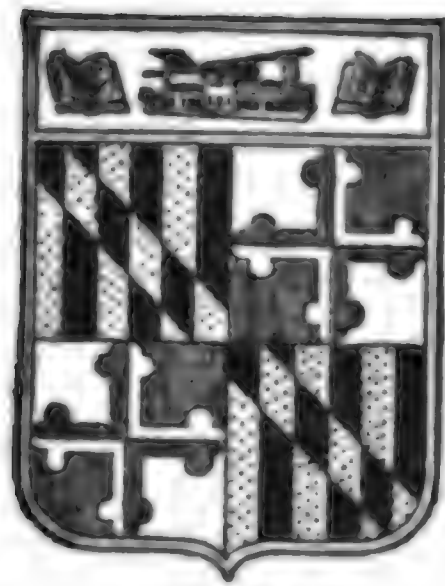
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## PREFACE.

This monograph was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Harry Langford Wilson of The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and through his courtesy the tablets herein published were placed at my disposal. To him I am greatly indebted for many valuable criticisms of the work in all its stages, as well as for practical assistance in such exacting tasks as the reading of the proof-sheets. I am grateful also to Professors Basil L. Gildersleeve, David M. Robinson, and Kirby Flower Smith for numerous illuminating suggestions as to the interpretation of the text. Finally, I wish to record here my deep appreciation of the generosity of Professor Gildersleeve in according me this space in *The American Journal of Philology*.

W. SHERWOOD FOX.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, *March 8, 1912.*



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**EXPLANATION OF THE SIGNS EMPLOYED  
IN THE TEXT AND INDICES.**

- [ ] Includes letters lost through fracture of the lead.**
- ( ) Includes letters omitted through the error of the scribe.**
- <> Includes letters added through the error of the scribe.**







## CHAPTER I.

### THE *Tabellae Defixionum* OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

#### § 1 History and Description.

In the year 1908 the Department of Classical Archaeology of the Johns Hopkins University acquired several *tabellae defixionum* popularly known as curse-tablets.<sup>1</sup> The person through whom the acquisition was made possible was unable to give a definite assurance as to their provenience, but stated his belief that they had been found at Rome. Thorough study of the tablets themselves has led to the conviction that they actually originated in that city. This point will be fully discussed at the proper time.<sup>2</sup>

The tablets were in two distinct divisions. One of these consisted of a nail .127 metres in length, the point of which was cloven into two long splinters each half as long as the whole nail. About the broad head were tightly bound by a thick accumulation of rust many exceedingly thin fragments of lead. On one side twenty-five layers could be counted, and on the opposite side twenty-eight.<sup>3</sup> The greatest width of this mass of fragments before it was subjected to the chemical treatment to be described shortly, was .051 and the smallest .048 metres.

The other division of the tablets consisted of a promiscuous heap of brittle chips of lead, no two being of the same shape and size. In thickness they varied from one to three millimetres, and in area from one-quarter of a square centimetre to thirty or forty square centimetres. Most of the fragments approximated the smaller area. On nearly every one were visible early Roman cursive characters that had been incised with a stylus. The incisions varied considerably in depth and distinctness. Another feature in which there was a marked lack of uniformity was color. Some pieces were characterized by the normal color

<sup>1</sup> A preliminary report of these was published by the author in the Johns Hopkins University Circular, New Series, 1910, No. 6, pp. 7-10.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. III, § 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Pl. I.



of lead; some were reddish, some bluish, and others of a shade midway between purple and brown. A little handling and scrutiny of the material revealed the fact that the variations in thickness and color bore a direct and fairly constant relation to one another. This was invaluable in the subsequent reconstruction of the tablets, as will be shown in a later paragraph. Besides the ground colors peculiar to the several fragments there was a coating of whitish powder and crystals covering the surfaces unevenly and this in certain places made the writing wholly illegible.

For the joint purpose of removing the coating and of accounting for the brittle condition of the lead, the mass on the nail and selected loose fragments were submitted to the chemists<sup>1</sup> for examination. Their report was that "the layers of the tablet have been changed in large part from metallic lead to compounds of lead by the action of soil or atmosphere or water. The whitish outer coating consists of a basic carbonate of lead, while underneath is another compound, probably litharge. In some instances there is an exceedingly thin layer of unchanged metallic lead". This whitish compound is evidently in part what Wünsch in his description of the Attic tablets poetically calls "the dust of ages".<sup>2</sup>

## § 2 Reconstruction.

The first step towards the reconstruction of the tablets was to select the loose fragments on which even a single stroke of writing was visible, though not necessarily decipherable. The result was two hundred and ten working fragments, one-third of which were very small. Those set aside as useless number apparently about three hundred. Each of the working fragments was deposited in its own separate and numbered envelope. The largest were then deciphered as far as the condition of their surfaces permitted without cleaning by chemical means, and in the process exact facsimiles were drawn on individual cards numbered to correspond to the envelopes just mentioned. This process supplied an alphabet and a number of broken lines of text, some of which recurred several times in slightly varied form. The alphabet served as a key to the obscure letters in the

<sup>1</sup> Professor S. F. Acree and Dr. E. K. Marshall, Jr. of the Johns Hopkins University.

<sup>2</sup> Wünsch, Richard, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, I. G. III 3, Praef. i.



smaller fragments still to be deciphered, while the broken lines gave a clue to the general sense and connection of the writing. The recurrence of certain words and groups of words suggested that the fragments represented not one tablet, but several, originally pierced by one and the same nail. The decipherment of the smaller fragments was carried on in the same manner.

The first attempt to assemble the parts in their original relation to one another was made only when the above stage of decipherment was completed. Several features served as guides in this restoration. These are, the sense of the text, the uniform relations between color and thickness of the lead, the presence of outer or top edges on a few fragments, and the appearance of writing on the reverse side of a relatively small number. On the other hand, there were many obstacles in the way of complete reconstruction, chief of which were the impossibility of making use of the portion of the lead still on the spike, and the similarity of outline in the broken edges. Obviously the latter difficulty could not be removed, but the former seemed not entirely insurmountable. In the hope that a few fragments might be released from the nail the chemists' aid was again sought. By the use of a weak solution of sulphuric acid they succeeded after several days in loosening nineteen fragments, which, however, proved to be of little value owing to their mutilated condition. As the acid was apparently rendering the lead too brittle to handle, it was thought wise to proceed no further with the experiment; moreover, it seemed improbable that any fragments saved would make a sufficient contribution to counterbalance the loss of so valuable a relic as the nail and its holdings. But in spite of the difficulties, the sense of the text, interrupted though it was, soon revealed the fact that we were dealing with five distinct tablets. With this established, the significance of the uniform relation between the color and the thickness of the fragments became obvious. It was found that those belonging to the tablet henceforth to be designated as Aquillia were very thin and alarmingly fragile and of a purplish-brown hue; those of Plotius were thin and bluish; those of Vesonius were thick and reddish, while those of Avonia were of a similar tinge but somewhat thinner; finally the fragments of Secunda were thin and of that dull gray shade characteristic of pure lead. In a few instances the presence of right, left, or top edges made it possible to locate some fragments with absolute definiteness to the right or to the left of the nail



or at the beginning of the tablet from which they had been broken. No lower edges were found. Where writing could be read on both sides it was usually easy to locate a fragment, as the obverse and reverse contexts afforded a sort of double check in their particular zones. After the application of this test it soon became apparent that only three of the tablets were opisthographic.

There now remained two or three dozen fragments too thickly coated with the deposit of lead carbonate to be legible. These the chemists treated with dilute nitric acid which after a very brief immersion readily dissolved the carbonate, but did not appreciably affect the body of the layer. In this way the majority of these fragments were made decipherable. The total number read was two hundred and twenty, and all but sixty-two could be located in their proper places with almost absolute certainty. Of this latter group thirty-nine could by the indications of color and thickness of the lead and by the style of handwriting be assigned with some degree of accuracy to the several tablets from which they came, but not to their original contexts.

### § 3 Description of the Reconstructed Tablets.

The facsimiles in black and white, which later accompany the text of the curse-formulae, were made only after reconstruction had been carried as far as conditions permitted. Photographic reproductions would of course be preferable, but owing to the fragmentary character of the material it was found impossible to obtain them. The present reproductions represent the actual size of the original tablets. They enable one to estimate with a fair degree of exactness the dimensions of the laminae before they were shattered. Were their edges without irregularities it would be possible to estimate their several areas to within a centimetre or two of the correct figures, as the general outlines of the pairs of opposite edges are practically parallel.

In the case of Aquillia the fragments are too few to bear out this statement; yet, if an attempt is made to reproduce in cursive writing its formula as supplemented from the other tablets, it will be found that most of the lines of the text are virtually uniform in length. Towards the end of the tablet some of the lines gradually become shorter, but on reaching their minimum length they return just as gradually to their average dimension. This points to a narrowing of the lamina at this part. In Secunda a



fragment from the lower right hand corner shows a slight tapering towards the bottom of the lamina. The experiment of reproducing the formula, however, in letters similar in size and form to those of the original reveals the fact that the left hand edge continues to the very bottom with a marked deviation from the straight line.<sup>1</sup>

To fit the present reconstruction to the broken layers on the nail is quite impossible. Nevertheless, one can determine the original order by comparing the character of the lead on the nail with the well-established character of the lead in the reconstructed tablets. The layers nearest the head of the nail undoubtedly belonged to Aquillia; Secunda<sup>2</sup> came next, then Avonia, then Vesonia, and lastly Plotius.

The fragments also tell us how the laminae were originally folded. On only one fold that is visible on the nail does writing appear on the outer, i. e. the convex side. Loose fragments, too, that have been broken at the line of folding have edges that turn slightly in towards the side bearing the text. Both of these observations lead to the inference that in general the tablets were rolled into cylindrical shape with the writing on the inside for protection against abrasion and for concealment from prying eyes; for should the writing be injured in any way the formula would be of no effect, or, should human eyes read it, counter-formulae might be composed or other means resorted to that might bring the evil of the formula back like a boomerang upon its author. The nail, when driven into such a yielding material as lead, packed the laminae together and created very pronounced lines of folding. Estimating the combined length of all the tablets at 148.3 centimetres, and allowing for twenty-seven layers, the average width of the folds was 5.5 centimetres. The widest fragment is one belonging to Vesonia (no. 12)<sup>3</sup> which measures 8 centimetres; some are no wider than 2 centimetres. These figures seem to indicate the two extremes of width.

<sup>1</sup>Very few *tabellae defixionum* are of greater superficial area than these. Cf. And. nos. 15 and 271.

<sup>2</sup>Thus designated for lack of a better name.

<sup>3</sup>See Pl. I a.



## CHAPTER II.

### TEXT AND ANNOTATION.

#### § 1 Plotius.

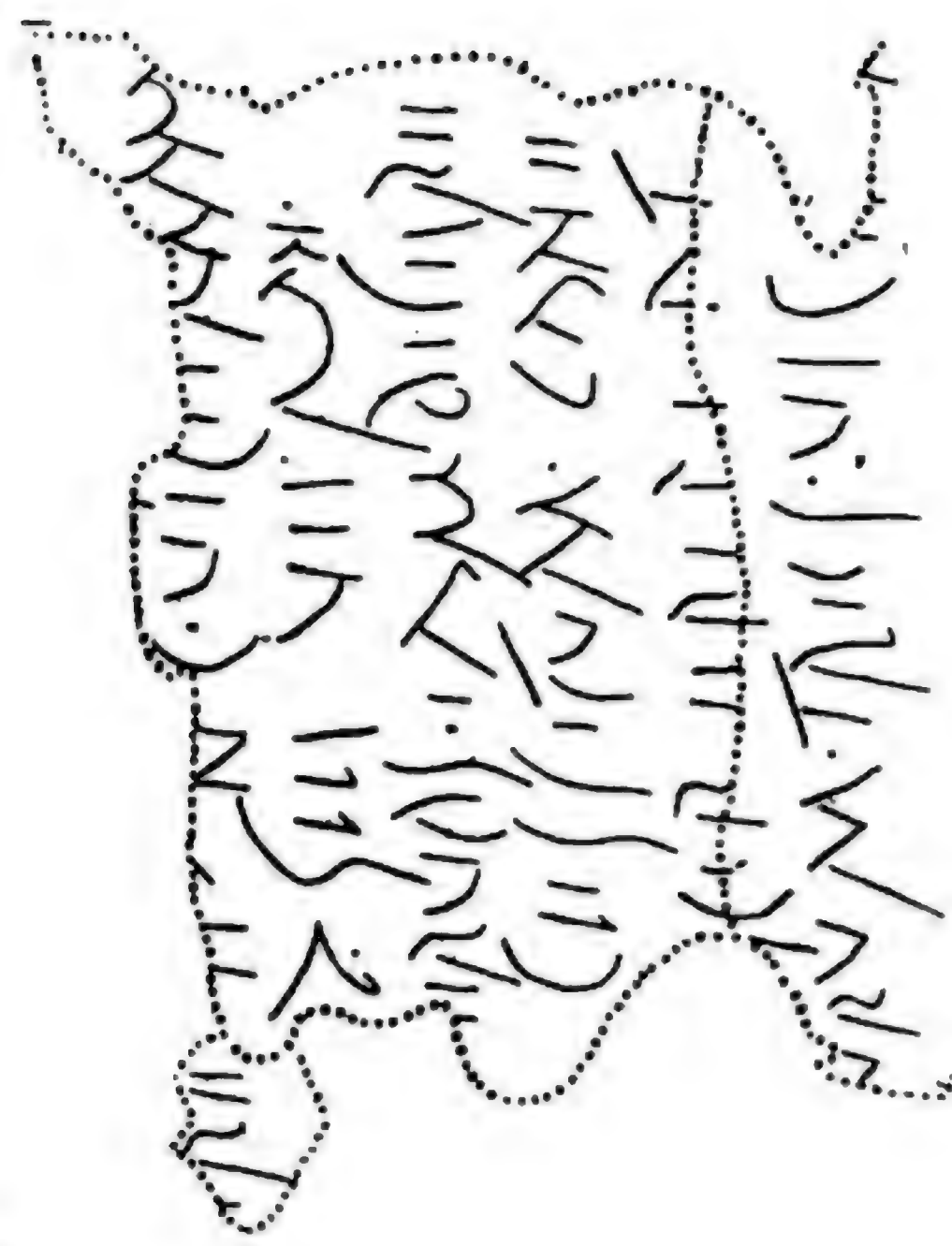
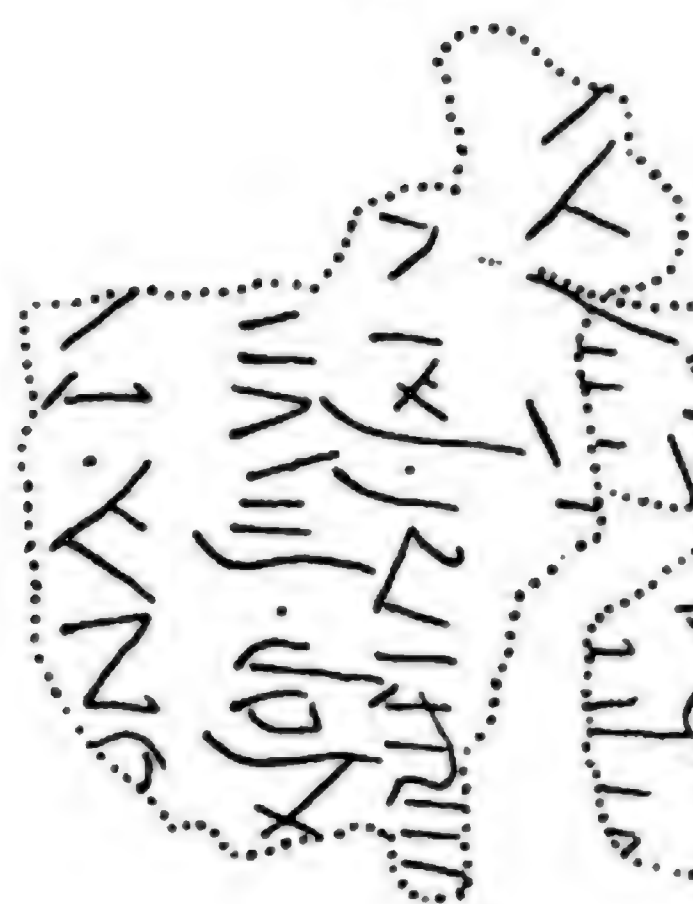
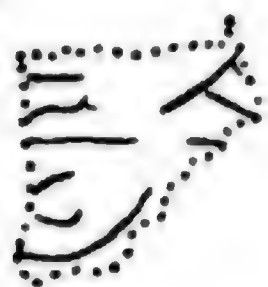
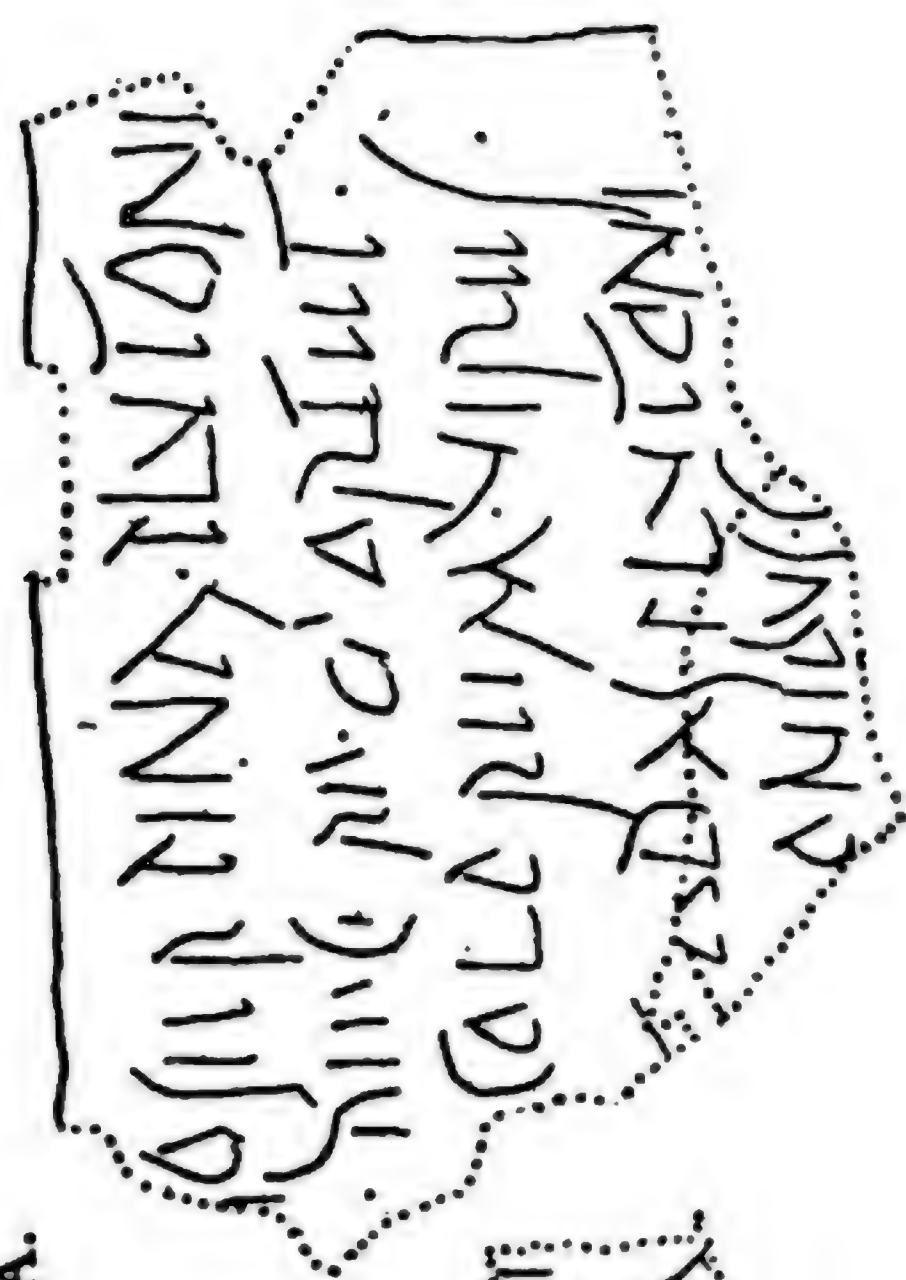
Lead tablet 31.6 x 11.3 cm. without writing on the reverse.  
A preliminary transcription without restoration was published in  
The Johns Hopkins University Circular, 1910, No. 6, pp. 8-9.

bona · pulchra proserpina .lut.nis · uxor  
seiue · me · saluiam deicere · oportet  
eripias · salutem · c.....lorem · uires · uirtutes ·  
ploti · tradas · .....uiro · tuo · ni · possit · cogitati  
5 sueis · hoc · uita .....illunc · \ onibus  
febri · quartan.e · t.....nae · cottidia.ae  
quas · .....uct.....  
eu..cant.....usq.....  
...s · eripia.....nc · uictimam  
10 tibi · trad.....rpi.....e · me  
proserpin.....ue · m.....<sup>iam</sup>eruos dicere  
oportet · m.....rcessitum · canem  
tricepitem · qui.....cor · eripiat · polliciar  
illi · te · daturum t.es · uictimas · \ us  
15 palma.....rica · por.um · nigrum ·  
hoc · sei · pe...cerit.....  
m.....r.....  
cum · compote · fe...is · do tibi · cap..  
ploti · auon.....oserpina · s.....  
20 do tibi · fron.....ti · proserpina · saluia  
do... b. su.....ploti · proserpin.  
saluia do.....s · plo..



AVONIA (Original Size).

A





יִשְׂרָאֵל  
יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל  
יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל

יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל  
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יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל  
יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל



- Febri quart[an]ae, t[ert]ianae, cottidianae,  
 quas cum illa [l]ucten[t, deluctent ; illanc]  
 euincant, uincan[t, usque dum animam]  
 10 eius eripiant. [Qu]are hanc uictimam  
 [tibi] trado, [Proserpin]a, seiue me,  
 [Pros]erpina, se[iue me Ach]eruosiam dicere  
 [opo]rtet. Me m[ittas a]rcessitum cane[m  
 tricipi]te[m, qui Auoniae]s cor eripiat.  
 15 [Pollicearis illi te dat]urum tres uictim[as]—  
 palmas, carica[s, porcum ni]grum—hoc sei  
 perfecerit an[te mensem] Martium. Haec,  
 [Salu]ia, tibi dabo, cu[m] compotem feceris.  
 Do tibi caput[A]uon[iae]s. Pr[ose]rpina Saluia, d[o]  
 20 tibi frontem Auonia[e. Pr]oserpina Saluia,  
 do tibi supercilia [Auoni]aes. Proserpina  
 [Sa]luia, do tibi palpe[bra]s Auoniaes. Proserpi[na  
 S]alu[i]a, do [ti]bi pupillas [Au]onia[e]s. [Proserpina  
 Sal]uia, do t[ibi] oricula[s, la]bra, [nares], nasum,  
 25 [de]ntes, liguam Auon[iae, ni dice]re possit  
 [Auo]nia quid s[i]bi [dol]eat: [collum, umero]s,  
 [br]acchia, digito[s, ni] possit ali[quid]  
 se adiutare: pec[tus, ioci]nera, cor,  
 pulmones, ni [possit] quit sentire  
 30 quit sibi dolea[t: intest]ina, uenter,  
 umblicus, scapul[as], latera, ni po[ssit]  
 dorm[i]re: uiscum sac[r]um, ni possi[t]  
 urinam f[ace]re: [nati]s, femina,  
 anum, gen[ua, crur]a, tibias, pedes,  
 35 talos, [p]la[ntas, digi]tos, ungis, ni  
 [po]ssit [stare] su[a uirtu]te. Seiue  
 plus, [seiu]e p[ar]uum [scri]ptum  
 fuerit, quomodo quicqui[d legiti]me  
 scripsit, mandau[it, s]eic ego [Auo]niam



40 tibi trado, man[do], ut tradas [illanc  
m]ensi Februario. [Male perdat, male e]xs[eat],

## B

male disperd[at]. Ma]nd[es, tr]adas,  
nei po[s]s[i]t ampli[us] ull[um]  
men[s]em aspicere, ui[dere],  
45 contemplare.

## §3 Vesonia.

Lead tablet 30.3 x 11.5 cm. with writing on the reverse midway  
between the ends.

## A

bona · pulch.....a · plutonis · uxor  
seiue · me · s..uia.....e · oportet · eripias ·  
salutem · c.rpus colorem · uires · uirtutes  
maximae · uesoniae · tra....pluton.  
5 uiro ... ni · poss.....gitationibus · su.....  
quicq.....tinu..tra.....  
febri · qu.....anae .....  
quas · cum illa · luc .....  
eu.ncant · uincan...sque · dum · anima.  
10 e... eripiant · q...e hanc · uictima.  
tibi · trad. · p.....ue · me · pros.....  
seiue · me.....dicere · oportet....  
mitta.....m · canem tr..ep....  
qui.....e cor · er..iat  
15 polli.....turum · tres uictimas  
palm .....um · nigrum  
hoc · sei .erf.....te · mense · martium ·  
ha.c .....a ti.....cum · compote.  
fece..s · do tibi · ca....max.m.e · uesoniae  
20 p... .pina s.lui. do · tibi frontem  
ma.imae.....ae · proserpina s.....  
do tibi · super.....esoniae · proserpina



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1100



- saluia · do tibi · palpetras · maximae · uesoni..  
 proserpina saluia · do · tibi · pupillas · uesoniae  
 25 proserpina · saluia · do tibi · oriclas · labras ·  
 nares · nasum · lingua · dentes · maximae  
 uesoniae · nei · dicere · possit · maxima ·  
 uesonia · quid · sibi · doleat · collum ·  
 umeros bra.....digitos · ni · possit · aliq  
 30 se....utar.....inera · cor \ uit  
 pulmone.....t · sentire · quit.....  
 doleat · i...st....uenter · umb.....  
 scapulae.....ni.....  
 uiscu.....n.....rina.  
 35 face.....  
 genua...bia.....a pedes  
 talos.....s · ungis · ni ·  
 possit · sta.....tute · seiue · plus ·  
 seiue · par.....m fuerit ·  
 40 quomod.....scripsit  
 man.....ax..am  
 ueso.....

The remainder of the formula is continued on the reverse of the tablet, the writing running in the same direction as that on the face.

## B

- trado m.....nc ·  
 mensi · februar.....male ·  
 45 male · perdat.....x. et ·  
 male · disp.rdat · tr.das  
 ni · possit..mpliu. ullum ·  
 .ensem · aspi.ere uid.re ·  
 contemplar.



Text supplemented from the other tablets.

## A

- Bona pulch[ra Proserpin]a, Plutonis uxor,  
 seiue me S[al]uia[m dicer]e oportet, eripias  
 salutem, c[or]pus, colorem, uires, uirtutes  
 Maximae Vesoniae. Tra[da]s Pluton[i]  
 5 uiro [tuo]. Ni poss[it co]gitationibus su[eis hoc]  
 quicq[uid uitare. Pro]tinu[s] tra[da]s illanc]  
 Febri qu[artanae, terti]anae, [cottidianae],  
 quas cum illa luc[tent, deluctent; illanc]  
 eu[i]ncant, uincan[t, u]sque dum anima[m]  
 10 e[ius] eripiant. Q[uar]e hanc uictima[m]  
 tibi trad[o], P[roserpina, sei]ue me, Pros[erpina],  
 seiue me [Acherusiam] dicere oportet. Me]  
 mitta[s arcessitu]m canem tr[ic]ep[item],  
 qui [Maximae Vesonia]e cor er[ip]iat.  
 15 Polli[cearis illi te da]turum tres uictimas—  
 palm[as, caricas, porc]um nigrum—  
 hoc sei [p]erf[ecerit an]te mense Martium.  
 Ha[ec, [Salui]a, ti[bi dabo], cum compote[m]  
 fece[ris]. Do tibi ca[put] Max[i]mae Vesoniae.  
 20 P[roser]pina S[a]lui[a], do tibi frontem  
 Ma[x]imae [Vesoni]ae. Proserpina S[aluia],  
 do tibi super[cilia V]esoniaes. Proserpina  
 Saluia, do tibi palpetras Maximae Vesoni[ae].  
 Proserpina Saluia, do tibi pupillas Vesoniae.  
 25 Proserpina Saluia, do tibi oriclas, labras,  
 nares, nasum, lingua, dentes Maximae  
 Vesoniae, nei dicere possit Maxima  
 Vesonia quid sibi doleat: collum,  
 umeros, bra[cchia], digitos, ni possit aliq  
 30 se[adi]utar[e: pectus, ioc]inera, cor, \ uit  
 pulmone[s, ni possi]t sentire quit sibi



doleat: i[n]te[stina], uenter, umb[licus],  
 scapulae, [latera], n[i] possit dormire]:  
 uiscu[m] sacrum], n[i] possit u]rina[m]  
 35 face[re: natis, anum, femina],  
 genua, [ti]bia[s, crur]a, pedes,  
 talos, [plantas, digito]s, ungis, ni  
 possit sta[re sua uir]tute. Seiue plus,  
 seiue par[uum scriptu]m fuerit,  
 40 quomod[o quicquid legitime] scripsit,  
 man[dauit, seic ego M]ax[im]am  
 Veso[niam, Proserpina, tibi]

## B

trado, m[ando, ut tradas illa]nc  
 mensi Februar[io. Male], male,  
 45 male perdat, [male e]x[s]et,  
 male disp[e]rdat. Tr[a]das,  
 ni possit [a]mpliu[s] ullum  
 [m]ensem aspi[c]ere, uid[e]re,  
 contemplar[e].

## § 4 Secunda.

Lead tablet 30.4 x 16.5 cm. with writing on the reverse beginning at the lower end. Nothing of this tablet is preserved to the left of the longitudinal axis.

## A

.....seiue • me •  
 .....c.rpus  
 .....irt.....i tra.as •  
 .....us•su..s•hoc .  
 5 .....tan.e  
 .....s cu.....uctent •  
 .....uin.....nt • usque •  
 .....s...ipia.....re • hanc •  
 .....tra .....seiue • me •

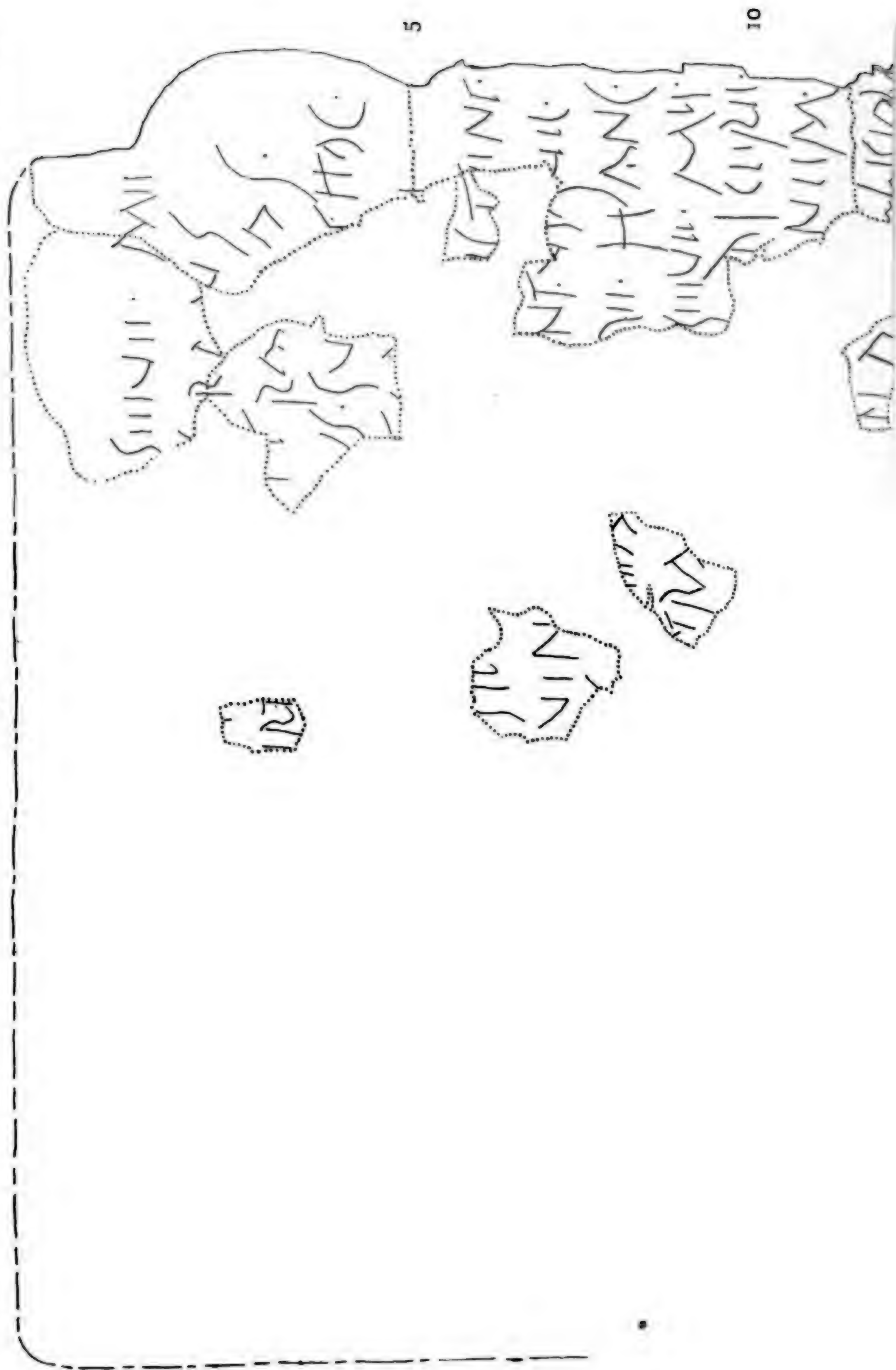


- 10 .....dicere ·  
 .....nem ·  
 .....pia....lliciarus  
 .....lmas ·  
 .....fecerit
- 15 .....ina · tibi ·  
 .....is · do · tibi ·  
 .....a · do · tibi  
 .....luia do tibi ·  
 .....luia do tibi ·
- 20 .....do tibi · pupillas ·  
 .....ares · labra  
 .....asum ·  
 .....quid.....leat ·  
 .....acc....dig.....possit ·
- 25 .....ect.....nera ·  
 .....sit · sen.....quit ·  
 .....nter umblicus ·  
 .....cap..as · ni  
 .....m · sacrum
- 30 .....f.....num  
 .....u.....as · pedes
- B
- .....ni ·  
 .....tu.....ue  
 .....um
- 35 .....q..t · legitime  
 .....seic ego  
 .....tibi trado  
 .....llun..m.nsi  
 .....o mal...erd.t · male
- 40 .....rd.t · m.....das  
 .....m · m....m aspicere  
 .....



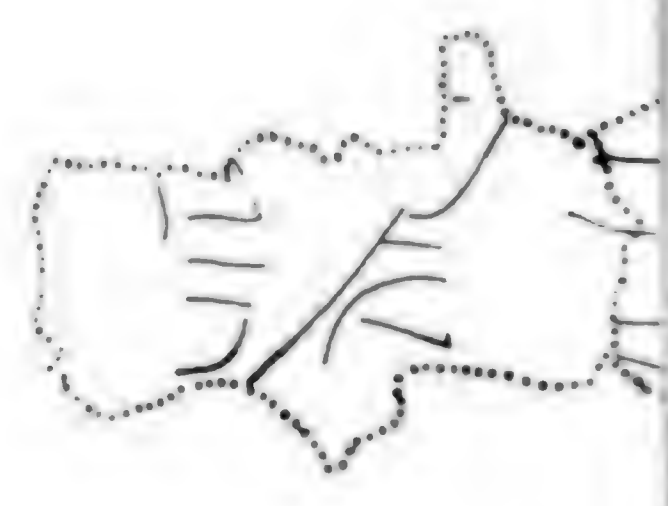
SECUNDA (Original Size).  
A.

PLATE V.





Handwritten text in a cursive script, possibly a form or ledger, with multiple columns and rows of entries. The text is written in a dark ink on a light background.





Text supplemented from the other tablets.

## A

- [Bona pulchra Proserpina, Plutonis uxor], seiue me  
 [Saluam dicere oportet, eripias salutem], c[o]rpus,  
 [colorem, uires, u]irt[utes .....]i. Tra[d]as  
 [Plutoni uiro tuo. Ni possit cogitationib]us su[ei]s  
 hoc
- 5 [quicquid uitare. Tradas illunc Febri quar]tan[a]e,  
 [tertianae, cottidianae, qua]s cu[m illo l]uctent,  
 [deluctent; illunc e]uin[cant, uinca]nt, usque  
 [dum animam ei]us [er]ipia[nt. Qua]re hanc  
 [uictimam tibi] tra[do, Proserpina], seiue me,
- 10 [Proserpina, seiue me Acherusiam] dicere  
 [oportet. Me mittas arcessitum ca]nem  
 [tricipitem, qui .....i cor eri]pia[t. Po]lliciarius  
 [illi te daturum tres uictimas—pa]lmas,  
 [caricas, porcum nigrum—hoc sei per]fecerit
- 15 [ante mensem Martium. Haec, Proserp]ina, tibi  
 [dabo, cum compotem fecer]is. Do tibi  
 [caput.....i. Proserpina Salui]a, do tibi  
 [frontem.....i. Proserpina Sa]luia, do tibi  
 [supercilia.....i. Proserpina Sa]luia, do tibi
- 20 [palpebras.....i. Proserpina Saluia], do tibi  
 pupillas  
 [.....i. Proserpina Saluia, do tibi n]ares, labra,  
 [orículas, linguam, dentes, n]asum  
 [.....i, ni dicere possit ....ius] quid [sibi do]leat:  
 [collum, umeros, br]acc[hia], dig[itos, ni] possit
- 25 [aliquid se adiutare: p]lect[us, ioci]nera,  
 [cor, pulmones, ni pos]sit sen[tire] quit  
 [sibi doleat: intestina, ue]nter, umblicus,  
 [latera, ni possit dormire: s]cap[ul]as, ni



[possit sanus dormire: uiscu]m sacrum,  
 30 [ni possit urinam] f[acere: natis, a]num,  
 [femina, gen]u[a, crura, tibi]as, pedes,

## B

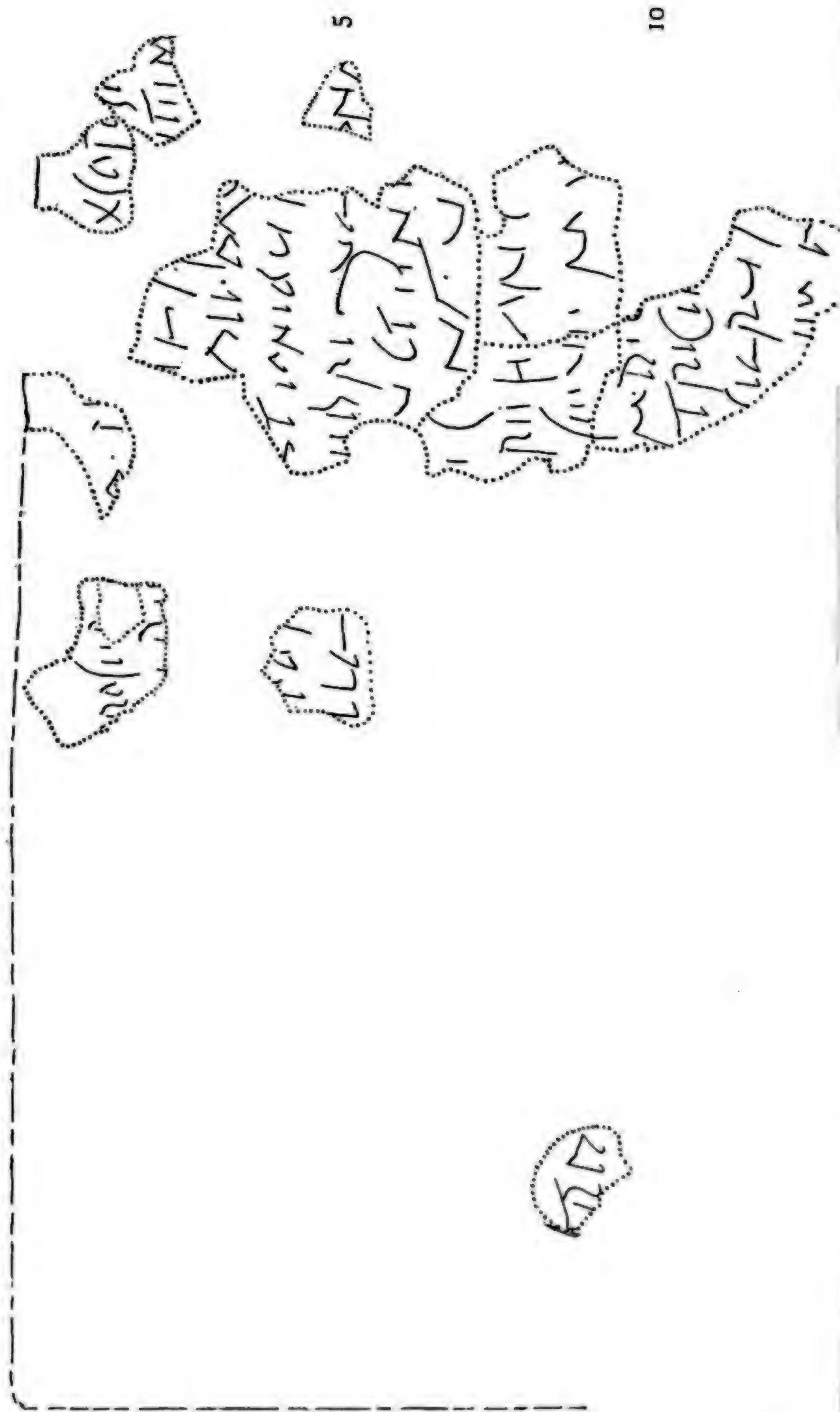
[talos, plantas, digitos, ungis], ni  
 [possit stare sua uir]tu[te. Sei]ue  
 [plus, seiue paruum script]um  
 35 [fuerit, quomodo quic]q[ui]t legitime  
 [scripsit, mandauit], seic ego  
 [.....] tibi trado,  
 [mando, ut tradas i]llun[c] m[e]nsi  
 [Februari]o. Mal[e p]erd[a]t, male  
 40 [exseat, male dispe]rd[a]t. M[andes, tra]das,  
 [ni possit amplius ullu]m m[ense]m aspicere,  
 [uidere, contemplare].

## § 5 Aquillia.

Lead tablet 27 x 15.4 cm. without writing on the reverse.

.....proser...a · pl.....xsor se...  
 .....ere.....ias · s.utem  
 .....ae · aqu.....  
 .....pos.....ationibus.....  
 5 .....lla....ebri qua..ana.  
 .....uctent  
 .....ncant · u....  
 .....re hanc  
 .....tra.....seiue me  
 10 .....m · dic.....  
 .....trice.....  
 .....ciarus  
 .....ma.....  
 .....





the  
on



ॐ ५

PLATE II.

$\pi_1 \cdot \int_{\pi_1} \pi_1$

45

[illegible]

תאריך: 21/12/21  
 מקום: תל אביב  
 שם: ד"ר אביגיל גורן  
 תפקיד: מנהל  
 חתימה:



- 25 ..ntes · liguam · auon.....e · possit  
 ...nia · quid · s.bi ...eat .....s  
 ..acchia · digito.....possit · ali....  
 se adiutare · pec.....nera · cor  
 pulmones · ni ..... quit · sentire ·  
 30 quit · sibi · dolea.....ina · uenter ·  
 umblicus · scapul.. latera · ni · po....  
 dorm.re · uiscum sac.um · ni possi.  
 urinam · f...re .....s · femina ·  
 anum · gen.....a · tibias · pedes  
 35 talos .la.....tos · ungis · ni ·  
 ..ssit .....su.....te seiue  
 plus · ....e p..uum ....ptum  
 fuerit · quomodo · quicqui.....me ·  
 scripsit · mandau....eic · ego ...niam  
 40 tibi · trado man.. ut · tradas .....  
 .ensi februario.....xs..

The remainder of the formula is continued on the back of the tablet, the writing running in the opposite direction to that on the face.

## B

- male · disperd.....nd.....adas  
 nei · po.s.t ampli.. ull..  
 men.em aspicere · ui....  
 45 contemplare

Text supplemented from the other tablets.

## A

- [B]ona pu[lchra P]roserpina, Plutoni[s  
 u]xsor, seiue [me Saluiam] deicere oportet,  
 eripias salu[tem], corp[us], colorem, uires,  
 uirtutes Au[on]ia[e]. T[r]adas Plutoni  
 5 uiro tuo. [Ni possit cogitati]onibus s[ueis hoc]  
 quicqui[d] uit[are]. Protinus tradas illanc]



ut tradas, [mandes me]nse Februari[o  
e]cillunc. Mal[e perdat, mal]e exset,  
[mal]e disperd[at. Mandes, tra]das, ni possit  
45 [ampliu]s ullum [mensem aspic]ere,  
[uidere, contempla]re.

§ 2 Avonia.

Lead tablet 29 x 11.3 cm., with writing across the back about  
midway between the upper and lower edges.

A

.ona · pu.....roserpina · plutoni.  
.xsor · seiue ..... · deicere · oportet ·  
eripias · salu....corp.. colorem · uires ·  
uirtutes au..ia..t.adas · plutoni ·  
5 uiro tuo.....onibus · s.....  
quicqui. uit.....  
febri quart..ae · t.....  
quas cum · illa .ucten .....  
euincant · uinca.....  
10 eius · eripiant · ..are hanc · uictimam  
.... trado .....a · seiue · me  
....erpina · se.....eruosiam dicere  
...rtet · me · m.....cessitum · cane.  
.....te.....s cor eripiat  
15 .....urum · tres · uictim..  
palmas · carica.....grum · hoc · sei ·  
perfecerit · an.....martium · haec  
....ia tibi · dabo cu. · compotem · feceris  
do tibi caput auon...s pr...rpina · saluia · d.  
20 tibi · frontem auonia.....oserpina · saluia  
do tibi · supercilia .....aes · proserpina  
..luia · do · tibi · palpe...s auoniaes · proserpi..  
.alu.a · do ..bi · pupillas ..onia.s  
...uia · do · t... oricula....bra .....nasum



- eu[*in*]cant, [*u*incant], usq[ue] dum animam  
 ei[us] eripia[nt]. Quare ha[nc] uictimam  
 10 tibi trad[o, Prose]rpi[na, seiue] me,  
 Proserpin[a, seiue] m[<sup>iam</sup>e Ach]eruos dicere  
 oportet. M[<sup>e</sup>e] mittas a[r]cessitum canem  
 tricepitem, qui [Ploti] cor eripiat. Polliciar  
 illi te daturum t[r]es uictimas— \ us  
 15 palma[s, ca]rica[s], por[c]um nigrum—  
 hoc sei pe[r]fecerit [ante mensem]  
 M[artium]. Haec, P[r]oserpina Saluia, tibi dabo]  
 cum compote fe[cer]is. Do tibi cap[ut]  
 Ploti Auon[iae. Pr]oserpina S[aluia],  
 20 do tibi fron[tem] Plo[ti]. Proserpina Saluia,  
 do [ti]b[i] su[per]cilia] Ploti. Proserpin[a]  
 Saluia, do [tibi palpebra]s Plo[ti].  
 Proserpina Sa[luia, do tibi pupillas]  
 Ploti. Proser[pina Saluia, do tibi nare]s,  
 25 labra, or[iculas, nasu]m, lin[g]uam,  
 dentes P[loti], ni dicere possit  
 Plotius quid [sibi dole]at: collum, umeros,  
 bracchia, d[i]git[os, ni po]ssit aliquit  
 se adiutare: [pe]c[tus, io]cinera, cor,  
 30 pulmones, n[i possit] senti(re) quit  
 sibi doleat: [intes]tina, uenter, um[b]licu[s],  
 latera, [n]i p[oss]it dormire: scapulas,  
 ni poss[it] s[a]nus dormire: uiscum  
 sacrum, nei possit urinam facere:  
 35 natis, anum, [fem]ina, genua,  
 [crura], tibias, pe[des, talos, plantas,  
 digito]s, ungis, ni po[ssit s]tare [sua  
 ui]rt[ute]. Seiue [plu]s, seiue paruum  
 scrip[tum fuerit], quomodo quicqu[id]  
 40 legitim[e scripsit], mandauit, seic  
 ego Ploti ti[bi tr]ado, mando,



- proserpina · sa.....  
 ploti · proser .....s  
 25 labra · or.....m lin.uam ·  
 dentes p.....ni dicere · possit ·  
 plotius · quid.....at · collum · umeros  
 bracchia · d.git.....ssit · aliquit ·  
 se · adiutare...c.....cinera · cor ·  
 30 pulmones · n.....sentique · quit ·  
 sibi · doleat.....tina · uenter · um. licu.  
 latera .i p...it · dormire · scapulas  
 ni · poss.. s.nus · dormire · uiscum ·  
 sacrum · nei · possit · urinam · facere ·  
 35 natis · anum ...ina · genua  
 ..... · tibias pe.....  
 .....s · ungis · ni · po.....tare · ...  
 ..rt.te · seiue....s · seiue · paruum  
 scrip..... quomodo · quicqu..  
 40 legitim..... mandauit · seic  
 ego ploti · ti.....ado · mando  
 ut · tradas .....nse · februari.  
 .cillunc · mal.....e · exset  
 ...e · disperd.....das · ni · possit ·  
 45 .....s ullum.....ere ·  
 .....re

Text supplemented from the other tablets.

Bona pulchra Proserpina, [P]lut[o]nis uxor,  
 seiue me Saluiam deicare oportet,  
 eripias salutem, c[o]pus, co]lorem, uires, uirtutes  
 Ploti. Tradas[Plutoni]uiro tuo. Ni possit cogitati  
 5 sueis hoc uita[re. Tradas] illunc \ onibus  
 Febri quartan[a]e, t[ertian]ae, cottidia[n]ae,  
 quas [cum illo l]uct[ent, deluctent; illunc]



tertianae, cottidianae, quas cum illa l]uctent,  
 [deluctent: illanc euincant, ui]ncant, u[sque  
 dum animam eius eripiant. Qua]re hanc  
 [uictimam tibi] tra[do, Proserpina], seiue me,  
 10 [Proserpina, seiue me Acherusia]m dic[ere oportet.  
 Me mittas arcessitum canem] trice[pitem,  
 qui .....ae Aquilliae cor eripiat. Polli]ciarus  
 [illi te daturum tres uictimas—pal]ma[s, caricas,  
 porcum nigrum—hoc sei perfecerit ante mensem  
 15 Martium. Haec, Proserpina Saluia, tibi dabo, cum  
 compotem feceris. Do tibi caput .....ae  
 Aquilliae]. Pros[erpina Saluia, d]o t[ibi] [frontem  
 .....ae  
 Aquilliae. Pro]serpin[a Saluia], d[o ti]bi su[per-  
 cilia  
 .....ae Aquilliae. Proserpina Saluia, do tibi palpe-  
 bras  
 20 .....ae Aquilliae. P]ros[erpina Saluia, do tibi  
 pu]pilla[s  
 .....ae Aquilliae. Proserpina Saluia, d]o t[ibi  
 nares,  
 labra, oriculas, nasum, linguam, dentes .....ae  
 Aquilliae, ni dicere possit .....a Aquillia quid  
 sibi doleat: collum, umeros, bracchia, digitos,  
 25 ni possit aliquid se a]diuta[re: pectus,  
 cor, iocinera, pulmon]es, [ni possit sentire  
 quid sibi doleat: i]nt[estina, uenter, umblicus,  
 latera, ni possit dormire: scapulas, ni  
 possit sana dormire: uis]cum [sac]rum,  
 30 [ni possit urinam facere]: f[emina,  
 natis, anum, genua, tibia]s, cru[ra, pedes,  
 talos, plantas, digi]tos, [ungis, ni possit,  
 s]tare sua [uirtute. Seiue plus],  
 seiue paru[um sc]riptum [fuerit,



15 .....  
 .....  
 .....pros.....o t..i.....  
 .....serpin.....d....bi su.....  
 .....  
 20 .....ros.....pilla.  
 .....o t.....  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 25 .....diuta.....  
 .....es.....  
 .....nt.....  
 .....  
 .....cum....rum  
 30 .....f.....  
 .....s \* cru.....  
 .....tos \* .....  
 .tare sua.....  
 seiue paru.....riptom.....  
 35 .....leg.....psi.  
 .....se.....  
 .....das m.....  
 .....  
 ....erd.....  
 40 .....

Text supplemented from the other tablets.

[Bona pulchra] Proser[pin]a, Pl[utonis u]xsor, se[iue  
 me Saluiam dic]ere [oportet, erip]ias s[al]utem,  
 [corpus, colorem, uires, uirtutes .....]ae Aqu[illiae].  
 Tradas Plutoni uiro tuo. Ni] pos[sit cogit]ati-  
 onibus [sueis  
 5 hoc quicquid uitare. Tradas i]lla[nc F]ebri  
 qua[rt]ana[e],



35 quomodo quicquid] leg[itime scri]psi[t,  
 mandauit], se[ic ego Aquilliam tibi trado,  
 mando, ut tra]das, m[andes illanc mense  
 Februario. Male perdat, male exseat, male  
 disp]erd[at. Mandes, tradas, ni possit amplius  
 40 ullum mensem aspicere, uidere, contemplare].

§ 6 Transcription of fragments which cannot be assigned  
 to their original places.

(a) Probably belonging to Plotius.

|   |     |     |
|---|-----|-----|
|   | 120 | 129 |
| 1 | a   | ri  |
| 2 | a   | .   |

(b) Probably belonging to Avonia.

|   |     |
|---|-----|
|   | 208 |
| 1 | se  |
| 2 | ra  |

(c) Probably belonging to Secunda.

|   |           |           |          |     |            |
|---|-----------|-----------|----------|-----|------------|
|   | 52 (obv.) | 52 (rev.) | 87       | 126 | 131        |
| 1 | o ti      | u         | .        | .ru | r..a       |
| 2 |           | t         | dice[re] |     | [po]ss[i]t |
| 3 |           |           | e        |     |            |

|   |        |            |            |     |     |
|---|--------|------------|------------|-----|-----|
|   | 148    | 157 (obv.) | 157 (rev.) | 170 | 193 |
| 1 | ..s(?) | .u         | m          | ic  | n   |

(d) Probably belonging to Aquillia.

|   |     |     |                |         |
|---|-----|-----|----------------|---------|
|   | 54c | 56  | 58             | 95      |
| 1 | n   | ..  | [Pros]erpi[na] | ep...u. |
| 2 | in  | .ua |                |         |
| 3 | .   |     |                |         |

|   |        |     |       |     |     |
|---|--------|-----|-------|-----|-----|
|   | 114    | 125 | 135   | 137 | 153 |
| 1 | o(?)ra | au  | ....q | .   | e   |
| 2 |        | .   | r     | r   | ae  |



|   |     |              |         |     |            |     |
|---|-----|--------------|---------|-----|------------|-----|
|   | 156 | 163          | 169     | 172 | 175        |     |
| 1 | p.  | Pro[serpina] | [sei]ue | .   | ui         |     |
| 2 | ..  |              |         | g   |            |     |
|   | 177 | 179          | 183     | 185 | 188        | 190 |
| 1 | .   | .            | m(?)    | la  | c.         | n.  |
| 2 | r.  | e            |         |     | s          |     |
| 3 |     | r            |         |     |            |     |
|   | 195 | 196          | 199     | 201 | 203        | 204 |
| 1 | r   | ia           | ti      | m   | [po]ss[it] | m   |

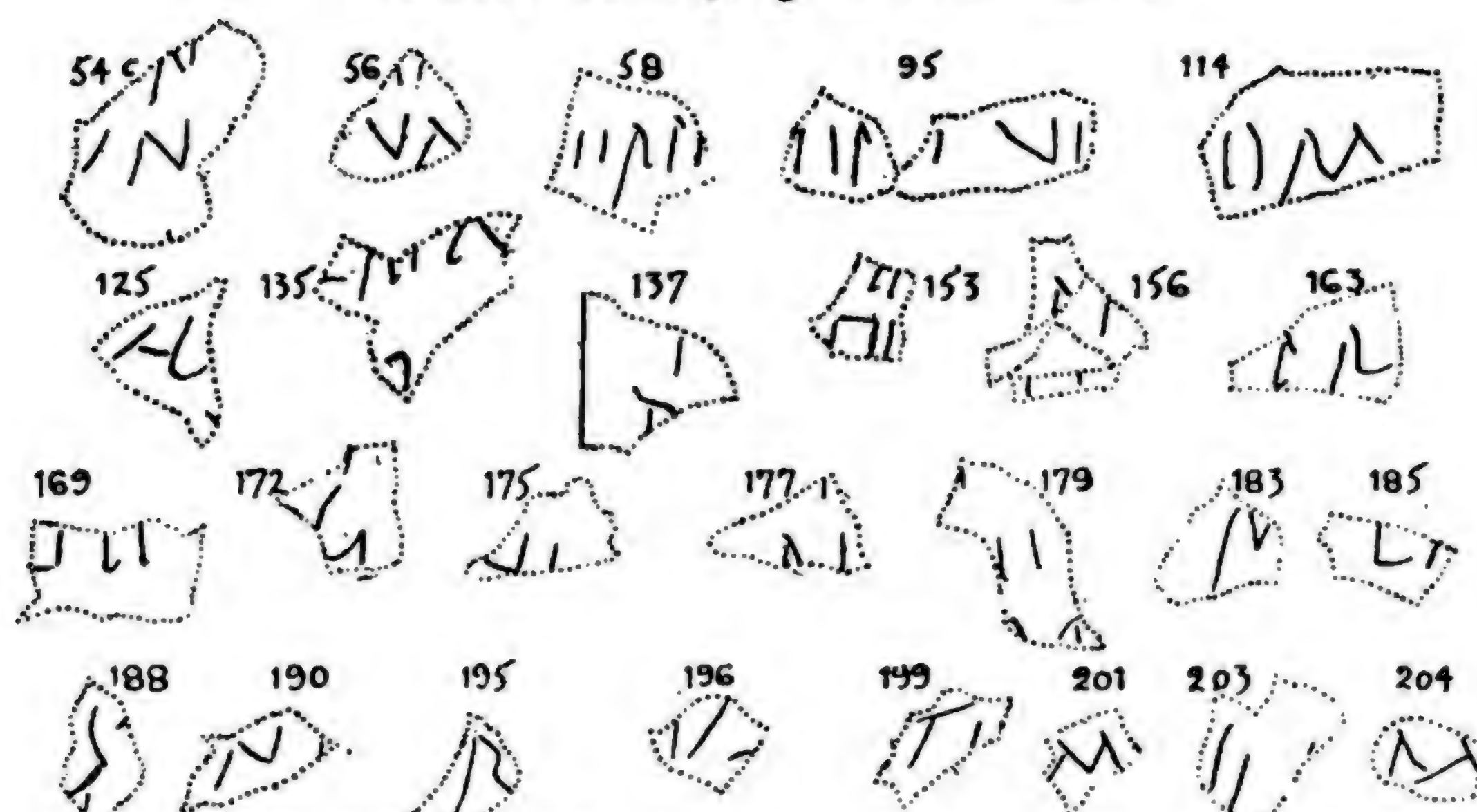
(e) Fragments which cannot be assigned to any tablet.

|   |     |     |              |       |     |     |
|---|-----|-----|--------------|-------|-----|-----|
|   | 59  | 89  | 98           | 112   | 127 |     |
| 1 | .   | u   | [Proser]pina | .     | a   |     |
| 2 | .   | ta  | .pos[sit]    | p     |     |     |
|   | 134 | 141 | 145          | 147   | 158 | 162 |
| 1 | .   | pa  | .            | m     | ..  | ae  |
| 2 | as  | d s |              | ..    |     |     |
| 3 | ..  |     |              |       |     |     |
|   | 165 | 166 | 168          | 171   | 189 | 194 |
| 1 | a   | .m  | [po]ss[it]   | a.... | u   | or  |
|   | 198 | 200 | 211          | 213   | 214 |     |
| 1 | p   | .a  | po           | ui    | il  |     |



UNPLACED FRAGMENTS.

Probably belonging to First Hand<sup>1</sup>

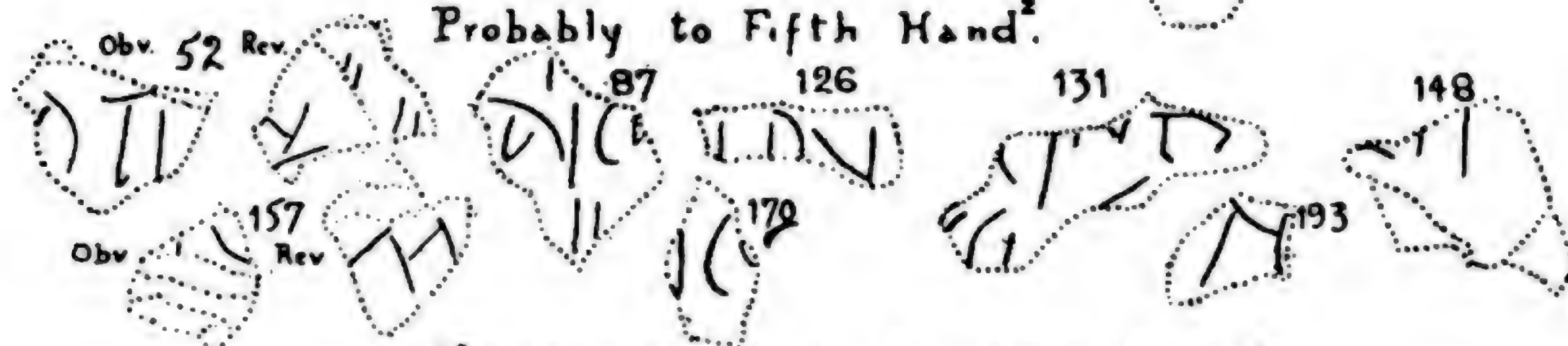


Probably to Plotius.

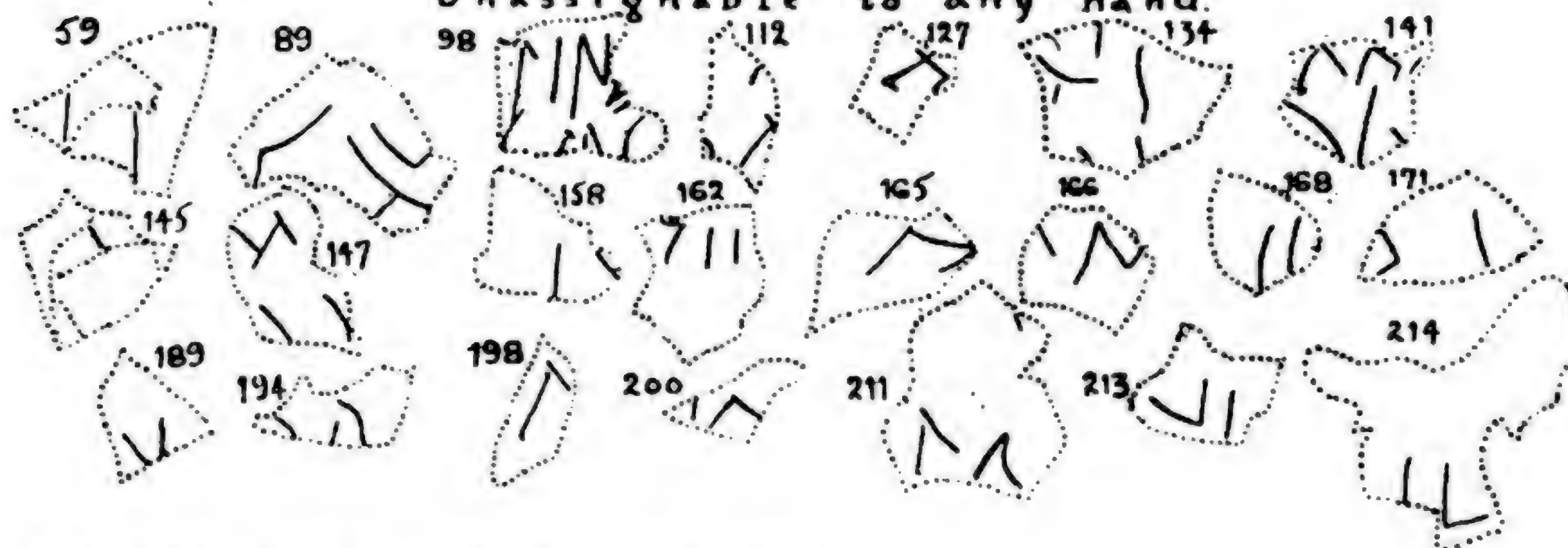
Probably to Avonia.



Probably to Fifth Hand<sup>2</sup>



Unassignable to any hand<sup>3</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Read *Aquillia* instead of *First Hand*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Secunda* instead of *Fifth Hand*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *tablet* instead of *hand*.







## COMMENTARY ON PLOTIUS.

1. *Bona* .....*uxsor*. The manner of addressing the deity in a *defixio* was deemed of the utmost importance. Care was taken to specify beyond all doubt the exact deity invoked, so that the petition might not fail to reach its destination; and to use suitable language so as to avoid giving offence. Ordinarily the most familiar name of the deity was thought sufficient; but often the composers of the formulae in their desire to be more explicit were led to employ many exclusive and flattering epithets. As a rule, among both Greeks and Romans the invocation of Proserpina (Κόρη, Δέσποινα, Περσεφόνη, Περσιφόνη, Φρεσσοφόνη, Φερσεφόνη, Φρεσσεφώνη) was very simple (cf. Wunsch DTA 101; 102a. b; 103a; Aud. Bull. Arch. 1908, frag. I, p. 291). But to her the Romans, preferring other deities, very seldom appealed. The formula *Dea Ataccina Turibrig Proserpina per tuam maiestatem* (Aud. 122) and that of the Johns Hopkins tablets are unusually long. This conception of the power of Proserpina is quite Homeric, for Homer represents her as the consort of Hades who along with her husband puts into effect the curses of men upon the souls of the dead (cf. Il. IX 457. 569; Od. X 494; XI 226. 385-6. 634-5). In fact, our formula suggests Greek and Roman poetry rather than magic; e. g. *pulchra* (Verg. Aen. VI 142); *περικαλλής* (Hom. H. II 493); *casta* (Verg. Aen. VI 402; Sil. Ital. XIII 546); *maxima* (Ovid. Met. V 507); *ἀγνή* Od. XI 386); *coniunx Plutonia* (Prudent. con. Sym. I 367); *dominam Ditis* (Verg. Aen. VI 397); *νύμφη Ἁΐδου* (Eur. Alc. 746). *Bona* is found only in our tablets. Other deities commonly invoked are Pluto, Dis Pater, Mercurius, Terra Mater, Ceres, Hecate, the Praxidicae and Ge. In late times we actually find the God of the Jews regarded as an infernal deity and addressed as *Iaw* (Aud. 241, 23-27). Often, on the other hand, no deity at all was specifically addressed (cf. Wunsch DTA 67; 77).

*uxsor*. Cf. *exset* 43. The use of *xs* for simple *x* is no evidence of date. It is a phenomenon that appears in all classes of composition and ranges from the S. C. de Bacch. of 186 B. C. to the second century of the Empire. *Maxima* is read throughout Vesonia. This lack of uniformity is very common and may be observed even in such carefully prepared documents as the Monumentum Ancyranum; e. g., *sexsiens* (III 24); *exstinxeram* (VI 13).

2. *deicere*. So Avonia 2; elsewhere *dicere*. Similarly *seie* 10-11. 38 (bis); *sei* 16; *seic* 40; *sueis* 5; *nei* 34; but *ni* 4. 26. 28. 30. 32. 37. 44. 46; and *dicere* 26. See the other four tablets. These forms are archaic (Lindsay, p. 243; Lomm., pp. 129 ff.; Stolz-Schmalz, p. 31; Georges s. vv.) and have therefore a very decided bearing on the date of our tablets (cf. Ch. III, § 4.) For *seie* see Aud. 196, 3=CIL X 1604; CIL I 197, 3; 200, 31; 203, 3. Simple *sei* appears much more commonly than *seie*; see note on 16. *Deicere* and inflections are not rare; e. g., Plaut. Poen. 474; CIL I 1007; 198, 32; 205, col. 2, 28.



*seine*. . . . .oportet. Cf. 10-11. Similarly *seine quo alio nomine uoltis appellari* (Aud. 129b); *Dis Pater Veious Manes, sine quo alio nomine fas est nominare* (Macr. III 9, 10); and in the Magic Papyri, *επικαλούμαι σου τα ἱερα και μεγάλα και κρυπτα ονοματα οἱς χαιρεῖς ακουων* (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 85, 1609-1611); cf. ib. 870 ff. 979. 1345-1379. 1811-1812. In this manner of address the magus is groping, as it were, for the name that will bind the deity to perform his request to the last word; as . . . . . *δει σε ποιησαι τουτο δει σε μη φυγειν* . . . . . (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 102, 2299 ff.): cf. ib. 2324; Gruppe, pp. 883 ff.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, p. 225; Wünsch, *Rhein. Mus.* LV, p. 81. In the sphere of religion a similar manner of address is employed, but its purpose is to propitiate, not to bind (cf. Frazer, l. c.; Hor. Sat. II 6, 20; id. Carm. Saec. 14-15; Aesch. Agam. 160 ff.; Shorey on Hor. Carm. Saec. 15; Milton, *Paradise Lost* III 7).

*seine*. *Sine* or *seu* (= *uel si*) is rare and old-fashioned (cf. Reisig 256). See Persius I 67; Prop. IV 6, 81; Tib. I 6, 21. Like *sine* . . . *sine*, *seu* . . . *seu*, it generally follows the logical construction.

*me*. Here and in 10. 11. 12 we read the only reference to the person in whose interest the curse has been written. In *trado* 10. 41, *mando* 41, and in the frequently repeated formula *do tibi* 17-24 the reference is implied. But nowhere is the person mentioned by name for fear of magic vengeance and of the penalties imposed by law on those detected in resorting to *defixiones* against their fellows (cf. Aud., p. xlv ff.). Names are found as a rule only in amatory tablets (cf. ib., p. xlv, note 1).

*Saluam*. An epithet of Proserpina hitherto unattested. There is one instance where *Salvia* is used in the religious sphere as here, viz., the *nauiis Salvia* employed in the cult of the Magna Mater (CIL VI 494). In two other instances religious associations are implied: *aquae Salviae*, the name of the Roman fountain, and *Urbs Salvia* in Picenum whose patron divinity was *Salus* (CIL IX 5530 = 6078<sup>1</sup>). For the etymology of *Salvia* consult Schulze, p. 471. *Salvia* is apparently a translation of Σώτειρα, a common Greek epithet of Proserpina; e. g., *ναὸς Κόρης Σωτείρας* (Paus. III 13, 2); *τὴν Κόρην δὲ Σώτειραν καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες* (id. VIII 31, 1); *χῶπως ἀρεῖς τὴν Σώτειραν γενναίως τῇ φωνῇ μολπάζων* (Arist. Frogs 378-9). On coins of Cyzicus is read Κόρη Σώτειρα (cf. Macdonald, *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection*, II, pp. 265-266, Glasgow, 1901).

3. *eripias*. Not found elsewhere in the *defixiones* in this connection; cf., however, *auferas* (Aud. 250a 4; 288b 5; 289b 6. 16), and *apsumatis*, *desumatis*, *consumatis* (250a 23-24); also *αρον τον ψυχεν κε το στομα* (Aud. Bull. Arch. 1908, p. 7 IV); *αφες αυτου ψυχεν* (ib., p. 11 V).

*salutem*. Cf. *ualetudines* (Aud. 135a, 9); also 195, 3-7; [*inc*] *olumitatem* (Aud. Bull. Arch. 1908, p. 291 I); *υγείαν* (Aud. 41, 19). With this list of defixed members and faculties compare the following from a formula in the Magic Papyri: . . . . *διδους εμοι των Δ (= δεινων) ζωην υγίαν σωτηριαν πλεντον ευτεκνίαν γνω[σ]ιν ευ[χρ]οίαν ευμενίαν ευβουλίαν ευδοξίαν μνημην χάριν μορφήν καλλος* . . . . . (Wessely GZ, *Mimaut*, p. 147, 269 ff.).

*c[orpus]*. So Olivieri I. These are the only cases where the body is specified in the Latin tablets; but *σῶμα* appears often in the Greek., e. g. Aud. 41a 9 and b 16; Wünsch DTA 74, 3.



[co]lorem. Cf. Aud. 190, 5. *Corpus, colorem*—an alliteration found only here. uires. Cf. note on *eripias* 3.

uirtutes. Cf. 38. This is without parallel in other Latin tablets. The Greek, however, afford many similar expressions; e. g., ἀφέλεσθε αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν . . . . . (Aud. 22, 7); συνέχετέ μοι . . . . . τὴν ἰσχὺν . . . . . τὴν δύναμιν (38, 19–21). Contrast *uirtus* . . . *nec eripi, nec surripi potest unquam* (Cic. Parad. VI sub fin.). For the alliteration cf. *uirtutum uirium* (Q. Curt. IX 7, 29); *uirtutem uiresque* (Tac. Hist. III 13); also Apul. Met. IV 8; Plaut. Amph. 191.

The condemnation of the victim in this line is plainly general and anticipates the detailed specifications to follow. The writer is fearful of omitting some item that would cause the curse to fail in its all-embracing effects. *Salutem* refers in general to the condition of the victim, *corpus* to his entire material frame, *colorem* to his appearance, and *uires* and *uirtutes* together to his faculties.

The asyndeton will be noticed. Nowhere is *et* or *-que* found in our tablets. Asyndeton is an occasional characteristic of the curse-formulae in general, being much less frequent in the Greek than in the Latin. In the earlier tablets from Latium (Aud. 133–139) *et* is more rarely found than it is later. Asyndeton is archaic and is characteristic of religious formulae; magic follows religion (cf. Stolz-Schmalz, p. 685).

4. Ploti. From 19 we learn that this Plotius was the slave of Avonia, one of the victims involved in these tablets. The *gens Plautia* or *Plotia* was a well-known plebeian *gens* few of whose members ever attained to distinction. *O* for *au* was a feature of rustic Latin and of the vulgar Latin of the streets of Rome. That the demagogue Clodius changed his name to this form from Claudius is notorious. Under plebeian influence *Plautius* became *Plotius*. In *oriculas* 25 we have a change from *auriculas* due to the same general causes (Lindsay, pp. 40–41; Stolz-Schmalz, pp. 79–80). This manner of spelling is one among many indications that in these tablets we have to do with the lowest classes of the population. In Aud. 215, 10 appears the name *Plotius Hermes*.

The name of the victim (cf. note on 1) was regarded as the most important part of the formula, for among the ancients the name was looked on as the person himself. To make the curse fully effective the name had to be written with the utmost clearness; but cf. Wünsch DTA 55, 77, 88, 95, and praef. iv. Sometimes the name was itself defixed, as ἀνάδοτε αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα (Aud. 22, 40); cf. 24, 23; 26, 28; 37, 26; Wünsch DTA 57, 20; id. Bonn. Jahrb. 119, no. 25, pp. 1–12. To prevent the goddess mistaking another Plotius for the intended victim his social status is mentioned in 19—*Ploti Avoniae*. In ancient medicine the patient's name was occasionally regarded as a valuable adjunct in effecting a cure; e. g., *de sanguine ipso qui fluit nomen eius in fronte scribe, cui medendum est* (Marc. X 33); cf. XIV 68.

Usually the dative is used with *eripere*; the gen. is emphatic, as *non pecuniam modo, uerum etiam hominis propinqui sanguinem uitamque eripere conatur* (Cic. Pro Quin. 11). Cf. Plotius 13 where the order is even more emphatic.

Tradas [Plutoni]. There are many different *formulae deuotoriae* employed and these vary according to whether a deity is asked to consign a victim to



the lower regions or whether the author of the curse does so directly without such an appeal. *Trado* is used, as it happens, in both cases; e. g., *trade Plutoni* (Aud. 140, 7) with an appeal to the god, and *trado* (Plotius 2) where the curser performs the action himself. In the former class are *obligare* (Aud. 247; 251; 253; 268); *deligare* (217b 6); *alligare* (217b 6; 277; 279); and many others. In Greek are *δεῖν*, *καταδεῖν*, *παράδιδόναι*. For complete lists cf. Aud. ind., pp. 474 ff., and Wünsch DTA ind., pp. 48-49.

4-5. *Ni*....*sueis*. *Ni* and *nei* are byforms of *ne* (cf. under *nei* 34). *Ni possit* followed by an infinitive occurs very frequently in our tablets (26. 28. 30. 32. 33. 34. 37. 44) in a great variety of connections. *Ne*, *non*, and *ut non* are common in other Latin *tabellae* (cf. Aud. ind., p. 480). Thus we read *ne viribus suis*....*possint* (Aud. 251, 14-15). The Greek equivalent constantly recurring is *μή* or *ἵνα μή* with a subjunctive of *δύναμαι* in a final clause, as in Aud. 234, 19. 45. 60-61; 38, 23-24. The imperative of the second person with *μή*, the nearest equivalent of the Latin subjunctive with *ne*, appears but rarely; as *μή δυνάσθωσαν* (249a 12-13).

*cogitationibus*. Not "thoughts" but "devices". For this manner of completing a word at the end of a line see facsimiles of Plotius 13 and Vesonia 29, and cf. Aud. 190, 9. 11.

5. *sueis*. For spelling see note on 2 and Ch. III, § 4. Cf. *nateis sueis* (CIL VI 15676); *noteis sueis* (X 3757); *infereis* (Aud. 199, 6).

*hoc uita[re]*. That the victim may not escape the doom prepared is the wish implied in every curse-formula; here only, apparently, is it explicitly expressed. *Hoc* summarizes; cf. *hoc opto: moriari malis exemplis cruciatus et ipse nec te nunc liceat quo me priuasti lumen uidere et tu des poenas*.... (Not. degli Scavi, 1900, p. 578, no. 35).

*illunc*. To read *e(c)cillunc* as in 43 would overcrowd the space. See Neue II 429. *Illunc* belongs exclusively to the vulgar sphere and among the authors is confined with rare exceptions to Plautus and Terence; e. g., Plaut. Curcul. 590; Trin. 520; Persa 738; Merc. 272. Belonging as it undoubtedly does to the sphere of conversation it is but rarely found in inscriptions: *illunc* (CIL IV 1691); *illuc* = *illud* (2013).

6. *Febri*....*cottidia[n]ae*. Of *tertianae* only the initial letter and the last three letters are legible; the presence of *quartanae* and *cottidianae* makes it easy to complete the word. Of *cottidianae* the second *t* is but faintly written.

To consign an enemy to the various manifestations of malaria was common to Greek and Roman alike; e. g., *patiatur febris frigus tortionis palloris sudores obripilationis meridianas interdianas serutinas nocturnas* (Aud. 140, 8-11 = Wünsch Seth. 1); *tercianas quartana* (Olivieri IV); ....*καὶ φρίκη καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν καθημερινῶι πυρετῶ* (Aud. 74, 6; 75, 10-12); cf. 51, 1-2. In no other Latin tablet is *febris cottidiana* mentioned; cf., however, Ter. Hec. 357. For the prevalence of malaria in ancient Greece see Jones, W. H. S., *Malaria and Greek History*, pp. 41, 63; and in ancient Italy see Jones, Ross and Elliot, *Malaria*, chapter entitled "*In Ancient Italy*". Of the ancient medical authorities on the disease see Hipp. Epid. I 24-25 (pp. 200, 201 Kühlewein); Celsus III 3, 13, 14, 15; and cf. Plato, Tim. 86A. For the periodic fevers as demons see Hymns of the Atharva-Veda (Bloomfield), p. 1 (V 22); p. 3



(I 25); p. 4 (VII 116); Cic. De N. D. III 25 and De Leg. II 11; Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 82.

cottidia[n]ae. Correctly spelled: Burger under *cottidie* in Thes. Ling. Lat., and Buecheler, Carm. Epig. 231, 3, note.

7. quas. The acc. for the nom.; cf.  $\delta\nu=\delta\varsigma$  (Aud. 159a 53); *inter quibus=inter quos* (106, 6).

[illo]. After *illunc* 5 one would expect *illoc* and similarly *illac* in Avonia 8 and Vesonia 8 where we actually find *illa*. By analogy we therefore read *illo* in this line.

[l]uct[ent]. This word is restored by a comparison of all the tablets. The active *lucto* is found almost entirely among the old writers, according to Priscian VIII 5, 25, p. 797. *Luctant* is read in Non., p. 472 from Ennius IX 339; *luctauimus* and *luctat* in ib., p. 468 from Plaut. Vid. Frag. IX and Ter. Hec. 829; *deluctauit* (or, according to isolated MSS., *deluctauit*) from Plaut. Trin. 839; *luctare* in Varro, De Ling. Lat. V 10, 61. Only three instances appear later than the Republic and these are all compounds with *re-*; *reluctabat* (Apul. Met. IV 20, p. 281); *reluctabant* (ib. VII 5, p. 455); a passive *reluctatis rebus* (Claudian, De Raptu Pros. I 42). It will be observed that these post-Republican examples belong to an author or to a department where one is not surprised to find archaic diction. *Luctent* would seem to be an evidence of the date of the tablets (cf. Ch. III, § 4).

[deluctent]. At this point occurs the only extensive lacuna common to all the tablets; hence, conjecture is the only means available for the restoration of the original text. On the analogy of the grouping of cognates or synonyms (as in 6. 8. 41. 42. 43-44. 45-46; Aud. 250a and b; also 16 x 4. 8. 10. 11. 12. 13) *deluctent* would be very apt in this connection. For the use of *delucto* see the previous note. *Deluctent* resembles the English "to fight it out". It would have been hard for the author of the tablets to choose other verbs that would as vividly describe the shivers and delirium of malarial fever as do *luctent* and *deluctent*; cf. Osler, *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*, pp. 16, 17.

[illunc]. As *cum illo* could not accompany *euincant uincant*, the direct object must be assumed. The omission of *et* is in harmony with the prevailing asyndeton. Further, the number of letters in the conjectured words would give the entire line an average length.

8. usq[ue dum]. See Vesonia 9. Cf. *usque dum per me tibi licuerit* (Cic. in Verr. III 5); Plaut. Men. 728.

[animam]. See Vesonia 9. Cf. *pertransseas hanimam et ispiritum* (Aud. 250a 17-18); also b 13 and Olivieri III. In the Greek tablets  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$  is frequently used in such a connection and occasionally along with it are other words connoting the immaterial part of man, as  $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$   $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\nu$   $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$   $\phi\rho\acute{o}\nu\eta\sigma\iota\nu$   $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\iota\nu$   $\zeta\omega\eta\nu$  (Aud. 41, 9-10). The expression *demandando ut facias illum mortuum* (300b 3-6) embodies the same sentiment in other words.

9. uictimam. Usually the word refers to an animal as in 14 and Ovid, Am. III 13, 16 (cf. Wissowa, p. 347), but here it refers to a human being. Similarly *hostia* in Aud. 138, where a woman is the victim. Cf. *victima* in 243, 28. Both words are rare in *defixiones*.

11. [Ach]eruoniam. *Ach-* rather than *ac-*: cf. *pulchra* 1 and *bracchia* 28. The syllable is not preserved in any of the tablets. The *-uo-* seems to be an



inadvertent metathesis of the vowels of the diphthong in Ἀχερούσιος. For the insertion of *-iam* cf. Aud. 49, 3. 4. 18; 50, 5. 8; and note on *cogitationibus* (Plotius 4).

Just as *Saluiam* 2 anticipates *eripias salutem* 3, so *Acheruosiam* anticipates the summons of Cerberus 12-13. This is a new epithet of Proserpina; cf. *Stygia* (Stat. Theb. IV 526-527); *inferna* (Virg. Aen. VI 138 and CIL X 7576); ἡ νεπτέρα θεός (Soph. Oed. Col. 1548). Cerberus generally appears as the watchdog of the house of Pluto and Proserpina, as in Apul. Met. VI 19; Virg. Aen. VI 400; Hes. Theog. 767 ff. Sometimes he is definitely located in the region of Acheron, as in Stat. Theb. VIII 513 ff.; Ovid, Met. VII 409 ff.; Sil. Ital. III 35; Pomp. Mela I 19, 7; and Acheron often stands for the entire realm of Hades as *pars pro toto*; e. g., Plaut. Most. 499. 509; Poen. 344. See Preller, Gr. Myth. I, p. 817. Acheron is mentioned only once elsewhere in the *defixiones* (Aud. 250a 11); but several times in the Magic Papyri, as ἀχερουσία τε λιμνη αἰδου εκατη και πλουτεν και κουρα (Wessely GZ; Bibl. Nat., p. 81, 1461-62); cf. ib. 1444. 1464.

12. m[e]=mihi. See Avonia 13. *Me pro mihi dicebant antiqui* (Festus, p. 156); cf. *templa tescaque me ita sunt* (Varro, De Ling. Lat. VII 2, 8); also id. De R. R. III 16, 2; *occiperes tute <eam> amare et me ires consultum male* (Plaut. Bacch. 565); also ib. 684; *si quid me fuerit humanitus* (Ennius, Ann. 125 V.) with which cf. *si quid mihi humanitus accidisset* (Cic. Phil. I 4, 10). See Stolz-Schmalz, p. 216; Neue II, p. 352; Lindsay, p. 422; Reichardt, N. Jahrb. für cl. Phil., 139, 1889, 110 ff.

[mittas]. See Avonia 13 and Vesonias 13. No trace of a letter is found after *-a-* in any of the tablets, yet it is natural to suppose that the verb we require here is coordinate with *eripias* 3; the only possible alternative is to assume *mittam*, but this of course would not suit the context.

12-13. *canem tricipitem*. Cerberus is often referred to without explicit mention of his name: e. g., *formaque trifauci personat insomnis lacrimosae ianitor aulae* (Sil. Ital. II 551); *tricipitem eduxit, Hydra generatum, canem* (Cic. Tusc. Disp. II 9). Other descriptive compounds of a similar character occur: *tergeminus* (Prop. IV 7, 52; Ovid, Tr. IV 7, 16); *triformis* (Stat. Theb. II 53-54). Among the Latin *tabelae defixionum* there is discovered no other reference of any sort to Cerberus; but in the Greek (Aud. 74a 5; 75a 9-10) the epithet φύλαξ is applied to him twice. That Cerberus does not figure more frequently in the *tabelae* is strange, in view of his importance in magical operations in general, as in the Magic Papyri: εξορκίζω σε κερβερε κατα των απαγξαμενων και των νεκρων και των βιαιως τεθνηκοτων. . . . . εξορκίζω σε κερβερε κατα ιερας κεφαλης των καταχθονιων θν. . . . (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 92, 1911 ff.); cf. also ib. 2261-62; 2293-94; and Roscher, Lex. under Kerberos, p. 1134.

13. *tricipitem*=*tricipitem*. By the third century A. D. *i* became *ɛ* in vulgar Latin throughout the Empire; occasional instances of the phenomenon of earlier date are found; cf. *conieciant* (CIL I 198, 50); *accepient* (V 6731, 21); *arceptorem* (in Greek script)=*accipitrem* (Aud. 270, 3). Consult Pirson, pp. 8-10; Carnoy, pp. 20-21; Schuchardt, Vok. II, pp. 27-28.

[Ploti]. Conjectured on the analogy of [Avoniae]s in Avonia 14. In this and the corresponding passages in the other tablets one would expect either



*eius* or the name of the victim in the genitive. The varying length of the lacunae corresponds with the varying length of the respective names.

cor. Cf. 29. Cerberus was regarded as a devourer of human flesh; cf. *qui viscera saevo spargis nostra (=humana) cani* (Lucan, Phars. VI 702-703); *ὠμωστήν* (Hesiod, Theog. 311); *ἐσθίει δὲ κε λάβησι πυλέων ἐκτοσθεν ἰόντα* (ib. 772); also Philochorus, Müller, Frag. Hist. Gr., Vol. I, p. 392, frag. 46.

polliciarus=pollicearis. Similarly (*h*)*abias* (Aud. 228a 6; b 6); (*h*)*abiat* (270, 8-9); *ualiat* (223a 16); *pariat* (CIL I 197, 10). Probably by the first century A. D., and sporadically earlier, *e*, *i* and *u* in hiatus with following vowels became consonantal in vulgar Latin and therefore lost their distinctive sounds; cf. Carnoy, pp. 39-40; Caper VII 106, 103 K; Sommer, Handb. d. lat. Laut- und Formenlehre, pp. 144-145.

There are other instances, though rare, of final unaccented *-is* becoming *-us*: e. g., *ularus* (CIL I 1267=IX 604); *spatiarius* (I 1220=IX 1837); *figarus* (IV 2082); *Caesarus* (I 685); *Caesaru* (696). Cf. Quint. I 7; Carnoy, pp. 47, 48-50; Schuchardt, Vok. II 91 ff.; Stolz-Schmalz, p. 199.

For the manner of completing the word cf. the note on *cogitationibus* 4.

14. t[r]es uictimas. Here *uictimas* refers to other than human beings (see note on *uictimam* 9). Doubtless the three offerings enumerated are to be given one to each mouth of the hell-hound, thus leaving no part of him unpropitiated. Apart from the special reason for the three offerings in this case the numerical trinity is a prominent feature of charm-formulae and incantations; cf. Shakespeare, Macbeth, I 3; IV 1.

15. palma[s]. See Avonia 16. According to the Magic Papyri dates and figs were sometimes used as offerings to accompany incantations, as *οὐτα φοινικων νικολων γ̄ καρακαί ισχαδες γ̄* (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 125, 3201-3202); *ισχαδε γ̄ φοινικός οὐτα γ̄ νικολαου* (id. NGZ, Pap. CXXI, p. 41, 629); cf. id. GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 90, 1835-36, p. 109, 2585. Dates are not recorded elsewhere as offerings to Proserpina and Demeter; and none of the three as offerings to Cerberus. Dates were often used in connection with magic rites in ancient Babylonia and Assyria; see Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, pp. xlv, 26, 141, 157, 187, 192. For a similar use among the Hebrews and Arabs cf. ib., pp. 107, 144. For the association of figs and dates cf. *hic nux, hic mixta est rugosis carica palmis* (Ovid, Met. VIII 674); *quid uolt palma sibi rugosaque carica* (id. Fasti I 185).

[ca]rica[s]. See Avonia 16. *Carica*=*figus Carica*. Cf. previous note. Fruit-offerings were characteristic of the Demeter-Proserpina worship (Stengel, Gr. Kult., p. 91; id. Opf., p. 167; Paus. IX 19, 4; VIII 37, 4; 42, 5). The fig was the special fruit of the chthonic cults in general (Gruppe, p. 790). A wild fig marked the place where Pluto went down with Proserpina (Paus. I 38; cf. ib. 37, 2).

por[c]um nigrum. For *uictima* applied to a pig, as here, see Ovid, Am. III 13, 16. The swine was characteristic of the chthonic worship in general and of that of Demeter-Proserpina in particular (cf. Gruppe, p. 1178, note 2; p. 38; Ovid, Fasti I 349. 466; Serv. ad Aen. III 118; Macr. Sat. III 11, 10; Varro, De R. R. IV 9; Hyg. Fab. CCLXVII). "The swine turns up the ground in his search for food....and primitive man saw in his action an attempt to communicate with the spirits of the lower world" (Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 358). Although not always given,



black victims were preferred by the chthonic divinities (Stengel, *Opf.*, p. 188; Dittenberger, *Syll.* 615, 25; CIL XI 1420; III 9, 11; Val. Max. II 4, 5; *Ephemeris Epig.* 1891, 134, 11; Wissowa, pp. 347-348). Black victims or parts of such are generally specified in the Magic Papyri, as *κυων μελαινα* (Wessely GZ, *Bibl. Nat.*, p. 80, 1434); *εγκεφαλος κριου μελανος* (ib. p. 77, 1314); cf. as p. 78, 1331 ff. and p. 81, 1439 ff. Similarly in the same spheres male victims were preferred (Stengel, *Opf.*, p. 192; Dittenberger, *Syll.* 615, 17): as (Π) *ερσεφονα χοιρον αρσενον* (Ziehen, *Leg. Sacr.* 51); *χρισον αυτο το ελλυχνιον λιπει κριου μελανος αρρενος πρωτοτοκου και πρωτοτροφου* (Wessely GZ, *Bibl. Nat.*, p. 71, 1091 ff.); cf. ib. 64-65; Krause, *De Hostiis*, pp. 5, 41.

It will have been observed that the three offerings mentioned in our tablets are of the kind usually given to Demeter and Proserpina. For the food of Cerberus see note on 13; occasionally he was placated with a honey-cake, as in Virg. *Aen.* VI 417 ff.; Apul. *Met.* VI 19 *passim*; cf. Gruppe, p. 407, notes 4 and 5.

16. *hoc sei pe[rfe]cerit. Sc. Cerberus.* A similar promise of a sacrifice in the event of the petition being granted by the divinity is found in Wünsch DTA 109, 6-7: *Μανοῦς κακῶς πράξαντος εὐαγγέλια θύσω*; cf. also id. *Bonn. Jahrb.* 119, no. 26.

For the spelling of *sei*, see note on 2. It is read also in CIL I 33; 196, 28; 571; 603; IV 64; 1196; 2430; 4971; 4972; Plaut. *Men.* 239. 241; and elsewhere. It is not found in any other Latin *tabella*.

16-17. [ante mensem] *M[artium]*. See Avonia 17; Vesonia 17. Time limits for the inception and consummation of the curse are often imposed, as *ni possit amplius ullum mensem aspicere* (44-45); *pridie idus ianuarias siue idus* (Aud. 248b 5-7); *ιανουαριας* (252, 44). Far commoner are references to moments, hours, days, nights, weeks, years, as *ab hac ora*, *ab hoc die*, *ab hac nocte* (Wünsch, *Seth.* I, 11); *εξ ακ διη οκ μομεντο* (Aud. 231, 24); *intra annum itum = istum* (129b 12-13); *perducas ad domus Tartareas . . . intra dies septe(m)* (250a 13-14); *εις ενιαντον* (189b 7) *σημερον* (174, 23). In one formula the effect of the curse is expected to be valid for all time, as *δητινεατουρ εν ομνε τεμπους* (231, 11-12).

17-18. [haec] . . . .fe[cer]is. See Avonia 17-18. Cf. note on *hoc . . . perfecerit* 16. So in the Magic Papyri: *τελεσον δαιμον τα ενθαδε γεγραμμενα ε . . . . τελεσαντι δε σοι θυσιαν αποδωσω βραδυναντι δε σοι κολασεις επενεγκω δς ου δυνασαι επενεγκειν . . . . .* (Wessely GZ, *Bibl. Nat.*, p. 97, 2095 ff.); cf. ib. 384. 2107-2109. A Roman prayer was frequently a cautious *quid pro quo*, as *Bellona, si hodie nobis uictoriam duis, ast ego tibi templum uoueo* (Livy X 19, 17); cf. id. I 12, 4; XXII 10, 2 ff.; CIL III 1933; Laing, *Classical Philology*, VI 2, pp. 180 ff. The vow of Jephthah is a parallel instance (Judges XI 30-31).

17. [P]r[oserpina Saluia]. *Saluia* only can be read in Avonia 18 and Vesonia 18, but a very distinct *r* together with the demands made by the length of the line compel us to read here *Proserpina* as well as *Saluia*.

18. *compote(m)*. The weak pronunciation of *m* in Latin is well-known (cf. Lindsay, pp. 60-62; Stolz-Schmalz, p. 156). In the *tabellae*, final *-m* is often dropped before vowels and consonants alike, as *colore(m) ficura(m) caput* (Aud. 190, 5); *fronte(m) supercili* (135a 6); *Sergia(m) Glycinna(m)* (139, 18); *uita(m)*



*ualetudin(em)* (195, 3); cf. Aud. Ind. 539 ff. In Avonia 18 we read *compotem feceris*, but in Vesonia 17 *mense Martium*.

*compotem* = *me compotem uoti* as in *insequere, et uoti postmodo compos eris!* (Ovid, *Ars Am.* I 486); *nunc me uoti compotem facis* (Sen. Hipp. 718).

*do tibi.* *Do* appears only here in the *tabellae*.

*cap[ut]*. See Avonia 19. Also in Aud. 134a 7; 135a 3; 190, 6. Cf. *τρίχας κεφαλὴν ἐνκέφαλον πρόσωπον* (41a 16-17); *τὴν κεφαλὴν* (Wünsch DTA 89a 3). In all other than the Johns Hopkins tablets the natural order of enumeration of the parts is followed very imperfectly.

19. *Ploti Auon[iae]*. *Sc. serui*. It is quite possible that the original was *Auoniaes* as in Avonia 14. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. *Seruus* in such instances might be written in full or in abbreviated form, or it might be omitted altogether. In the *uasa Arretina* (CIL XI 6700-6701) the usage varies, but in the *tesserae consulares* (I 717-776b) *seruus* is regularly omitted. Cf. Marquardt-Mau I, pp. 20-21 and p. 21, note 1.

20. *fron[tem]*. See Avonia 20; Vesonia 20. So *collus os bucas dentes labias mentus oculos fronte supercili* (Aud. 135a 6); cf. b 4; *cerebru frute supe[rcil]ia os nasu metu bucas* (190, 7). The nearest approach to this in Greek is *πρόσωπον* (Wünsch DTA 171, 3; 41a 16-17).

21. *su[percilia]*. See Avonia 21 and the previous note; *ὀφρῦς* (Aud. 41, 17 and Wünsch DTA 89a 10).

22-23. *[palpebras]*, *[pupillas]*. See Avonia 22. 23; Vesonia 23. 24. Nowhere else than in these tablets, apparently, are these parts of the eye enumerated. The eye as a whole, however, is frequently mentioned; e. g., among the Latin tablets—134a 8; 135a 1. 6; b 2; Olivieri I; further, see previous note: among the Greek tablets—*ὀφθαλμούς* (Aud. 49, 14. 16); *τὰ ὀμματα* (241, 13-14; 242, 57-58). Cf. *ni possit . . . aspicere, uidere, contemplare* (Plotius 44-45).

24-26. *[nares]s . . . dentes*. The order of the parts differs from this in Avonia 24-25, Vesonia 25-26, Secunda 21-22; the order in Aquillia is conjectural. The summary grouping of these the remaining parts of the head is plainly for the sake of brevity. In Aud. 135a and b all the parts of the body are grouped in the one appeal with little regard for order.

24. *nares*. Found only here in the Latin tablets; but *μυκτῆρες* (Aud. 41a 17); and in the Magic Papyri *ανασπασον αὐτης το πνευμα κυρια των μυκτηρων της Δ* (= *δεῖνος*) (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 107, 2498-99).

25. *labra*. See note on *frontem* 20 and cf. Aud. 190, 8 and *labras* in Vesonia 25.

*or[iculas]*. See Avonia 24; Vesonia 25. The sense of hearing is referred to but rarely in the *tabellae* and then by the verb rather than by the noun. Cf. *nec frenis audire possint* (Aud. 275, 29-30); *nec frenis audiant* (280, 15; 281, 15; 282a 25); also *ἀκοάς* (41, 17).

For spelling of *oriculas* = *auriculas* see note on *Ploti* 4. Vesonia 25 gives the syncopated form *oriclas*. *Auricula* is a popular diminutive of *auris*. Cf. *Orata genus piscis appellatur a colore auri, quod rustici orum dicebant, ut auriculas, oriculas* (Festus, p. 182, 13-15, under *orata*).

*[nasu]m*. For example see note on *frontem* 20; and cf. *caput olas* = *olfactus* (Aud. 134a 7). The nose and nostrils are mentioned together in no other tablets than these.



lin[g]uam. The tongue is very frequently defixed, as *licua* (Aud. 134b 2); *alligo deligo linguas* (217a 4); *adligate linguas* (218, 6-7); *inimicorum meorum linguas aduersus me obmutescant* (222b 3-5); *ligo oligo (obligo) linguas illoro medias extremas nouissimas ne quit possint respondere contra* (219a 2-8); καταγράφω . . . . . γλῶτταν (47, 7-9); καταδῶ . . . . . γλῶτταν καὶ ψυχὴν (49, 2. 4. 5. 7. 9. 11. 12. 15); δῆσαι Διονυσίας γλῶσσαν (81a 3-4); καταδῶ τὴν γλῶτταν (Wünsch DTA 49; 50); εἰ τι μέλλει ὑπὲρ Φίλωνος φθέγγεσθαι ῥῆμα πονηρὸν, ἢ γλῶσσο' αὐτοῦ μόλυβδος γένοιτο. καὶ κέντησον αὐτοῦ τὴν γλῶσσαν . . . (96, 8-16). In various other ways also is the faculty of speech defixed, as *os bucas dentes labias* (Aud. 135a 5); *crus os pedes* (b 4); *os nasu metu bucas labra uerbu* (190, 7-8); ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ στόμα (49, 16); . . . . . φιμώσατον δὲ τὰ στόματα πάντων (15, 24); παραλάβετε τὰς φωνὰς . . . . (22, 37; 24, 21; 25, 6-7); παραλάβετε . . . . . τοὺς λόγους (32, 24-25); καταδῶ καὶ λόγους καὶ ἔργα τὰ Κέρκιδος (52, 5-6); ἀτελὴς εἶη αὐτῇ καὶ ὅτι ἂμ πρὸς Καλλίαν διαλέγειν μέλλῃ καὶ Χαρίαν ὅτι ἂν διαλέγειν μέλλῃ καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἔπη. . . . . (68a 3-7). Cf. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 172, note 2.

26. *dentes*. So *os bucas dentes labias* (Aud. 135a 5); *manus detes oculos bracia* (b 1-2); ὀδόντας (41, 18) occurs once only in the Greek tablets.

26-27. *ni dicere*. . . . . [dole]at. See Avonia 25-26; Vesonia 27-28. Final, not optative, expressing the purpose in defixing the utterance of Plotius in 24-26. Similarly in Aud. 219a 2-8 (quoted in previous note); κατακοιμίσατε τὴν γλῶσσαν τὸν θυμὸν τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν εἰς ἐμὲ ἔχει τὸν Ἀρτεμίδωρον ὁ Ἀφροδισιάνοσ, εἶνα μὴ δύνῃτέ μοι μηδένι πράγματι ἐναντιωθῆνε (28, 19 ff.). For construction of *quid sibi doleat* see *scio ego quid doleat mihi* (Plaut. Mil. Glor. 1325). I find no other example of the indirect question in the *defixiones*.

27-28. *collum*. . . . . d[i]git[os]. See Vesonia 28-29. Objects of *eo tibi* 24. In this group are defixed the members on which a man most depends for self-assistance; hence the purpose of *ni possit aliquis se adiutare* 28-29.

*collum*. Cf. *collus* (Aud. 135a 5); *colu* (190, 9); καταδήσατε αὐτοῦ τῶν τράχηλων τὰς χεῖρας τοὺς πόδας (15, 19).

*umeros*. Cf. *colu iocur umeros cor* (Aud. 190, 9); *scaplas umerum neruias* (135a 7); (καταγραφῶ) . . . . . ὤμους βραχίονας στῆθος στόμαχον (74, 13-14).

*braccia*. In no other tablet is the word spelled thus; cf., however, *manus dicilos bracias uncis* (Aud. 135a 2); *manus detes oculos bracia uenter* (b 1-2); 190, 10; βραχίονες (74, 13; see previous note). *Manus* is strangely omitted from the list in our tablets, though it is found elsewhere, as above and in 247, 9. *χειρες* (or *χεῖρας*) frequently occurs in Greek tablets; e. g., 234, 57; 240, 40; 47, 2. 4. 6. 8; 64, 8. 10. For the bearing of the aspirate *ch* in *braccia* on the date of the tablets see Ch. III, § 4.

d[i]git[os]. Cf. *bracia digitos manus* (Aud. 190, 10-11); 135a 2. For *digiti* (*pedum*) see Plotius 37.

*aliquit*. So *quit* 30. According to the inscriptions *t* for *d* was very common in all parts of the Roman world and at all periods. It belongs to the vulgar sphere. Cf. *quit* (Aud. 219a 6; 303 I 3; II 4. 6; IV 1. 2; VI 2; CIL V 3415); *aliquit* (IX 5860; XII 915).

28-29. [ni po]ssit aliquit se adiutare. See Avonia 27-28; Vesonia 29-30. Exact parallels are not to be found; but cf. εἶνα ἀδυνάμους ἀβοηθήτους ποιήσητε (Aud. 161, 28-31 = Wünsch Seth. 22; Aud. 159a 44-45; b 27-29; 160,



15-16. 38-39. 88-89); ἀδυνάτους αὐτοὺς πόει (Wünsch DTA 98, 5); Aud. 164, 23; 165, 22-23; 166, 12. 32. The Latin *defixiones* offer no parallel.

29-30. [pe]c[tus].....pulmones. Objects of *do tibi* 24. Here are defixed the organs which were regarded as the seat of the senses; hence the force of *ni possit sentire quit sibi doleat* 30-31.

[pe]c[tus]. Although only -c- is visible here yet there is no doubt about the reading in view of Avonia 28 and Secunda 25. Cf. *natis umlicus pectus mamilas* (Aud. 135a 4); *uenter mamila pectus osu* (b 2-3); *pectoris....cor...* (142b 9); βραχίονας στήθος στόμαχον (74, 13-14); μασθοὺς.....στήθος (75b 1-2). Similarly in the Magic Papyri: εμμεινον αυτης δια της ψυχης και εν τη καρδια και καυσον αυτης τα σπλαγχνα το στήθος το ηπαρ το πνευμα τα οστα τους μυελους (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 83, 1527-1530). For *pectus* as the seat of the perceptions cf. *oculis pectoris aliquid haurire* (Ovid, Met. XV 63); also Quint. X 7, 15.

[io]cinera. The first syllable is lacking in all our tablets and must be supplied by conjecture. The only example in the *defixiones* is *iocur* (Aud. 190, 9), and in this sphere *iocinera* rather than *iecinora* is almost certainly required. For the great variety of orthography and inflection of this word see Neue I, pp. 837-839. In the Greek *defixiones* ἥπαρ occurs, as in Aud. 42b 3; 156, 42; 252, 8-9; 253, 15. For *iocur* (or *iecur*) as the seat of the affections and passions cf. *non ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerue* (Hor. Epist. I 18, 72); also id. Carm. I 13, 4; Juv. I 45.

cor. See note on cor 13. Cf. *iocur umeros cor fulmone ilestinas uetre* (Aud. 190, 9-10); 250a 24; 270, 11. 19; αίσθησιν ζοήν καρδίαν (41, 10-11); 42b 3; 51, 3; Wünsch DTA 89b 7; 93a 4; b 3. For *cor* as the seat of the understanding see *quicquam sapere corde* (Plaut. Mil. Glor. 336); Cic. Phil. III 6, 16.

pulmones. So *fulmone=pulmone* (see previous note); πνεύμονας καρδίαν ἥπαρ (Aud. 42b 3); σῶμα πνεῦμα ψυχὴν διάνοιαν φρόνησιν (41a 9); 78, 5.

30-31. n[i possit] ...doleat. For *sentire* the original reads *sentique*; cf. Avonia 29-30; Vesonia 31-32. For construction of *quit sibi doleat* see note on 26-27. Here *quit*, but *quid* 27; see also under *aliquit* 28. The same word even in the same composition is spelt sometimes with *q*, sometimes with *t*; e. g., *apud* (Aud. 139, 4), but *aput* (9).

31-32. [intes]tina .....latera. Objects of *do tibi* 24. The parts here defixed represent the front and sides of the body, and *scapulas* 32 the back. One sleeps on sides, front, or back; hence the pertinency of *ni possit dormire* 32; and of *ni possit sanus dormire* 33 (on which see note).

[intes]tina. See Avonia 30; Vesonia 32. Cf. *cor fulmone ilestinas uetre* (Aud. 190, 10); *uiscera interania* (250a 24); έντερα (75b 2); ύπογάστριον (74, 14-15).

uenter. Here we should expect *uentrem* as in Aud. 190, 10, where we read *uetre*. But the use of the word as a neuter is not unparalleled; e. g., Aud. 135a 3. 8; b 2. 3. 5. There is no other authority for the neuter than this very limited vulgar usage. In Greek we find *κοιλίαν* (42b 4); *στόμαχον* (74, 14); *τήν γαστέρα* (Wünsch DTA 89a 4). From the point of view of anatomy *uenter* was as loosely used as is our English word "belly". Cf. note on *intestina*.

um[b]licu[s]. The reading of the final *s* in Secunda 27 establishes the original text without a doubt. As in the case of *uenter* a limited vulgar usage



is the sole authority for its use as a neuter; e. g., *umlicus* (Aud. 135a 4); b 6; cf. *ublicu* (190, 11). By the ancients the navel was regarded as the middle point of the body; e. g., *corporis centrum medium naturaliter est umbilicus* (Vitruvius III 1, 3); cf., however, Varro, De Ling. Lat. VII 17. See Gruppe, pp. 723 ff.

*latera*. So *latus* (Aud. 134b 6); *latus* = *latus* (b 1). The plural is not found elsewhere in the *tabellae*. Nowhere in the Greek tablets do we read the Greek equivalent.

32. [n]i p[oss]it dormire. Cf. *ni possit sanus dormire* 33. Similarly *νον ποσσιτ δορμειρε* (Aud. 267, 19-20); *ονθ . . . . . νον δορμιαθ* (bis) (270, 4-7); *auferas somnum, non dormiat Maurussus* (250a 4-5); cf. 265a 8-9; 266, 7; *ὑπνος δ' ἀπέστω γλυκύθυμος ὁμμάτων* (Arist. Clouds, 705-706). The sentiment is not expressed anywhere in the Greek tablets; it is to be read, however, in the Greek Magic Papyri: *εξεγειρατε την Δ (δεῖνα) εν τη νυκτι ταυτη και αφελεσθαι αυτης τον ηδυν υπνον απο τω— βλεφαρων και δοτε αυτη στυγεραν μεριμναν φοβεραν λυπην κ. τ. λ.* (Wessely GZ, Bibl. Nat., p. 80, 1424 ff.); cf. 2487 ff. and 2735 ff; *ἀγρυπνεῖτω ἡ Δ δι' ὅλης νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἕως θάνῃ* (Dieterich XII 12.)

*scapulas*. Cf. *scapulae* in Vesonia 33; elsewhere in the *tabellae* only in Aud. 135a 7 where the syncopated form *scaplas* is read. Cf. *στόμαχον νῶτον ὑπογάστριον* (74, 14-15). *Scapulae* was sometimes used for *tergum* as *pars pro toto*; e. g., *scapulas praeberere uerberibus* (Sen. De Ira III 12); cf. also Plaut. Cas. 955-956; id. Truc. 793; Ter. Phor. 76.

33. *ni poss[it] s[a]nus dormire*. In *sanus* there is a space between *s* and *n* for one letter only which must be *a* in this connection. "So that he may not sleep a healthy sleep". This doubtless refers to the delirium of the fevers (cf. Celsus III 3. 13. 14. 15).

33-34. *uiscum sacrum*. Object of *do tibi* 24. The connection with *nei possit urinam facere* is obvious. Usually *uiscus*, *visceris*, and not *uiscus* (or *uiscum*), *visci*; the word is most commonly used in the plural. *Viscus* = *uterus* in Nemes. Cyn. 124, 132; Quint. X 3, 4; Ulp. Dig. XLVIII 8, 8; = *testes* Petr. CXIX 20; Plin. N. H. XX 13, 51, §142. Referring to the epithet *ιερόν* in *ιερόν ὀστέον* (cf. *os sacrum*) the Thes. Ling. Lat. offers this among other suggestions as to its origin: "quod in ea aliquid sacri arcanique insit". In *uiscera interania* (Aud. 250a 24) the word is used in a general sense only; in the department of *defixiones* it appears only in this passage and in our tablets. Cf. *cunus* (Aud. 135b 6); *αἰδοῖον* (42b 5); *τύλ[ον]* (74, 17); *τὰς ψυχὰς . . . . . τοὺς κύσθους* (Wünsch DTA 77b 1-2. 5-6).

34. *nei possit urinam facere*. Cf. *si in lecto . . . . . urinam faciat* (Ulp. Dig. XXI 1, 14); Colum. VI 30, 3. 4; Plin. N. H. VIII 68. The curse on the *uisica*=*uesica* (Aud. 190, 11) is the sole parallel to this in the *defixiones*.

*nei*. Appears only here and Avonia 43 and Vesonia 27. This is an old form of the classical *ne* (Lindsay, p. 244). For its bearing on the date of the tablets see Ch. III, § 4; also notes on *seire*, *deicere* 2 and *ni* 4.

35-37. *natis . . . . . ungis*. Objects of *do tibi* 24. *Ni possit stare* 37 shows the immediate purpose in defixing the parts of the legs.

*natis*. Elsewhere among the *tabellae* only in Aud. 135a 4—*pedes femus uenter natis umlicus*; for other examples see Cat. XXXIII 7; Hor. Ep. VIII 5; Juv. VI 612. Cf. *ungis* 37. On the spelling see Lindsay, p. 404 and



Neue I, p. 383 ff. In the Greek tablets we find *πρωκτόν* (Aud. 42b 5); *πρωκτά* (75b 2); *τὴν π[υ](γῆ)ν* (Wünsch DTA 89).

*anum*. Found only here.

[*fem*]ina. See Avonia 33. Cf. *femena crura talos planta ticanos* (Aud. 190, 11); *femus* (135a 3); *μηρούς* (42b 5; 74, 16). Only in these passages from the *tabellae* are the thighs defixed. For the inflections of *femus* see Neue I, pp. 834 ff.

*genua*. Only here and Aud. 190, 12 where it is spelled *cenua*.

36. [*crura*]. . . . *a* (Avonia 34; Vesonica 36); . . . *u* . . . (Secunda 31); *cru* . . . (Aquillia 31). Similarly *crura* (Aud. 190, 12; see notes on *femina*); *crus* only (135a 8); *crus os pedes* (b 4). In the Greek occur *καταδήσατε τὰ σκέλη καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν Βικτωρικοῦ τοῦ ἡνιόχου* (241, 17); *καταδήσουσιν αὐτῶν* (sc. τῶν ἱππῶν) *τὰ σκέλη* (241, 12); cf. 239, 46-48; 240, 55-60. Specific defixion of the legs is confined to the above passages.

*tibias*. Only here and in *κνήμας* (Aud. 42b 6) is this part of the leg mentioned in a curse.

*pe[des]*. See Avonia 34; *pedes femus* (Aud. 135a 3); *crus os pedes frontes uncis dicitos* (b 4-5); 247, 12; 250b 12; 252, 41 (Greek script); *πόδας* (15, 19; 47, 2. 6. 8; 49, 3. 13. 16). The feet of both men and horses are very frequently defixed in Latin and Greek *tabellae* alike.

[*talos*]. See Avonia 35. Occurs elsewhere only in Aud. 190, 12 (see note on *femina*) and *τὰ σφυρά* (15, 20).

[*plantas*]. In Avonia 35 after *talos* is read *.la. . . .* The next part of the leg in order is *planta*, as in *crura talos planta ticanos* (Aud. 190, 12-13)—the only other passage in the *defixiones* where the word is found. Once only in the Greek is the heel defixed: *μηρούς πρωκτόν . . . κνήμας πτέρνας* (Aud. 42b 6).

37. [*digito*]a. See Avonia 35; Vesonica 37; Aquillia 32. The toes are rarely the object of defixion; but see *ticanos* (Aud. 190, 13, quoted in previous note), and *ἀκρα ποδῶν δακτύλους* (42b 7), the only examples.

*ungis*. *uncis* (*pedum*) occurs in Aud. 135b 5 (see note on *pedes*); in a 2 *uncis* = *ungues manuum* as probably *δυνχας* (42b 15 and 75b 1). In pronunciation there was a tendency to sound *gu* like simple *g*; hence *ungue non unge* (Caper VII 105 K). Cf. *ungentari(us)* (CIL I 1065); *ungentario* (1268); *exsanguium* = *exsanguium* (Aud. 251, col. 2, 13). Consult Lindsay, p. 301 and Stolz-Schmalz, p. 109. For acc. in *-is* see note on *natis* 35.

37-38. *ni po[ssit s]tare [sua ui]rt[u]te*. The following are the readings for *uirtute*: . . . *rt . te* (Plotius 38); . . . . . *te* (Avonia 36); . . . *tute* (Vesonica 38) . . . *tu* . . . (Secunda 32). The word is here the equivalent of *uirtus*, as in *deum uirtute est te unde hospitio accipiam* (Plaut. Mil. Glor. 676); *uirtus in infirmitate perficitur* (Vulg. II Cor. 12, 9) where *uirtus* translates *δύναμις*. There is no exact parallel of *ni possit stare* among the *defixiones*, though we may regard as quasi-parallels the oft-repeated wishes expressed by *cadat* or *cadant* respecting both horses and drivers mentioned in tablets 272-284 of Audollent's collection.

38-43. *Seiue [plu]s . . . . [e](c)illunc*. These lines show that this formula belongs to the very limited class of counter-charms. In Audollent's collection we find only two: *ἀνατίθημι δὲ καὶ τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ γράψαντα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτάξαντα* (4a 7 ff.); *γράφω πάντας τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἀντία ποιοῦντας μετὰ τῶν ἁλώρων* (14)



"Weit mehr hören wir vom Gegenzauber; die Kunst, die Dämonen unschädlich zu machen ist wichtiger und allgemeiner unter den Menschen verbreitet, als sie zu schädlichen Wirkung anzureizen". Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 160.

39. scrip[tum fuerit]. Sc. a *Plotio*. See Avonia 37-38; Vesonias 39. Cf. *scripsit mandavit* (sc. *Plotius*) 40. *Scribo* as used here is a literal translation of γράφω or καταγράφω which are frequently employed as synonyms of δῶ and καταδῶ, as in Aud. 4a 7 ff. and 14 (see previous note); καταγράφω ἔργα πράξιν κ. τ. λ. (47, 4); καταγράφω Εὐαγόραν χειρας πόδας κ. τ. λ. (6 ff.); also 67, 5; 74; 75; 76; 84, 5. 9; 87. *Describo* (or perhaps *ascribo*) is used in this sense in 134a 8. *Scribo*, therefore, in this passage is a synonym of *defigo*, *trado*, *do*, *commendo*, *ligo* and its compounds, *mando*, or any other verbs of defixing.

39-40. quomodo ....mandavit, seic .....mando. "In what manner he (*Plotius*) has according to the laws of magic composed any curse (i. e. against me) and entrusted it to writing, in like manner do I consign him to thee". Cf. the previous note. Structurally there is a very close parallel in Aud. 139, 1-6: *Quomodo mortuos qui istic sepultus est nec loqui nec sermonare potest, seic Rhodine ....mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit*. Cf. 98, 2; 111-112, 5-19. The construction is undoubtedly Greek, as in Aud. 241, 15-18. Wunsch DTA 107 contains two clauses specially guarding against the machinations of the victims who are hostile to the writer or inspirer of the tablet.

39. quicqu[id]. See Avonia 38; Secunda 35. Equivalent to *aliquid*. Cf. *tu, si quid erit de ceteris*, (sc. *scribe*) *de Bruto utique quidquid* (Cic. Ad Att. XIV 12, 3). See Stolz-Schmalz, p. 626; Wölfflin, Sitzb. der b. Akad. 1882, p. 446 ff. The word is used similarly in Avonia 6 and Vesonias 6.

40. legitim[e]. See Secunda 35. That the rules for composing *defixiones* were known as *leges* is shown by the following: *uti uos eas.....deuotas consecratasque habeatis ollis legibus quibus quandoque sunt maxime hostes deuoti* (Macr. Sat. III 9, 10). *Nomen delatum* (Aud. 196) is legal phraseology.

mandavit. Similarly *mado* (Aud. 195, 7; 297, 4); *demando* (268, 2; 286b 2; 290b 1-2; 291a 6-7); *commendo* (190, 1. 5; 139, 12).

seic. See under *seive*, *deicere* 2. This rare spelling of *sic* occurs also in Aud. 139, 3. 9 = CIL I 818; CIL VI 979; 19838; II 3479.

41. *Ploti*. For *Plotium*; cf. *Auoniam* in Avonia 39 where the context is parallel. The Latin *tabellae* contain many instances of the omission of final -m after u; e. g., *Crispu* (Aud. 219a 10); *eximiu* (Greek script) (241, 10); *ilu* = *illum* (219a 1); *lucru* (135a 9); *tauru* (247, 16. 18). But nowhere do we find an instance where the entire syllable -um is dropped.

[tr]ado, mando. See Avonia 40; Vesonias 43; Secunda 37. Cf. *tradas*, [mandes] 42; [mandes tra]das 44; [aspic]ere, [uidere, contempla]re 45-46. Only in our tablets are these words found side by side. This accumulation of synonyms is characteristic of *defixiones* and of early prayer-formulae (see Stolz-Schmalz, p. 669).

42. [me]nse Februari[o]. But *mensi* in Avonia 41; Vesonias 44; Secunda 38. Cf. 16-17; 45 and Ch. III, § 4.

43. [e]cillunc. E- is conjectural. What is probably the upper half of a c appears immediately before -illunc and too close to it to belong to another word. Between the c and the original left-hand edge there is room for one



more letter and one only. The word seems to be a hitherto unattested collateral form of *eccillum* with one *c* omitted. But this is not surprising as the non-gemination of *c* and other consonants is very common in the *tabellae* and in vulgar inscriptions in general; e. g., *bucas* (Aud. 135a 5); *ocidas* (286b 6. 8; 287); *Sucesa* (227, 3). We read *eccille* in Apul. Apol. LIII 513 *eccilli*, ib. LXXIV 550; *eccillum* in Plaut. Merc. 435; Persa 247. 392 (*ecillum* P); Pseud. 911; Trin. 622 (*ecillum* P); Curcul. 278. *E(c)cillunc* would be a combination of *ecce+ille+ce* (cf. *illunc* 5); one or other of the demonstrative constituents, therefore, is superfluous. Since redundancy is one of the commonest characteristics of plebeian speech, we shall have to account for *e(c)cillunc* on the ground of the plebeian origin of the tablets. Cf. Krebs I, p. 441-442; Neue II, 987.

43-44. *mal[e]....disperd[at]*. Cf. *male gurent=gyrent* or *girent* (Aud. Bull. Arch. 1906, p. 380, Ia 14; p. 382, IIa 42. 44). Here is another accumulation of synonyms as in 7. 8. 40. 41. 42. 44. 45-46. The total effect is something like the English "May he most miserably perish". Probably in popular speech these three verbs were used interchangeably to signify "to perish".

*Perdat* and *disperdat* seem to owe their intransitive use in this passage to the analogy of *pereo*, as *perdiam = perdeam* for *peream* in Plaut. Poen. 884. The presence of *exset* in this same sentence would make the parallel between *perdo* as an intransitive and *pereo* very close. Cf.  $\phi\theta\omicron\rho\omega\alpha\phi\theta\epsilon = \phi\theta\omicron\rho\omega\delta\phi\theta\eta$  (Aud. Bull. Arch. 1908, p. 7 IV); *peream male* (Hor. Sat. II 1, 6).

*exse(a)t*. The omission of *a* is probably a *lapsus stili*. Cf. *exiat = exeat* (Aud. 250b 15).

44. [*mandes*]. The readings for this are: *..nd..* (Avonia 42); *m....* (Secunda 40). *Mandes* is the only word that satisfies all conditions. After *mandes*, *tradas* supply *illunc* as in 4.

44-46. *ni possit....[contempla]re*. "So that he may not see another month more". See note on *trado*, *mando* 41.

46. [*uidere*, *contempla*]re. See Avonia 44-45; Vesonica 48-49. That only these two words stand in the last line is evident from indications that the tablet tapers suddenly at the lower edge. In the facsimile it can be noticed that the writing of the last three or four lines is crowded.

## COMMENTARY ON AVONIA.

2. *deicere*. Cf. Plotius 2.

4. *Au[on]ia[e]*. The lacuna is not large enough to permit reading a Greek genitive as in 14. 19. 21. 22. 23. 25.

This woman is the owner of Plotius, the victim of the tablet just annotated (cf. Plotius 19). More closely than this we cannot identify her. She belonged to the plebeian *gens Auonia* (or *Aonia*), most of whose representatives were located in Rome, as the inscriptions show (see Thes. Ling. Lat. under *Auonius* (*Aonius*) and also Ch. III, § 3). *Auoniae* is not dative but genitive, on the analogy of Plotius 4.

5. [*hoc*]. In no surviving portion of any of the tablets are *hoc* and *quicquid* read together. Here as in Vesonica 5 there is ample room both to complete *sueis* and to read *hoc* in the same line. In Secunda 4 *hoc* is



the final word of the line and *quicquid* must be read to give the next line an average length. That *quicquid* is not found in Plotius is probably due to the error of the copyist.

6. quicqui[d]. = *aliquid*. Here an adverbial acc.; cf. Plotius 39 and note.

[protinus]. Conjectured on the basis of . . . *tinu*., the reading in Vesonia 6; without it the line would fall short of average length. It does not occur in the other three tablets. Should we attempt to read it into Secunda 5 and Aquillia 5, it would be necessary to omit *quicquid*, as these two lines will not permit the addition of two words each.

[illanc]. Acc. fem. is required here as in 8. 40 and Vesonia 8. 43. Cf. [i]lla[nc] (Aquillia 5) and illunc (Plotius 5).

14. [Auoniae]a. So 19. 21. 22. 23. and Vesonia 22. Greek genitives, as might be expected in a sphere of composition introduced through the Greeks, are of frequent occurrence in the Latin *tabellae*; e. g., *Plotiaes* (Aud. 134a 5); *Veneries*, *Venerioses* (129a 6-8); *Aselles* (140, 5. 14. 15. 18); Σεπτίμες = *Septimes* (270, 13).

18. [Salu]ia. Not *Proserpina Salvia* as in Plotius 17.

compotem. Cf. *compote* in Plotius 18.

25. liguam. Cf. *liguas* (Aud. 219a 12-13); *ligua* (303 I 2. 4); II 2. 5; V 6; VI 5. The omission of *n* is probably a faithful representation of a vulgar pronunciation, for we know that before guttural and dental mutes *n* was frequently dropped (Lindsay, p. 66). Even in the Monumentum Ancyranum appears *prouicias* = *provincias* (V 11 Mommsen).

31-32. ni po[ssit] dorm[i]re is not repeated as in Plotius, and also lacks the adjective *sana*.

40. [illanc]. On the analogy of *e(c)cillunc* (Plotius 43) we should expect *eccillanc*, but space forbids so long a form.

41. [m]ensi. But *mense* in Plotius 42. See Lindsay, p. 390; Stolz-Schmalz, p. 210.

43. nei. Cf. Plotius 34.

## COMMENTARY ON VESONIA.

4. *Maximae Vesoniae*. This name is not found once in all the inscriptions containing the names of members of the *gens Vesonia*. In all the Roman inscriptions of this class only four women are mentioned: *Vesonia L. l. Callutuche* (CIL VI 6136); *Vesonia Proba* (20638); *Vesonia L. l. Athenais* (28623); *Vesonia Cn. f. Procula* (28624). The fact that in *Maxima Vesonia* the individual name is written as a *praenomen* is of prime importance in dating the tablets (cf. Ch. III, § 4). For the range of the *gens* see Ch. III, § 3.

6. [pro]tinu[s]. Only . . . *tinu* . can be read; the remainder of the word is conjectured. If the victim were to be handed over forthwith to the fevers, the consummation of the wish by the end of February would practically be assured.

13. mitta[s]. In Avonia 13 -*m* only. The second person is suggested by *tra[da]s* 4 (supplied from Plotius 4) and *polli[ciar]us* 15 = *polli[cear]is* (supplied from Plotius 13).



17. mense(m) Martium. Cf. note on *compote(m)* in Plotius 18.

18. [Salui]a. Not *Proserpina Saluia* as in Plotius 17.

22. [V]esonias. Only one Greek genitive in Vesonias; cf., however, the note on Avonia 14.

23. palpetras.=*palpebras*. Found only in this tablet; it is either a vulgar form or a *lapsus stili*.

25. oriclas. Vulgar form of *auriculas*; cf. note on Plotius 25. Similarly *cornicula* became *cornicla* (Mohl, p. 161); *oculos*, *oclos* (Aud. 135a 6; b 2); *scapulas*, *scaplas* (135a 7). See Lindsay, pp. 170 ff.; Stolz-Schmalz, pp. 170-171.

labras. Nowhere else than in this tablet is the word thus inflected. There are other instances of confusion of gender and inflection; e. g., *uenter* = *uentrem* 32; *uiscum* = *uiscus* 34; *umblicus* = *umbilicum* 32. Cf. notes on Plotius.

26. lingua. For dropping of final -m cf. note on *compote(m)* in Plotius 18.

27. nei. Cf. note on Plotius 34.

33. scapulae. The writer of the tablet seems to have forgotten that the series of nouns in *pectus* . . . . . *umblicus* 30-32 were actually accusatives, though also nominatives in form.

n[i possit dormire]. Cf. note on Avonia 31-32.

42. [Proserpina, tibi]. *Tibi* alone is read in the other tablets of the group, but here it will not suffice, as a number of illegible strokes show that much more than *tibi* was written. The conjecture of *Proserpina*, although unique in this context, suits perfectly and fills the space available.

43. [illa]nc. Cf. note on Avonia 40.

44. There is space between *Februario* and *male* for another *male*. We read it against the single appearance of *male* in the other tablets in this context, because it is contrary to the custom of these tablets to leave so large a space absolutely blank.

## COMMENTARY ON SECUNDA.

3. . . . . i. That this is the genitive singular of a man's name we know for a certainty from [i]llun[c] 38. It is thus parallel with *Ploti* in Plotius 4. The length of this and other lines where the victim's name appears regularly in the formula indicates pretty clearly that as a rule only the *gentilicium* is employed.

15. The length of the line does not allow one to read *Saluia* before *Proserpina*; moreover, nowhere in all five formulae is that order observed.

23. . . . . iua. Assumed on the basis of the gen. in -i 3.

28-29. [ni possit dormire: s]cap[ul]aa. The mistake of Plotius is repeated here. *Sanus* must be read.

35. [quic]q[ui]t. Only here can the last letter of the word be made out. It may be that *t* was written similarly in all the other tablets; nevertheless, in them we have assumed the regular ending in *d*.

37. The mere *nomen* is too short for the lacuna. Probably the original was either a phrase like *Ploti Auoniae* in Plotius 19 or consisted of *praenomen* and *nomen* together.



## COMMENTARY ON AQUILLIA.

3. ....ae Aqu[illiae]. That we are here dealing with a woman's name consisting of an individual name and *nomen* is certain from the letters visible and from the context. We assume the order just mentioned on the analogy of *Maxima Vesonia*, yet we cannot deny that *Aqu* ..... may belong to an individual name such as *Aquila* or *Aquilina*; cf. CIL VI 12253-54. The *nomen Aquillia* is by far the commonest of those beginning in *Aqu* ....., and in the majority of instances where it is found in inscriptions from the city of Rome (the place of origin of the tablets) it is spelled with two *l*'s (see Thes. Ling. Lat. under *Aquillius* or *Aquilus*). Nearly all of the women of this *gens* mentioned in the Roman inscriptions are freedwomen.

5. [quicquid]. Cf. note on Avonia 6. *Quicquid* is better attested than *protinus*.

15. [Proserpina]. The line is too short unless the reading of Plotius 17 be assumed.

27. *Quit* or *quid* must be read in this position by reason of *-nt-* of *intestina* being immediately beneath *pulmones* of the next line above; otherwise there will be a gap unaccounted for.

36. [Aquilliam]. The length of the line indicates that one part of the name only is employed here, as in *Vesonia* 22 and 24.



## CHAPTER III.

### § 1 Palaeography of the Tablets.

All five tablets represent a type of early script not far removed from the early capital. When this type is compared with the handwritings of other periods brought together in Plate VIII, its primitive character becomes still more evident, even after due allowance is made for conspicuous differences that must result when wax or papyrus is substituted for lead.

Papyrus presented the easiest surface for writing, as the freedom and frequency of long curved strokes testify ; moreover, it allowed the writing-point to turn at a sharp angle from a down-stroke to an up-stroke without being lifted, as in S in Plate VIII, col. III. On lead free curves are few in number and up-strokes are very weak. The slight angular up-turns to be noticed on E, I, P, T, especially in our tablets, are not, strictly speaking, up-strokes, but accidents due to careless lifting of the *stilus* for the next down-stroke. Writing on lead of all periods shows how difficult it was for the writer to control his *stilus* at a sharp turn or in describing more than a very small arc of a circle. As a rule, when the standard form of letter called for a large arc, the writer sketched it in a broadly angular fashion by lifting his *stilus* two or three times. The number and form of the strokes varied with the relative hardness of the lead. Sometimes where one would expect a curved stroke the *stilus* has suddenly shot forward over an unusually hard or a glazed spot in the metal and engraved a long straight stroke. At other times the point has met a hard granule of stone, with the result that what was intended to be a straight line has become a curve more or less regular. The style of writing on wax was about midway between that on papyrus and that on lead ; that is to say, it is marked by only an average number of curves and up-strokes. The graffiti of Pompei were written on the most unyielding of all the materials chosen to receive writing. In them up-strokes are almost wholly wanting and it is evident that curves were impossible except on a very large scale, for the granular surface of the walls offered too great a resistance to the



metal point. The writing of the graffiti is even more cramped and angular than any found on lead. But beneath all these differences due to materials the typical hands of the various periods can be distinguished. Applying this conclusion specifically to our tablets we find that with all their peculiarities of handwriting they show, even without the detailed analysis which follows, their close kinship with all cursive writing of the first century B. C. on lead, papyrus, wax, or wall.

In our tablets A is the most variable letter of the entire alphabet. Stripped of its eccentricities it reduces itself to four types —  $\wedge$   $\Lambda$   $\lambda$   $\uparrow$ . These are older forms than a very large number of those found in the Pompeian wax-tablets and are apparently about contemporary with those in columns I, II, III, IV (Plate VIII). But other letters are more conclusive for date. (Cf. the tables in Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, 3 ed., p. 3).

B resolves itself into two types. One is manifestly a copy of the capital, as in the first line of Plotius and Vesonia, where for obvious reasons all the letters are written with much more than ordinary care. The other type —  $\mathcal{D}$  — is shown by a comparison with the same letter in other alphabets to be confined to handwriting of the first century B. C. The concave upper portion of the right-hand stroke differentiates it from the later cursive form —  $\mathfrak{d}$  — which is easily mistaken for a D. But the early form cannot be so mistaken. This letter, therefore, points with considerable probability to the first century B. C. as the period to which our tablets belong.

C varies just as we should expect a curve to do on this material. The form with two strokes seen in columns III–X does not occur in our tablets, and, as it is found on lead only in the later period, may have been developed on papyrus.

D clings closely to the capital in form —  $\mathcal{D}$ . Save in one or two instances, and those accidental, the left-hand stroke is perpendicular, while the right-hand stroke extends in a regular curve from a point to the left of and above the other stroke to a point to the right of and below it, thus describing a quadrant. The minuscule d is formed by converting the left-hand stroke into a loop and the right into a straight line which gradually assumes the perpendicular. This letter, therefore, is a good indicator of period.

E and F are uniformly  $\parallel$  and  $\parallel$ , and are of no value in dating, as consultation of the tables will show.



|   | VI |   |   |   |
|---|----|---|---|---|
| a | >  | ∩ | ∩ | ∩ |
| b | 2  | 2 | 2 | ∩ |
| c | C  | C | C | ∩ |
| c | d  | d |   | ∩ |
| e | 6  | " | u | ∩ |
| f | f  | F |   | ∩ |
| g | 5  | 5 |   | ∩ |
| h | 7  | 7 |   | ∩ |
| i | 1  | 1 | 1 | ∩ |
| l | L  | 2 | 2 | ∩ |
| n | M  | M | M | ∩ |
| n | N  | π | π | ∩ |
| o | o  | o | 9 | ∩ |
| p | P  | + | + | ∩ |
| q | 9  | 9 | 9 | ∩ |
| r | ∩  | 2 | 5 | T |
| s | 5  | 5 | 1 | T |
| t | T  | T |   | T |
| u | 4  | 4 | 4 | ∩ |
| x | X  | X |   | ∩ |

IX. Seth  
fo  
X. Leaa  
ce

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G is almost uniformly C, its variations being accidental. This points to a date at least as early as the Pompeian wax-tablets.

H exhibits consistently the pure capital form. All of its lines are practically straight, and show none of the minuscule tendency seen even as early as the handwritings of columns III and IV. This letter may be classed with B and D for purposes of dating.

I varies greatly in height, but there is no connection between this variation and the quantity of the vowel.

K appears nowhere in the tablets.

As a rule the lower stroke of L rises above the horizontal. In late handwriting the tendency was for it to drop. In column I we must understand a faint up-stroke, or an attempt at an up-stroke baulked by the unyielding surface of the wall, immediately preceding the visible down-stroke. The process of making this kind of L is seen with great distinctness in many instances in all our tablets.

M generally appears in the capital form with such modifications as the material would cause. In three tablets an occasional ||| is noted.

N shows natural variations of the capital only. This letter and M are of no service in determining date.

The two-stroked O — ( ), ( — which is found in our tablets, is normal for all periods. The latter form may be attributed to haste rather than to material.

The loop of P is never written; the letter is always I. This would point to a period prior to the second century A. D.

Of Q our tablets give only the cursive form — 7 —, never the modified capital — ( ). Both forms are early, as Plate VIII shows.

R is as a rule a hastily written capital, but sometimes shades off towards the purely cursive form without fully attaining it.

S is uniformly made with only one stroke. It seems to be a little earlier than the forms in columns III and IV.

T, V, and X fail to exhibit any noteworthy characteristics.

Y and Z do not occur.

In none of the five tablets is a ligature employed. This is characteristic of the *defixiones* and doubtless results from the desire to make the words complete. The Sethian tablets are an exception to the rule (cf. Wünsch, *Seth.*, pp. 53, 55), but even here the ligatures are few and simple.

In nearly every instance the words are clearly divided from one



another by points situated a little above the line. Although unnecessary, this kind of punctuation is frequently observed even at the end of a line. On the other hand, the words of the oft-repeated phrase *do tibi* are seldom divided. Wider spacing between words than between letters also helps to distinguish the different words.

Among the palaeographical peculiarities of the tablets may be classed the syllabic division of words at the end of a line, as in Plotius 4. 13, and Vesonia 29. Very similar is the method of correcting an omission, as in Plotius 11.

## § 2 Number of Hands.

The handwriting of the several tablets is almost our sole criterion for determining the probable number of hands employed in their production. Examination shows that the same hand wrote Avonia, Vesonia, Plotius and Aquillia, although the script is not absolutely uniform. Avonia and Vesonia differ very little from one another. They are carefully and evenly written throughout. Plotius and Aquillia, on the contrary, manifest a great lack of care. The notable variation in size, slant, and alignment of the letters indicates a certain amount of haste. The hand, however, is the same (cf. with Avonia and Vesonia, e. g., Plotius 25-42, a passage written with more than usual care; and with Aquillia, Plotius 10-16, the most careless portion of that tablet).

The relation of Secunda is by no means as easy to determine. Only a small portion of the tablet has survived. It shows fewer free curves, and, towards the end, degenerates to a mere scrawl. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the hand is evidently the same as before. It is true that the writing is very much larger, but it was quite possible for a man to adopt a new size of handwriting in beginning a new tablet or a new page, as is shown by the enlarged hand uniformly maintained for seven lines on the reverse of Vesonia. A comparison of this with the best writing of Secunda makes it plain that the two handwritings are of equal proportions, and, moreover, exhibit in almost every point the same characteristics. With this conclusion compare the remark of Wunsch: "Die Hand eines Zauberer ist auch überall da im Spiele, wo ein Fund mehrere Tafeln mit demselben ausführlichen magischen Apparat vereinigt . . . .".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Seth., p. 76, note 1.



There are, on the other hand, certain features of the formulae which tend to divide the tablets into groups in a striking way and which may have some connection with the question now under discussion. In Avonia and Vesonía we find *scapulas* (or *scapulae*) in its natural position; both probably contain *protinus* and neither repeats the expression *ni possit dormire*. On the contrary, Plotius, Aquillia and Secunda show *scapulas* out of its logical position, omit *protinus*, and repeat *ni possit dormire* with the addition of *sanus* or *sana* as the case may be. These discrepancies find their most plausible explanation in the assumption that the author first wrote Avonia and Vesonía, when he was fresh and unwearied, for they exhibit the best handwriting and contain fewest errors; that he next wrote Plotius and Aquillia (or in reverse order), omitting *protinus*, misplacing *scapulas*, repeating *ni possit dormire*, and at the same time allowing the writing to degenerate somewhat; and that last of all he wrote Secunda, where the mistakes of Plotius and Aquillia are repeated and the increasingly careless writing manifests the writer's weariness in a long task and his growing impatience as he approached the end.

### § 3 Provenience.

Positive testimony is lacking to show exactly where the Johns Hopkins tablets were written, but the appearance of the *nomina gentilia*, Vesonía and Auonia, and the peculiar cast of the formulae, all point to Rome.

The *gens Vesonía*, as was pointed out in the commentary on Vesonía, was known over a wide region of the Roman world. The name is found once in a Spanish inscription (CIL II 1509); eleven times in Campania and vicinity (IV 273; 830; (3471; 3477; 3478; 3480; 3481; 3482; 4512);<sup>1</sup> 4012; 4678; 5918; X 170; 901; 3091 bis); six times in Apulia and Samnium (IX 898; 2020; 2021 bis; 2421 bis); once in Northern Italy (V 961); twelve times in Rome (VI 6136; 10407; 20638 ter; 28621 bis; 28622; 28623 bis; 28624; XV 3688); once in Gallia Narbonensis (XII 5690-128). In brief, the name is found by far the most frequently in Central Italy.

In the second place a peculiar cast of the formulae links them with formulae the provenience of which is certain. Formulae written in one locality are, as a rule, very similar in most partic-

<sup>1</sup> Numbers in brackets refer to one individual.



ulars; while there may be many individual differences in spelling and in the order of the expressions employed, yet there still remain the ear-marks of the local school of magi. For example, formulae from Cyprus have such strong mutual resemblances that these, in the absence of other evidences, would be sufficient to identify a tablet from that island;<sup>1</sup> and the same is true of the tablets from Carthage,<sup>2</sup> Hadrumetum,<sup>3</sup> and fourth century Rome.<sup>4</sup> The mutual resemblances among formulae from other localities are less marked, but are nevertheless far from being imaginary; e. g., the Cnidian<sup>5</sup> and the Attic formulae.<sup>6</sup> In addition to these there is a group of three tablets from Latium<sup>7</sup> whose formulae resemble not only one another but also the formulae of our tablets. The feature common to all is the painfully detailed list of bodily members of the several victims concerned. This is found to some extent in other groups, but in none but the group from Latium does it receive such careful attention. Audollent assigns all three tablets to the second century of the Christian era,<sup>8</sup> a period at least two centuries later than that in which our tablets originated. But the chronology of these compositions has less bearing in the present connection than the fact that all possess in common a characteristic feature which stamps them as a local group. It seems therefore likely that our tablets represent an early type of which the later formulae are degenerate offspring.<sup>9</sup>

Still clearer and more definite indications are furnished by the range of the *gens Auonia* which is known only from epigraphical sources. The name (including the form *Aonia*) occurs in thirty-six inscriptions from Rome, in three from Latium and in only five from all other localities together (cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. under *Auonius* and *Aonius*.) Its presence in our tablets points with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aud. 22-37.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aud. 234-242.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aud. 272-274; 275-284; 286-291; 292-294.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Aud. 159-187 = Wunsch, Seth.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Aud. 1-13.

<sup>6</sup> Wunsch DTA 64-73; Aud., p. xlv.

<sup>7</sup> Aud. 134; 135; 190.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Aud. ind., p. 556; Schneider no. 389.

<sup>9</sup> "Dissentire praecipue defixiones fateor quae locis aetateque separatae a diuersissimis exaratae sunt hominibus, dum contra arta quadam adfinitate ne dicam cognatione fere coniunguntur quae conscriptae simul fuerunt; diuisos nihilominus regione quanquam re et tempore proximos titulos aut contra loco uicinos aetate longinquos non miraberis omnino non consonare". Aud., p. xcvi.



strong probability to the conclusion that they were written in Rome.

#### § 4 Date of the Tablets.

The only evidence bearing on the date to which the tablets should be assigned is that furnished by the text itself, especially the type of the alphabet, the use of the aspirate *ch*, of *ei* for *i*, of *lucto* for the deponent *luctor*, and finally the order of words in the name *Maxima Vesonia*.

The alphabet has been so fully discussed in § 1 that only a summary of its special features needs to be given here. The letters may be divided into three grades according to their importance in this connection. First, there are those letters that have practically no value—C, E, F, I, M, N, O, Q, T, V, X; secondly, those that indicate the time within certain broad limits—A, G, L, P, R; and thirdly, those that determine the period within comparatively narrow limits—B, D, H, S.

The letters of the second group alone warrant the assertion that our tablets are earlier than the wax-tablets of Dacia; but those of the third group set the limit back fully a century. In fact, they probably antedate the hands represented in columns III and IV of Plate VIII, and at the same time fall between the periods represented by the hands in columns I and II. B and H are particularly decisive letters. Alphabetical peculiarities, therefore, not only fix the *terminus ad quem* at 100 A. D., but point to the period between 75 and 25 B. C.

The use of the aspirate *ch* in *pulchra* and *bracchia* sets the *terminus a quo* not earlier than 105, and, in all probability not earlier than 75 B. C.; for only one example<sup>1</sup> of an aspirated consonant is noted prior to the period 105–95. The phenomenon fluctuates between 95 and 55, but after that date is practically constant.<sup>2</sup>

The use of *ei* for *i* occurs in our tablets in *sei*, *seiue*, *seic*, *sueis*, *nei*, *deicere*. The first four words appear uniformly thus, but the last two appear generally as *ni* and *dicere*. The absence of *ne* is noteworthy.

In the department of *defixiones* every tablet where *ei* is used for *i* is assigned to the first century B. C. The following words occur: *eimferis* (Aud. 137, 1); *infereis* (199, 6); *nisei* (197, 3);

<sup>1</sup> CIL I 541; VI 331.

<sup>2</sup> Ritschl, Opus. IV, p. 765; Schneider, p. 131.



*seive* (196, 3); *quei* (139, 11); *seic* (139, 3. 9); *tibei* (139, 13). In his note on *infereis* Audollent accounts the spelling as one of the reasons for assigning the tablet in which it is found to the first century B. C.

Beside this we place the testimony of the Pompeian private inscriptions which likewise belong to the vulgar sphere. Here Lommatzsch<sup>1</sup> has collected the instances that manifestly belong to the Empire and finds only eighteen. "This", he says, "beside the great mass of extant inscriptions is a vanishingly small number". His final conclusion (p. 137) embracing official and private inscriptions together is that the use of *ei* for *i* in the inscriptions of the Empire is limited to a few quite definite instances, especially the plural endings of the second declension; and, though frequent at the beginning of the Empire, it soon declines to the extent of practically disappearing, except in a few fossilized words, as *heic*, *sei*, *seive*, *seic*.

So far, then, as *sueis*, *sei*, *seive* and *seic* are concerned, there is nothing to suggest a period earlier than the reign of Augustus, but *deicere* occurring twice and *nei* three times as against *dicere* eight times and *ni* fourteen times point back to a period of transition. In accurately dated inscriptions *deicere* dies out with the Lex Iulia Municipalis<sup>2</sup> of 45 B. C., where we find only *deicet* (8) and *deicere* (110) as compared with many occurrences of the later form. In this inscription *ni* is found only once (136) and *niue* once (131); *nei* and *neiue* ten times all told, while examples of *ne* and *neue* are too numerous to count. These facts, too, point to a period of transition and to the decided predominance of *ne* and *dicere* over the earlier forms. In the Cenotaphia Pisana<sup>3</sup> of 13 A. D. *nei* and *neiue* have disappeared and only *ni*, *niue*, and *ne*, *neue* remain, while the Monumentum Ancyranum of the next year shows only *ne*. Doubtless had the Pisan inscriptions been under Imperial direction the forms *ni* and *niue* would not have appeared at all. Now Ritschl<sup>4</sup> has observed that *ni* occupied a middle position in time between *nei* and *ne*. In other words, *ne* was the form employed almost exclusively in the fifth century of the city; then *nei* appeared followed closely by *ni*. In the seventh century the three forms are used side by side; but in the eighth *ni* forms drop out, *nei* forms appear but

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 132-133.

<sup>2</sup> CIL XI 1420-1421.

<sup>3</sup> CIL I 206.

<sup>4</sup> Opus. II, pp. 624 ff.



seldom,<sup>1</sup> and *ne* forms become the standard. The almost exclusive use of *ni* in our tablets is, therefore, clear warrant for assigning them to a period not far removed from the Lex Iulia Municipalis, say not later than 25 B. C.

The use of *lucto* in the active voice points with considerable probability to the first century B. C. The latest appearance of *lucto* uncompounded is a passage in the *De Lingua Latina* of Varro<sup>2</sup> which was written before 43 B. C.<sup>3</sup> Only the compound *relucto* is noted after the end of the Republic and that only three times and under circumstances where we should expect to find archaic diction. The testimony of Priscian relative to the antiquity of *lucto* is that it was used only by the very early authors.<sup>4</sup> In our tablets, therefore, we have one of the latest recorded examples of this verb which disappears from extant literature before 40 B. C.<sup>5</sup>

Mommsen in a note on CIL I 1063 makes this remark: "Insunt in hoc cum quibusdam notis altioris antiquitatis ut sunt nomen proprium muliebre primo loco positum (*Marta Postumia, Salvia Seruia*) et orthographica quaedam (*liberteis, meeis, Antiocus*)". . . . Our tablets exhibit the first of these phenomena in the name *Maxima Vesonia*, and possibly in *Aquillia*.<sup>6</sup> It is well-known that in the earlier Republic a daughter's name<sup>7</sup> was made up of her father's *gentilicium* and an individual name used as a *praenomen*: e. g., *Secunda Valeria, Maxsuma Sadria, Prima Pompeia*. This *praenomen* was not abbreviated like the masculine *praenomen*, but was written in full. Its use was optional, however, and resembled in that respect the masculine *cognomen*. In the later Republic it became customary to drop the *praenomen* altogether and employ simply the gentile name; e. g., *Antonia, Caesonia, Calpurnia, Cornelia, Iulia*. About the end of the Republic the custom changed again and the individual names were once more used, not as *praenomina*, however, but as *cognomina*; e. g., *Vitellia Rufilla, Caecilia Metella*. This became

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lomm.

<sup>2</sup> V 10, 61.

<sup>3</sup> See Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*, 3 ed. VIII 1, II, p. 441.

<sup>4</sup> "Praeterea plurima inueniuntur apud uetustissimos, quae contra consuetudinem uel actiuam pro passiuam uel passiuam pro actiuam habent terminationem, ut . . . lucto pro luctor . ." VIII 5, 25 K.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. note on Plotius 7, and Neue III 53.

<sup>6</sup> See Aquillia 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Marquardt-Mau, p. 17 which we have substantially translated.



the established custom for the Empire.<sup>1</sup> Now the name *Maxima Vesonia* belongs to the older type, while *Auonia* conforms either to the optional method of dropping the *praenomen* in the earlier period or to the customary usage of a somewhat later period. The mixed usage doubtless indicates a period of transition, which must be placed several years earlier than 25 B. C. and probably earlier than the year 40. At all events our tablets are earlier than Aud. 190 = CIL I 818, which is dated 50-10 B. C.; there we read *Sergia Glycinna*.

In short, all the lines of evidence point clearly to the first century B. C. as the period in which the Johns Hopkins tablets were written. The character of the alphabet employed and the use of *ei* for *i* show that they are not later than 25 B. C., while the appearance of the aspirate *ch* indicates a time not much earlier than 75 B. C. The active *lucto* could scarcely have appeared after 40 B. C., nor at the same time is it likely that the names *Maxima Vesonia* and *Auonia* could have been used together after that date. We are therefore justified in concluding that the tablets were written in the month of February (as the formulae state) during a year of the period between 75 and 40 B. C., the actual date probably being nearer to 40 than to 75.

<sup>1</sup> See also Mau in Pauly-Wissowa under *cognomen*, IV, p. 229.



# INDICES.

## I

### INDEX VERBORUM.

#### Abbreviations.

P=Plotius.  
S=Secunda.

Av=Avonia.  
Aq=Aquillia.

V=Vesonia.  
F=fragment.

Achernoslam, P 16, 11; 18, 11; Av 19, 12; 21, 13; V 24, 12; S 27, 10; Aq 28, 10; 30, 10.  
adiutare, P 17, 29; 18, 29; Av 20, 28; 21, 28; V 23, 30; 24, 30; S 27, 25; Aq 29, 25; 30, 25.  
aliquid, (acc.), Av 20, 27; 21, 27; S 27, 25; Aq 30, 25.  
aliquit, (acc.), P 17, 28; 18, 28; V 23, 29; 24, 29.  
amplius, P 17, 45; 19, 45; Av 20, 43; 22, 43; V 23, 47; 25, 47; S 28, 41; Aq 31, 39.  
animam, P 18, 8; Av 21, 9; V 22, 9; 24, 9; S 27, 8; Aq 30, 8.  
ante, P 18, 16; Av 19, 17; 21, 17; V 22, 17; 24, 17; S 27, 15; Aq 30, 14.  
anum, P 17, 35; 18, 35; Av 20, 34; 21, 34; V 25, 35; S 26, 30; 28, 30; Aq 30, 31.  
Aquillia, (nom.), Aq 30, 23.  
Aquilliae, (gen.), Aq 28, 3; 29, 3; 30, 12. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 23.  
Aquilliam, Aq 31, 36.  
arcessitum, (sup.), P 16, 12; 18, 12; Av 19, 13; 21, 13; V 22, 13; 24, 13; S 27, 11; Aq 30, 11.  
aspicere, P 17, 45; 19, 45; Av 20, 44; 22, 44; V 23, 48; 25, 48; S 26, 41; 28, 41; Aq 31, 40.  
Auonia, (nom.), Av 20, 26; 21, 26.  
Auoniae, (gen.), P 16, 19; 18, 19; Av 19, 4. 20; 20, 25; 20, 4; 21, 20. 25.  
Auoniaes, Av 19, 14. 19. 21. 22. 23; 21, 14. 19. 21. 22. 23.  
Auoniam, Av 20, 39; 21, 39.

bona, P 16, 1; 17, 1; Av 19, 1; 20, 1; V 22, 1; 24, 1; S 27, 1; Aq 29, 1.  
bracchia, (acc.), P 17, 28; 18, 28; Av 20, 27; 21, 27; V 23, 29; 24, 29; S 26, 24; 27, 24; Aq 30, 24.  
canem, P 16, 12; 18, 12; Av 19, 18; 21, 13; V 22, 13; 24, 13; S 25, 11; 27, 11; Aq 30, 11.  
caput, (acc.), P 16, 18; 18, 18; Av 19, 19; 21, 19; V 22, 19; 24, 19; S 27, 17; Aq 30, 16.  
caricas, P 16, 15; 18, 15; Av 19, 16; 21, 16; V 24, 16; S 27, 14; Aq 30, 18.  
cogitationibus, P 16, 4; 17, 4; Av 19, 5; 20, 5; V 22, 5; 24, 5; S 25, 4; 27, 4; Aq 28, 4; 29, 4.  
collum, (acc.), P 17, 27; 18, 27; Av 21, 26; V 23, 28; 24, 28; S 27, 24; Aq 30, 24.  
colorem, P 16, 3; 17, 3; Av 19, 3; 20, 3; V 22, 3; 24, 3; S 27, 3; Aq 29, 3.  
compote=compotem, P 16, 18.  
compotem, Av 19, 20; 21, 20; V 22, 18; 24, 18; S 27, 16; Aq 30, 16.  
contemplare, P 17, 46; 19, 46; Av 20, 45; 22, 45; V 23, 49; 25, 49; S 28, 42; Aq 31, 40.  
cor, (acc.), P 16, 13; 17, 29; 18, 13. 29; Av 19, 14; 20, 28; 21, 14. 28; V 22, 14; 23, 30; 24, 14. 30; S 27, 13. 26; Aq 30, 12. 26.  
corpus, (acc.), P 16, 3; 17, 3; Av 19, 3; 20, 3; V 22, 3; 24, 3; S 25, 2; 27, 2; Aq 29, 3.



- cottidianae*, (dat.), P 16, 6; 17, 6; Av 21, 7; V 24, 7; S 27, 6; Aq 30, 6.  
*crura*, (acc.), P 18, 36; Av 20, 34; 21, 34; V 23, 36; 25, 36; S 28, 31; Aq 29, 31; 30, 31.  
*cum*, (conj.), P 16, 18; 18, 18; Av 19, 18; 21, 18; V 22, 18; 24, 18; S 27, 16. Aq 30, 15.  
*cum*, (prep.), P 17, 7; Av 19, 8; 21, 8; V 22, 8; 24, 8; S 25, 6; 27, 6; Aq 30, 6.  
*dabo*, P 18, 17; Av 19, 18; 21, 18; V 24, 18; S 27, 16; Aq 30, 15.  
*daturum*, (sc. esse), P 16, 14; 18, 14; Av 19, 15; 21, 15; V 22, 15; 24, 15; S 27, 13; Aq 30, 13.  
*delcere*, P 16, 2; 17, 2; Av 19, 2; 20, 2; see *dicere*.  
*deluctent*, P 17, 7; Av 21, 8; V 24, 8; S 27, 7; Aq 30, 6.  
*dentes*, (acc.), P 17, 26; 18, 26; Av 20, 25; 21, 25; V 23, 26; 24, 26; S 27, 22; Aq 30, 22.  
*dicere*, P 16, 11; 17, 26; 18, 11. 26; Av 19, 12; 20, 25; 21, 12. 25; V 22, 2. 12; 23, 27; 24, 2. 12. 27; S 26, 10; 27. 2. 10. 23; Aq 28, 2. 10; 29, 2; 30, 10. 23; F no. 87, p. 31; see *delcere*.  
*digitos* (mannum), P 17, 28; 18, 28; Av 20, 27; 21, 27; V 23, 29; 24, 29; S 26, 24; 27, 24; Aq 30, 24.  
*digitos* (pedum), P 17, 37; 18, 37; Av 20, 35; 21, 35; V 23, 37; 25, 37; S 28, 32; Aq 29, 32; 30, 32.  
*disperdat*, (int.), P 17, 44; 19, 44; Av 20, 42; 22, 42; V 23, 46; 25, 46; S 26, 40; 28, 40; Aq 29, 39; 31, 39.  
*do*, P 16, 18. 20. 21. 22; 18, 18. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24; Av 19, 19 bis. 21. 22. 23. 24; 21, 19 bis. 21. 22. 23. 24; V 23, 19. 20. 22; 23, 23. 24. 25; 24, 19. 20. 22. 23. 24. 25; S 26, 16. 17. 18. 19. 20; 27, 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21; Aq 29, 17. 18. 21; 30, 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21.  
*doleat*, P 17, 27. 31; 18, 27. 31; Av 20, 26. 30; 21, 26. 30; V 23, 28. 32; 24, 28; 25, 32; S 26, 23; 27, 28. 27; Aq 30, 24. 27.  
*dormire*, P 17, 32. 33; 18, 32. 33; Av 20, 32; 21, 32; V 25, 33; S 27, 28; 28, 29; Aq 30, 28. 29.  
*dum*, P 18, 8; Av 21, 9; V 22, 9; 24, 9; S 27, 8; Aq 30, 8.  
*e(c)cillunc*, P 17, 43; 19, 43.  
*ego*, P 17, 41; 18, 41; Av 20, 39; 21, 39; V 25, 41; S 26, 36; 28, 36; Aq 31, 36.  
*eius*, P 16, 9; 18, 9; Av 19, 10; 21, 10; V 22, 10; 24, 10; S 25, 8; 27, 8; Aq 30, 8.  
*eripiant*, P 16, 9; 18, 9; Av 19, 10; 21, 10; V 22, 10; 24, 10; S 25, 8; 27, 8; Aq 30, 8.  
*eriplas*, P 16, 3; 17, 3; Av 19, 3; 20, 3; V 22, 2; 24, 2; S 27, 2; Aq 28, 2; 29, 2.  
*eriplat*, P 16, 13; 18, 13; Av 19, 14; 21, 14; V 22, 14; 24, 14; S 25, 12; 27, 12; Aq 30, 12.  
*eulncant*, P 16, 8; 18, 8; Av 19, 9; 21, 9; V 22, 9; 24, 9; S 25, 7; 27, 7; Aq 30, 7.  
*exseat*, Av 20, 41; 22, 41; S 28, 40; Aq 31, 38.  
*exset*, P 17, 43; 19, 43; V 23, 45; 25, 45; see *exseat*.  
*facere*, P 17, 34; 18, 34; Av 20, 33; 21, 33; V 23, 35; 25, 35; S 26, 30; 28, 30; Aq 30, 30.  
*febri*, (dat.), P 16, 6; 17, 6; Av 19, 7; 21, 7; V 22, 7; 24, 7; S 27, 5; Aq 28, 5; 29, 5.  
*Februario*, (abl.), P 17, 42; 19, 42; Av 20, 41; 22, 41; V 23, 44; 25, 44; S 26, 39; 28, 39; Aq 31, 38.  
*feceris*, (fut. pf.), P 16, 18; 18, 18; Av 19, 18; 21, 18; V 22, 19; 24, 19; S 26, 16; 27, 16; Aq 30, 16.  
*femina*, (acc.), P 17, 35; 18, 35; Av 20, 33; 21, 33; V 25, 35; S 28, 31; Aq 29, 30; 30, 30.  
*frontem*, P 16, 20; 18, 20; Av 19, 20; 21, 20; V 22, 20; 24, 20; S 27, 18; Aq 30, 17.  
*fuerit*, (fut. pf.), P 18, 39; Av 20, 38; 21, 38; V 23, 39; 25, 39; S 28, 35; Aq 30, 34.  
*genua*, (acc.), P 17, 35; 18, 35; Av 20, 34; 21, 34; V 23, 36; 25, 36; S 26, 31; 28, 31; Aq 30, 31.  
*haec*, (acc.), P 18, 17; Av 19, 17; 21, 17; V 22, 18; 24, 18; S 27, 15; Aq 30, 15.  
*hanc*, P 16, 9; 18, 9; Av 19, 10; 21, 10; V 22, 10; 24, 10; S 25, 8; 27, 8; Aq 28, 8; 30, 8.  
*hoc*, (acc.), P 16, 5. 16; 17, 5; 18, 16; Av 19, 16; 20, 5; 21, 16; V 22, 17; 24, 5. 17; S 25, 4; 27, 4. 14; Aq 29, 5; 30, 14.



*illa*, (abl.), Av 19, 8; 20, 8; V 22, 8; 24, 8; Aq 30, 6.

*illanc*, Av 20, 6; 21, 8; 22, 40; V 23, 43; 24, 6. 8; 25, 43; Aq 28, 5; 29, 5; 30, 6; 31, 37.

*illi*, (dat. masc.), P 16, 14; 18, 14; Av 21, 15; V 24, 15; S 27, 18; Aq 30, 18.

*illo*, P 17, 7; S 27, 6.

*illunc*, P 16, 5; 17, 5. 7; S 26, 38; 27, 5. 7; 28, 38; see *e(c)illunc*.

*intestina*, (acc.), P 17, 31; 18, 31; Av 20, 30; 21, 30; V 23, 32; 25, 32; S 27, 27; Aq 29, 27; 30, 27.

*locinera*, (acc.), P 17, 29; 18, 29; Av 20, 28; 21, 28; V 23, 30; 24, 30; S 26, 25; 27, 25; Aq 30, 26.

*labra*, (acc.), P 17, 25; 18, 25; Av 19, 24; 21, 24; S 26, 21; 27, 21; Aq 30, 22.

*labras*, V 23, 25; 24, 25.

*latera*, (acc.), P 17, 32; 18, 32; Av 20, 31; 21, 31; V 25, 33; S 27, 28; Aq 30, 28.

*legitime*, P 17, 40; 18, 40; Av 20, 38; 21, 38; V 25, 40; S 26, 35; 28, 35; Aq 29, 35; 31, 35.

*liguam*, Av 20, 25; 21, 25; see *linguam*.

*lingua*, (acc.), V 23, 26; 24, 26; see *linguam*.

*linguam*, P 17, 25; 18, 25; S 27, 22; Aq 30, 22.

*luctent*, P 16, 7; 17, 7; Av 19, 8; 21, 8; V 22, 8; 24, 8; S 25, 6; 27, 6; Aq 28, 6; 30, 6.

*male*, P 17, 43 bis. 44; 19, 43 bis. 44; Av 20, 42; 22, 41 bis. 42; V 23, 44. 45. 46; 25, 44 bis. 45 bis. 46; S 26, 39 bis; 28, 39 bis. 40; Aq 31, 38 ter.

*mandaut*, P 17, 40; 18, 40; Av 20, 39; 21, 39; V 23, 41; 25, 41; S 28, 36; Aq 31, 36.

*mandes*, P 19, 42. 44; Av 20, 42; 22, 42; S 26, 40; 28, 40; Aq 29, 37; 31, 37. 39.

*mando*, P 17, 41; 18, 41; Av 20, 40; 22, 40; V 23, 43; 25, 43; S 28, 38; Aq 31, 37.

*Martium*, P 16, 17; 18, 17; Av 19, 17; 21, 17; V 22, 17; 24, 17; S 27, 15; Aq 30, 15.

*Maxima*, (nom.), V 23, 27; 24, 27; see *Vesonla*.

*Maximae*, (gen.), V 22, 4. 19. 21; 23, 23. 26; 24, 4. 14. 19. 21. 23. 26; see *Vesonlae* and *Vesonlaes*.

*Maximam*, V 23, 41; 25, 41; see *Vesonlam*.

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## II

## RES MAGICA.

## Names of persons defixed.

Aquillia.  
 Auonia.  
 Maxima Vesonia.  
 Plotius (seruus) Auoniae.

Names and epithets of deities.  
 (Cerberum).

canem tricepitum.

Febri.

cottidianae.

quartanae.

tertianae.

Plutoni.

niro tuo (sc. Proserpinae)

Proserpina.

Acheru(o)siam.

bona.

Plutonis uxor.

pulchra.

Salua.

## Formulae deuotoriae.

Representing (a) the action of the defixens.

do.

mandauit.

mando.

scripsit.

scriptum fuerit.

trado.

(b) the wish of the defixens.

disperdat.

exse(a)t.

perdat.

(c) the action of the deities.

deluctent.

eriplant.

eriplat.

euincant.

luctent.



mandes.  
tradas.  
uincant.

**Human members and faculties de-  
fixed.**

animam.  
anum.  
bracchia.  
caput.  
collum.  
colorem.  
cor.  
corpus.  
crura.  
dentes.  
digitos (manuum).  
digitos (pedum).  
femina.  
frontem.  
genua.  
intestina.  
locinera.  
labra.  
labras.  
latera.  
liguam.  
linguam.

nares.  
nasum.  
natis.  
oricas.  
oriculas.  
palpebras.  
palpetras.  
pectus.  
pedes.  
plantas.  
pulmones.  
pupillas.  
salutem.  
scapulae.  
scapulas.  
supercilia.  
talos.  
tibias.  
uenter.  
uires.  
uirtute.  
uirtutes.  
uiscum sacrum.  
umblicus.  
umeros.  
ungia.  
urinam.

**III**

**RES GRAMMATICA.**

**Letters changed.**

**Vowels.**

e for i, tricipitem = tricipitem.  
i for e, natis = nates.  
polliciarus = pollicearis.  
ungis = unguis.  
o for i, locinera = lecora.  
u for i, polliciarus = pollicearis.

**Consonants.**

t for b, palpetras = palpebras.  
t for d, aliquid = aliquid.  
quicquit = quicquid.  
quit = quid.

**Letters omitted within words.**

**Vowels.**

a, exset = exseat.  
i, umblicus = umbilicus.  
u, oricas = oriculas.  
ungis = unguis.

**Consonants.**

n, ll(n)guam.

**Final letters dropped.**

**Consonants.**

m, compote(m).  
lingua(m).  
mense(m).

**Letters inserted.**

**Vowels.**

o, Acheru <o>slam.

**Consonants.**

s, ex <s> e(a)t.  
ux <s> or.

**Non-gemination.**

**Consonants.**

c, e(c)cillunc.



**Final syllable dropped.**

Plotl(um).

**Incorrect spelling.**

sentique = sentire.

**Form of declension.**1st. gen., Anoniaes.  
Vesonias.2nd. gen., Plotl(i).  
acc., Plotl(um).3rd. abl., mensi.  
acc. pl., femina.  
locinera.  
natis.  
ungis.**Pronouns.**dat., me = mihi.  
acc., e(c)cillunc.  
illunc.  
illanc.**Declensions confused.**labras = labra.  
niscum = uiscus.**Archaisms.**ei for i, delcere, nei, sei, seic,  
seue, suels.  
i for e, ni.**Syntax.****Case.**nom. for acc. scapulae = scapulas.  
nenter = uentrem.  
umblicus = umbilic-  
cum.  
acc. for nom. quas = quae.**Gender.**masc. for neut. niscum = uiscus.  
fem. for neut. labras = labra.  
neut. for masc. nenter = uentrem.**Conjugation.****Form.**

exset = ex&lt;s&gt;e(a)t.

**Deponent verbs as active.**deluctent.  
luctent.**Transitive verbs as intransitive.**disperdat.  
perdat.**Miscellaneous.**quicquid = aliquid.  
quid = aliquid.  
seue = uel al.



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## I.—THE SCEPTICAL ASSAULT ON THE ROMAN TRADITION CONCERNING THE DRAMATIC SATURA.

For more than twenty years Professors F. Leo and G. L. Hendrickson have sought to discredit the Roman tradition which declares that, prior to the time of wide and continuous influence of the Greeks upon the Roman mind and on Latin literature, there had been in Italy and in Rome native or quasi-native forms of the drama, among them the Versus Fescennini and the dramatic Satura.<sup>1</sup> No one, so far as I know, has, in print,

<sup>1</sup>For Leo's papers see *Hermes* 24 (1889) .67-84, *Varro und die Satire*; *Hermes* 39 (1904) .63-77, *Livius und Horaz über die Vorgeschichte des Römischen Dramas*. These had been preceded in Germany by a brief discussion by O. Jahn; *Hermes* 2 (1867) .225-226. Up to 1894 the sceptics had attracted little attention in Germany, and none in America. Hendrickson (*A. J. P.* XV 5, note 2) cited only Kiessling (in his edition of Horace's *Sermones*, 1886, *Einleitung* VII, his notes on *Serm.* 1. 4. 1-6, and later his notes on *Epistles* 2. 1. 139-156), and B. Grubel, *De Satirae Romanae Origine et Progressu* (a Program of Posen, 1883), as followers of Jahn prior to Leo's first paper in 1889.

For Hendrickson's papers see *A. J. P.* XV (1894). 1-30, *The Dramatic Satura and the Old Comedy at Rome*; *A. J. P.* XIX (1898). 285-311, *A Pre-Varronian Chapter of Roman Literary History*; *Classical Philology* 6 (1911). 129-143, *Satura—The Genesis of a Literary Form*; *Cl. Phil.* 6, 334-343, *The Provenance of Jerome's Catalogue of Varro's Works*.

For a time Professor Hendrickson's first two papers attracted some attention in this country: see papers by E. M. Pease, *The Satirical Element in Ennius*, *P. A. P. A.* 27 (1896). xlviii-1; Professor Pease again, the article *Satira*, in *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities* (1897), 1413-1416; H. M. Hopkins, *Dramatic Satura in Relation to Book Satura*, *P. A. P. A.* 31 (1900). 1-11; B. L. Gildersleeve, the article *Satire*, in the *Universal Cyclopaedia and Atlas* (1901); J. Elmore, *Livy's Account of the Dra-*



subjected their arguments to searching and detailed criticism. That criticism it is the purpose of the present paper to supply, so far as the limits of space allow. The sceptics have had so long an inning, their arguments are so intricate and involve so many details, they have said so many things that, in my opinion, are open to question, that I can do no more now than consider several of their more important utterances; I must perforce follow an eclectic method, picking out the more serious matters, and putting off to another paper (perhaps to other papers) much that I should like to say. I regret that the paper will seem to be devoted so largely to destructive criticism. It must be remembered, however, that the destructive criticism in this matter of the dra-

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matic Satura, P. A. P. A. 34 (1903). lxxvii-lxxviii. None of these papers handled the subject at length. Nor was Professor Hendrickson always named. American editors of works dealing directly or indirectly with Roman satire or Roman comedy have handled the matter somewhat gingerly, returning, on the whole, a verdict of not proven: see e. g. H. R. Fairclough, Terence, *Andria* (1901), p. ix; H. C. Elmer, Terence, *Phormio* (1895), xiv, note; H. L. Wilson, Juvenal (1903), vi, n. 5; J. C. Rolfe, Horace, *Satires and Epistles* (1901), xvi, with note 2. In Cl. Phil. 7, 59-65, J. W. D. Ingersoll, *Satire: its Early Name*, supports Hendrickson's paper in Cl. Phil. 6, 129-143.

In Germany, prior to Hendrickson's first paper, Julius Orendi, *M. Terentius Varro, die Quelle zu Livius vii, 2* (a Bistritz program of 1891), had argued that Valerius Maximus is not, as so many scholars have thought, a mere paraphrase of Livy 7, 2. I had myself, before I knew of Orendi's paper, reached the same conclusion; there are some marked differences between the two passages.

For other German discussions see e. g. Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 9, 55; Schanz<sup>3</sup> (1907), § 9, pp. 21-23; A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella* (1897), 75-78; Fr. Marx, *Lucilius* (1904), I, IX-XVII; E. Norden, in Gercke and Norden's *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft* (1910), 2, 454-455; Vahlen, *Ennius*<sup>2</sup> (1903), CCXIV. Vahlen agrees, in a brief obiter dictum, with the sceptics; Marx is a thorough-going sceptic; Dieterich and Norden stand by the tradition. F. Plessis, *La Poésie Latine* (1909), 104-106, de Mirmont, *Études sur l'ancienne Poésie Latine* (1903), 353, and Duff, *A Literary History of Rome* (1909), 73, 80-83 are also true to the tradition (though there is nothing in Duff to show that he had examined the views of the sceptics).

Since the present paper was begun, Mr. R. H. Webb, in Cl. Phil. 7, 177-189, *On the Origin of Roman Satire*, has come to the defense of the tradition.

I have myself thrice already handled our subject, very briefly: see A. J. P. XXIX (1908), 468-470, in a review of Marx's *Lucilius*; P. A. P. A. 40 (1910), lii-lvi, *The Dramatic Satura among the Romans*; Cl. Phil. 7 (1912), 131, in a review of Kiessling-Heinze<sup>4</sup>, *Horace, Satiren*.

For the method used in referring to these papers see below, end of note 3 to page 127.



matic satura comes really from those who are seeking to discredit the Roman tradition, not from the champions of that tradition.

The problem involved in the question of the existence or non-existence of the dramatic satura among the Romans is one of prime importance to the student of Latin literature, especially to one who would preserve for the Romans credit for some measure of originality (A. J. P. XXIX 469); it deserves, therefore, the most careful consideration.<sup>1</sup>

I cling firmly to the principle, sufficiently obvious, yet repeatedly disregarded, that, though the ancients constantly made mistakes, not merely in the domain of speculation about facts and their causes, but even in the realm of fact itself, yet, after all, since they saw matters at closer range than we can see them, and, in the field of fact, with a larger and surer understanding than even the best modern scholar can ever hope to win, it follows that, in certain fields at least—in the realm of the objective, of fact—they are more likely to be right than modern scholars are. In such matters, then, I incline to stand by the ancient tradition, and to demand of the sceptic evidence thoroughly convincing.<sup>2</sup>

From this principle certain corollaries flow. First, we must in each disputed case determine exactly what the ancient tradition is. Secondly, having determined what the tradition really is, we are bound to ask whether it is in itself inherently probable or palpably absurd, whether what we know from other sources, independently of the tradition, about the people involved—Greeks or Romans—confirms the tradition or refutes it. Accordingly, a complete discussion of the dramatic satura among the Romans involves an examination of passages in Vergil, Horace, Livy, Valerius Maximus, Diomedes, Donatus, Euanthius, Aristotle, and in the treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας* prefixed to the scholia on Aristophanes.<sup>3</sup> Right procedure demands that we should at first

<sup>1</sup> In A. J. P. XXIX 469–470 I have pointed out that, since dramatic Fescennines and dramatic satura rest on essentially the same evidence, the rejection of one involves the rejection of the other. This point Schanz<sup>2</sup> § 9, pp. 21–22, did not see: see below, pages 146–148.

<sup>2</sup> Compare my protest in A. J. P. XXXII 9 against the arbitrary treatment meted out by scholars to Gellius.

<sup>3</sup> See Vergil, *Georgics* 2, 380–389; Livy 7, 2; Horace *Epp.* 2, 1, 139–156; Valerius Maximus 2, 4, 4; Diomedes, in Keil's *Grammatici Latini* 1, 482–492,



keep the Latin passages apart from the Greek, and that we should study them first by themselves; further, each individual Latin passage should be isolated, sterilized, so to say, kept clear of all contamination by other Latin passages, as if it alone supplied our entire store of information concerning real or supposed forms of the early Roman drama. What did Horace really say? what did Livy say? what views did Aristotle set forth? Are the Latin passages reducible to one or are they more or less independent one of another? To say that there may be much surface resemblance with wide fundamental divergence is a platitude; yet obvious as this fact is, it has been forgotten by our sceptics concerning the dramatic satura.<sup>1</sup> Is the view set forth by the Latin passages so far identical with that outlined by Aristotle and (or) other Greek sources that we must assume dependence of the Latin versions on the Greek? or are there divergences which prove the Latin narratives to be independent of the Greek? Having done all this, we must ask whether in our knowledge of the Roman character, temperament, mental equipment, or history we find suggestion or evidence confirmatory of the tradition about the dramatic satura, or whether it is rather true that such knowledge requires us to dismiss the narratives under review. These things the sceptics have not done.<sup>2</sup>

Since I have already (P. A. P. A. 40, lii-lvi) given an indication of the results of the application of such method, the present

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especially 485-486; Aristotle, Poetics, chapters IV-V, 1448-1449, Nicom. Eth. 4, 14.

The treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας* may be conveniently found in the Teubner text of Aristophanes, by Bergk, 1, XXIX-XLVII, and in G. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1899), 1, 3-53. Kaibel also gives, pages 53-71, the pertinent excerpts from Diomedes, Euanthius, and Donatus. For Euanthius and Donatus see also P. Wessner, *Donati Commentum Terenti*, 1, 13-31.

I am obliged, by lack of space, to assume that the reader will have the text of the foregoing passages at all times at hand; if this paper is to be kept within bounds, quotations must be used sparingly.

Again, to save space, I shall cite or quote the papers referred to above, p. 125, n. 1, in the briefest possible way, giving the author's name, and the page number, or, if the author has several papers within our field, volume and page number. I trust the inconvenience caused by this space-saving plan will not be great.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. my remarks in P. A. P. A. 40, lii-liii. Leo 39. 69-72, did indeed apply the method outlined above to Livy and Horace, but he did not go far enough; he was, further, blinded again by his desire to prove a specific point.

<sup>2</sup>See P. A. P. A. 40, lv-lvi.



paper will be devoted to a review of some of the sceptical articles. In Hermes 2. 225-226 O. Jahn declared that Livy 7. 2 rested on the combinations of some grammarian,<sup>1</sup> because (1) the development of comedy there given is too clean cut to be the reflex of fact, (2) the narrative is markedly aetiological in character, (a) in the account of the *canticum* (§§ 9-10), (b) in what is said of the privileged position of the *actores fabularum Atellanarum* (§§ 11-12). Of these points (1) is a purely subjective assertion; to others Livy's narrative has seemed less orderly. (2) involves a curious lack of logic. In Livy, §§ 9-10, 11-12, two things are involved: (a) facts, real or alleged, (b) explanations of those facts. We thus come at once to the distinction drawn above, page 127. Absolute foolishness in connection with (b) is no proof of error in (a). Jahn himself describes the phenomena as "zwei noch in späterer Zeit festgehaltene, auffallende Gebräuche". In the mimi and the pantomimi we have precisely that division of functions which Livy asserts with respect to the delivery of the cantica in the time of Livius Andronicus.<sup>2</sup> Pliny Epp. 9.34 attests, for oratory, a similar division. Since he is himself a bad reader, one of his freedmen is to 'recite' for him. Ipse nescio, he continues, quid illo legente interim faciam, sedeam defixus mutus et similis otioso, an, ut quidam, quae pronuntiabit murmure oculis manu prosequar. Sed puto me non minus male saltare quam legere.

Livy, continues Jahn, differentiates sharply the native *iuventus* with their "freies Spiel" and the professional actors (foreigners, he calls them), with their artistic drama,<sup>3</sup> "wobei die Parallele mit dem griechischen Satyrdrama, wiewohl sie nicht ausgesprochen

<sup>1</sup> Jahn thought of Varro, De Originibus Scenicis. A strange way to prove a narrative false, this way of tracing it to the doctissimus Romanorum! The sceptics have made Varro out both knave and fool.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Friedländer in Marquardt, Röm. Staats<sup>3</sup>. 3. 554 (1885), Sitteng<sup>6</sup>, 2. 447-448 (the latest edition available to me). In the latter place he remarks that the separation of singing and gesticulation described by Livy facilitated the resolution of the drama into its elements (its reversion to type, we might say).

<sup>3</sup> Livy (§ 7) clearly enough assigns the *saturae* to *vernaculi artifices*. Foreigners he mentions in terms but once; they were the imported Tuscan ludiones (§ 4). That these were professionals I have urged in P. A. P. A. 40. liv, but they had nothing to do with the artistic drama. See also below, p. 136, n. 4. Livius Andronicus, pioneer in the really artistic drama, was of course foreigner also; but that Livy does not say. Jahn was sadly confused.



wird, unverkennbar ist".<sup>1</sup> The "formlose satura"<sup>2</sup> (*satura*, he thinks, is conceived of by Livy as a peculiarly Roman form of the drama) the *iuventus* kept to themselves,<sup>3</sup> even after Andronicus began *argumento fabulam serere*, exactly as "in Attika der ausgebildeten Tragödie gegenüber das οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον das Satyr-drama als Begleiter der Tragödie hervorrief".

The two preceding paragraphs, with the footnotes, have made it clear, I hope, that Jahn was largely, if not wholly wrong. Yet his paper deserves the attention bestowed upon it here, because in three important matters it has been and is still 'massgebend' for the sceptics. (1) Others—e. g. Leo 24. 77, Hendrickson 15. 3—have held that the account in Livy was too good to be true; (2) Leo, *ibid.*, Hendrickson 15. 1-3, Schanz<sup>2</sup>, § 9, Schanz<sup>3</sup>, § 9, p. 21, all emphasize the aetiological element in Livy: none of them notes the point made by me above in this connection, page 129; (3) Kiessling and Leo (see below, note 1) and Hendrickson 15. 4, 10-19, 29-30 made the *saturae* an invention of some grammarian, as an assumed analogue to something in the actual development of the Greek drama.<sup>4</sup>

Next comes F. Leo's paper, Varro und die Satire, Hermes 24 (1889). 67-84. Most fully condensed it runs thus: (1) All Roman accounts of the *satura* (of comedy and satire<sup>5</sup>) go back to one

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion Kiessling<sup>1</sup>, VII (see below, note 4), and Leo 24. 77, adopted. They, with Jahn, failed to note that Livy was talking only of comedy, that the satyrdrama belonged with tragedy. See Hendrickson's convincing refutation of their arguments, 15. 7-9. In 39. 67, n. 1 Leo withdrew the suggestion, yielding to Hendrickson.

<sup>2</sup> Livy (§ 7) in fact makes the *saturae* a considerable improvement in form over the Fescennines. See Weissenborn-Müller *ad loc.*, and Hendrickson 15. 12-13 (the latter, however, goes too far: see below, page 145).

<sup>3</sup> What the *iuventus* kept for themselves was the (revised) Fescennines: compare Livy § 11 with § 5, and see Hendrickson again, 15. 7-9.

<sup>4</sup> Kiessling, the next sceptic of importance (1886), need not detain us long; see above, note 1. In accordance with the plan of his book he made his statements in dogmatic fashion, without evidence or citation of authorities. No doubt, however, he had Jahn's article in mind. In the third Auflage of his edition of the Satires of Horace, prepared by R. Heinze (1906), there was no real change, except that Accius rather than Varro was suggested as the source of Livy's narrative: here one sees the influence of Hendrickson 19. In the fourth Auflage, also by Heinze (1910), Accius's name is withdrawn, as is also the suggestion that the *saturae* were an analogue to the Satyrdrama: see *Cl. Phil.* 7. 131.

<sup>5</sup> Leo does not explain why he begins an article on Varro und die Satire by talking of comedy; throughout he talks more of satire than of comedy. For



source, Varro;<sup>1</sup> (2) Varro derived his account, not from fact, but from Greek accounts of Greek comedy.<sup>1</sup> A fuller analysis, which will, I hope, be of service, follows.

(1) To Roman comedy *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* was unknown;<sup>2</sup> the *Leges XII Tabularum*, police vengeance, and the *actio iniuriarum* all alike threatened the scoffer (67). (2) Lucilius first shook off these shackles (68). (3) The etymologies of *satura* given by Diomedes go back through Suetonius to Varro. So O. Jahn, *Rh. Mus.* 9. 629.<sup>3</sup> The

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the explanation see Horace *Serm.* 1. 4. 45-65, noting especially that *comoedia* is the subject of discourse throughout, that the word is to be supplied as grammatical subject in 63, and that in 65 it is replaced by *genus hoc scribendi* (plainly 'satire': cf., in *S.* 1. 4. *scripta mea*, 22-23, *genus hoc*, 24, *his*, 56, in *S.* 1. 10, *haec*, 37, *hoc*, 46. On Horace's practice in thus designating his writings in *Sermones* I Hendrickson, *Cl. Phil.* 6. 131, rests in part his theory of the late origin of *satura* as a literary term: see below, p. 144, n. 1). Manifestly to Horace comedy and satire were convertible terms: see *P. A. P. A.* 40. lv (second full paragraph).

<sup>1</sup> Leo's paper is thus an effort to supply the proof for Jahn's unsupported contentions (see above, p. 129).

<sup>2</sup> This opening remark seems at first blush irrelevant. But Leo begins thus because he means to argue that, since to Roman comedy (satire) personal invective was unknown, any account of Roman comedy (satire) which emphasizes the element of personal invective shows at once a non-Roman origin. One who sought a Roman parallel to the *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* of Old Comedy must find it, he urges, not in Roman comedy, but in Lucilius, as Horace did, in *S.* 1. 4. 1-6 (but see below, pages 141-144). Leo is paving the way for the point he brings out later, for which see the analysis of his paper, under 3, h, β (page 133). This argument is so important to his whole structure that it must be carefully examined.

<sup>3</sup> There is space to consider only a few points in Jahn's paper. To say that because Juvenal is not named by Diomedes his statements go back to ante-Juvenalian times is to strain too hard an argument sorely overworked by all our sceptics, the argument from silence. On the dangers of that argument see e. g. *A. J. P.* XXVIII 64-65, XXIX 469, and below, page 138. Jahn himself notes that Jerome, a diligent reader of Juvenal, does not mention him in his *Chronica*: the argument from silence per se would prove that Jerome did not know Juvenal at all.

Another reason advanced by Jahn for believing that Suetonius was Diomedes's source is the fact that he is mentioned by Diomedes, 491. 30. He is, but at the very end of a long chapter, 165 lines beyond the close of the discussion of *satura*: when finally named, he is cited for a very different matter, the *membra comoediarum Romanarum*, i. e. the *diverbium* and the *canticum*. It would be fairer to infer from the specific mention of him here that he was not the source elsewhere in the chapter.



reasons<sup>1</sup> for this view are: (a) Suetonius is named in this chapter; (b) Juvenal is not named: hence the original was written in ante-Juvenalian times; (c) Varro is named several times (488: see p. 69); (d) The four etymologies offered by Diomedes are reducible to two, one Greek, the other Latin: Varro often gives a similar choice between a Latin and a Greek etymology (70); (e) Lucilius is cited: Suetonius never cites Lucilius, Varro sometimes does (70-71);<sup>2</sup> Festus's explanation of *satura* (314, Müller) also probably contained a citation from Lucilius: hence Festus probably goes back through Verrius Flaccus to Varro, as Diomedes goes back through Suetonius to Varro (71); (g) Diomedes's explanations of *satura* as 'medley' fit Ennian satire, not Lucilian or later satire: hence they come from a time remote from his own day, i. e. from Varro (71).

Jahn held, finally, that Borghesi's investigations concerning the period at which Juvenal lived had shown that Suetonius could not have mentioned him. This is surely wrong. Juvenal's published work belongs to 100-130 A. D., Suetonius lived on to 150 or 160: see e. g., for Juvenal, Friedländer, Juvenal, 5-15, Wilson, Juvenal, xiii, with notes, A. J. P. XIX 193-194, Schanz<sup>3</sup>, § 419, p. 175, Duff, Juvenal, x, xv-xvii, Butler, Post-Augustan Poetry, 287, 289-290; for Suetonius, see Teuffel, §§ 347, 347. 8, E. Norden, in Gercke and Norden's *Einleitung*, etc., 3. 526, Leo in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I. VIII. 367, Schuckburgh, *Vita Augusti*, xxviii-xxix. It should be added that Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* I. LIV-LV, and Reifferscheid, *Suetonii Reliquiae*, 4-22, 370-371, make Suetonius the source of Diomedes.

One point more. What of Diomedes's *nunc quidem* (balanced as it is by *olim* in the next sentence: see below, p. 133, n. 1)? Said by Diomedes himself, the words have no special sense discoverable now by us. To suppose that Diomedes quoted them bodily from his source is to make him out rather stupid. Grant, however, that he did quote them: if quoted from Suetonius, as Jahn, Leo, Keil, and Reifferscheid maintain, how—in view of the chronological data supplied above—could the readers of Suetonius have failed to apply them to Juvenal, unnamed though he was? If the words are quoted from Varro, they would most naturally have been interpreted by Varro's readers of Lucilius: thus we get the *ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν* in Lucilius, on Varro's authority (see, then, above, page 131, n. 2). In any case the two words, wholly neglected by the sceptics, are most important.

It is to be noted that in this paper, published in 1854, Jahn did not mention Livy's account at all. His scepticism was voiced thirteen years later.

<sup>1</sup> Of these (a) and (b) were urged by Jahn; the rest are due to Leo. Jahn had carried Suetonius's narrative back to Varro, but on other grounds.

<sup>2</sup> What of it? In his extant writings Suetonius had little, if any, chance to mention or quote Lucilius; their interests lay too far apart. In his *De Viris Illustribus* Suetonius did not in general go back much of Cicero's time: cf. Reifferscheid, *Suetonii Reliquiae*, 405, 422; Norden, *Kunstprosa*<sup>1</sup>, 387-388.



(h) The objection that Suetonius himself added to earlier accounts the words *archaeae caractere comoediae compositum*,<sup>1</sup> after Horace (71), Leo now meets by two lines of thought: (α) Euanthius uses the same general sources as Diomedes and Donatus employed, but of the special addition of Suetonius ap. Diom. 491. 30 ff.<sup>2</sup> neither Donatus nor Euanthius knows anything (71-72);<sup>3</sup> Euanthius, then, and Donatus did not draw directly on Suetonius. On the Greek side Euanthius is in accord with the treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας*, for he differentiates types of comedy by their degree of freedom of speech (72). He connects Lucilius's satire with the Old Comedy (72): hence his general conception is akin to Varro's (so Rh. Mus. 38. 327) and the Aristotelian-Peripatetic-Alexandrian, but is independent of Suetonius (73); (β) It was the one-sided emphasis unnaturally laid on the personal element in the Old Attic Comedy that led to the equally one-sided emphasis unnaturally laid on the personal element in Roman satire. It was not inevitable that one should find the essential spirit either of Roman comedy or of Roman satire in the personal element (73-74).<sup>4</sup>

The accounts of Diomedes, Euanthius, Donatus, Horace, Livy, Varro—in reality one account—rest on the Aristotelian-Peripatetic-Alexandrian view of the history of Greek comedy, as seen e. g. in Aristotle's Poetics and Nicomachean Ethics, and in the treatises *περὶ κωμῳδίας*, in which the only criterion by which the types of Greek comedy are distinguished is the degree of sharpness of personal invective.<sup>5</sup> So Leo. The effort here was to bring the

<sup>1</sup> Diomedes begins thus (485): *Satira dicitur carmen apud Romanos nunc quidem maledicum et ad carpenda hominum vitia archaeae comoediae caractere compositum, quale scripserunt Lucilius et Horatius et Persius. Et olim carmen quod ex variis poematibus constabat satira vocabatur, quale scripserunt Pacuvius et Ennius.* Leo, 24. 69, without explanation, brackets *et Horatius et Persius*; Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1.55, does not nor does he refer in his App. Crit. to Leo.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. the discussion of the *membra comoediae*; see page 131, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Put more simply, this means: We do not get in Euanthius and Donatus every detail we find in Diomedes, but we do find in them, as in Diomedes (Suetonius), the connection of Lucilius with the Old Comedy. Thus we see, runs the argument, that the phrase *archaeae comoediae caractere compositum* is not Diomedes's (Suetonius's) own, but Varro's.

<sup>4</sup> But all Roman writers who speak of Lucilius at all definitely see this element in him; see below, pages 134-136. Leo is perpetrating Jahn's error (see above, p. 129) in confusing facts and (his own) theorizing about the facts.

<sup>5</sup> On this contention see P. A. P. A. 40, liv.



development of comedy into relation with political conditions and public circumstances (74-75). Livy depends on Varro, not on Varro's *De Originibus Scenicis*, as Jahn thought, but on some compendious account, standing, perhaps, in the *Antiquitates Divinae* or in the *De Poetis* (76, n. 2). To prove all this let us

(4) compare Livy's account in detail with Aristotle's. We shall thus see that Varro, Livy's source, stands in most intimate relation to the Peripatetic literary view (76-79); the definition of Lucilian satire rests also on this view (79). A priori this conclusion is entirely possible, in view of Varro's place in Roman literary history (79-81).<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the paper (81-84) is taken up with a discussion of a suggestion of Kiessling that Varro is Io. Lydus's ultimate authority for a statement connecting Lucilius with Rhinthon, and does not concern us.

Of this wide array of important matters only a few can be treated here. Further, only broad, general arguments can be considered; details must be avoided.

Leo's opening sentence, "Die römische Komödie kannte kein *ὀνομαστὶ κωμωδεῖν*", taken literally, is sufficiently disproved by what Leo himself writes, both in this paper and elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> concerning Naevius's freedom of speech. Suppose, however, we grant his contention: what of it? The more he emphasizes the absence of personal invective from Roman comedy,<sup>3</sup> the more he annihilates his own argument (page 73) that such invective is not of the

<sup>1</sup> On this see below, pages 139-144.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Plautinische Forschungen* (1894), 67-68, Leo accepted still the ancient accounts of Naevius's *παρηγορία* and imprisonment, but refused to believe the story of his recantation in prison (Gell. 3. 3. 15). So Schanz<sup>2</sup>, § 25 b, p. 62 (in his second edition he characterized Leo's scepticism as groundless). One sentence in *Pl. Forsch.* is interesting: "Naevius selbst, dessen Bedeutung nicht zum wenigsten darin liegt, das er der *ἀρχαία κωμωδία* nachstrebte . . ."; this would seem to involve *ὀνομαστὶ κωμωδεῖν*. See above, p. 131, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> In seeking to prove this, Leo declares (68) that in more than one place we see the impression made on Plautus by freedom of speech; he cites, without quoting, *Trin.* 1057-1058 (spoken by a slave); *Truc.* 493-496 (soldier); *Per.* 75-76 (parasite); *Cur.* 512-514 (parasite); *Ps.* 296, 570. But *Cur.* 512, *Ps.* 296, 570 have not the remotest connection with Leo's theme; the other passages are innocuous enough: in none was Plautus thinking of satire or anything approaching personal invective. In *Trin.* 1056 the slave merely says: *ego sum insipientior, qui rebus curem publicis potius quam . . . meo tergo tutelam geram*. The kind of thing to which the slave here and the parasite in *Per.* 75 take exception is common enough in Plautus: thus in *Men.* 571-595 Menaech-



essence of Roman (Lucilian) satire, and that the emphasis laid by Horace and others on that element in Lucilius was unnatural, due not to the actual presence of that element in Lucilius, at least in the degree represented by the tradition, but to the importation of that element from Greek comedy into Lucilius by the Roman writer who first worked out, on the basis of Greek models, the whole tradition of Roman comedy-satire (see the analysis of Leo's paper, above, 3, h, β, p. 133). If Lucilius was the first to break the shackles which bound plebeian writer of plays and actor (68), as Leo argues, we cannot wonder that his freedom of speech was at once remarked and passed into the standing tradition concerning his writings. Horace, who knew Lucilius well, far better than any modern scholar has ever known him,<sup>1</sup> is witness to the presence in Lucilius of this element of personal invective: see S. 1. 4. 1-6, 1. 10. 3-15, 2. 1. 62-74: was Horace wholly deceived? Was Persius (1. 114 ff.),<sup>2</sup> was Juvenal (1. 165 ff.) deceived? Quintilian 10. 1. 93, though disagreeing sharply with Horace concerning the *form* of Lucilius's writing, none the less agrees with him concerning the *spirit*, finding in Lucilius (apparently on the basis of personal knowledge) *mira . . . libertas atque inde acerbitas et abundantia salis*. Both Horace (S. 1. 10. 2) and Quintilian (10. 1. 93) show clearly that Lucilius had his ardent admirers and constant readers: we may be sure, therefore, that statements made by either Horace or Quintilian concerning Lucilius would be carefully considered before they were published. That personal invective—ὄνομαστὶ κωμῶδειν—was of the essence of Old Comedy at Athens is attested sufficiently by the imposing authority of Aristotle:<sup>3</sup> but had we no word of Aristotle, we should see that

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mus I delivers a long tirade against cherished Roman institutions (the clientes, the courts), and in 446-461 Peniculus the parasite inveighs against the *contio* and the *comitia* (but no individual is named: in 451 he curses, safely enough, illum . . . quei primus <hoc> commentus est, contionem habere).

<sup>1</sup> This is especially true, if Tyrrell, *Latin Poetry*, 178-183, is at all right in his suggestion that in his *Sermones* Horace was trying to modernize Lucilius. See also note 2.

<sup>2</sup> In T. A. P. A. 40. 121-150, Lucilius and Persius, Professor G. C. Fiske argues that for Persius Lucilius is a source second in importance only to Horace. He refers also to Horace's relations to Lucilius: see e. g. 125-126. Both themes he pursued in a paper read before the American Philological Association in December, 1911: see volume 42 of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Association* (to appear later in 1912).

<sup>3</sup> See Hendrickson 15. 17-18 (after Bernays, *Ergänzung zu Aristoteles Poetik*, Rh. Mus. 8 (1853). 561 ff.).



element for ourselves in Aristophanes, particularly now that we can put Menander and Aristophanes, and not merely Aristophanes and Plautus or Terence, side by side. Leo's judgment of simple facts was warped by his preconceived theories concerning the source of Livy 7. 2.

If, then, Leo himself was mistaken in declaring that the ancient authorities, Greek and Roman, erred in stressing as they do the element of personal invective in Greek comedy and in Roman satire, especially as seen in Lucilius, his argument that the account of Roman comedy seen in Horace and Livy is based, not on fact, but on a perverted Aristotelian-Peripatetic-Alexandrian tendency to overstress the element of personal invective in the Old Comedy loses its weight.

On page 75, bottom, page 76, top, Leo remarks that Livy mentions the pestilence of 365-364 "nach annalistischer Quelle".<sup>1</sup> In note 1 to page 76 he adds: "Fest. 326: scaenicos primum fecisse C.—lium M. Popilium M. f. (Cons. 395)—aediles memoriae prodiderunt historici". If *historici* reported this, the version of the history of comedy which appears in Livy may well antedate Varro, and there will then be no room for the sort of unveracious activity (to use a mild term) ascribed by Leo and Hendrickson (15) to Varro (or Accius: Hendrickson 19). What then becomes of their elaborate structure? Further, part of the statements of Livy and Valerius Maximus is strongly confirmed by Tertullian De Spectaculis 5.<sup>2</sup> There Tertullian, who is trying to show that spectacles are idolatrous, says: De originibus quidem, ut secretioribus et ignotis penes plures nostrorum, altius nec aliunde investigandum fuit quam de instrumentis ethnicalium litterarum. Exstant auctores multi qui super ista re commentarios ediderunt. Ab his ludorum origo sic traditur. Lydos ex Asia transvenas in Etruria consedissee Timaeus refert, duce Tyrrheno, qui fratri suo cesserat regni contentione. Igitur in Etruria inter ceteros ritus superstitionum suarum spectacula<sup>3</sup> quoque religionis nomine instituunt. Inde Romani arcessitos artifices<sup>4</sup> mutuantur, tempus, enuntia-

<sup>1</sup> See also Leo, 39. 73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The passage well illustrates the (simple but often neglected) difference between stating facts and theorizing about them, to which attention was called above, pages 127, 129.

<sup>3</sup> Clearly theatrical performances. Compare *ludi*, *ludos* in the next two sentences; that word, without adjective, constantly = *ludi scaenici*.

<sup>4</sup> This reinforces my argument in P. A. P. A. 40. liv that the *ludiones ex Etruria acciti*, of Livy 7. 2. 4, were professionals.



tionem, ut ludi a Lydis vocarentur. Sed etsi Varro ludos a ludo, id est a lusu, interpretatur . . . Here Tertullian indicates as plainly as one can that Varro was not his authority; he cites Varro for a view in contrast to the one he accepts himself.<sup>1</sup>

On page 70 Leo contends that Festus 314 (Müller) is identical with our Diomedes passage. Festus says: *Satura et cibi genus . . . et lex . . . . T. Annius Luscus in ea quam dixit adversus Ti. Gracchum . . . et C. Laelius in ea quam pro se dixit dein postero die quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis in deditionem accipitur.* It is fair enough to see, with Leo, a lacuna before *dein . . . accipitur*, since these words come in fact from Sallust Jug. 29. But I cannot follow Leo when he holds that the order of development in Festus is identical with that of Diomedes, and that, therefore, the two passages have the same source. The lacuna, he suggests, may well have contained the citation from Lucilius which we have in Diomedes; it is certain, he continues, that Lucilius's name stood "auch in der Quelle". One sees well here the magic power of a (purely subjective) *möglich* and *sicher*; they preclude all need of proof.

I note myself that in Festus there is no reference to the Greek etymology of *satura*, and no reference to the *satura lanx*. In Diomedes again, where there is no suspicion of a lacuna, there is no citation from T. Annius or from Laelius. As the text of Festus and Diomedes now stands we have the following exhibit:

| <i>Festus.</i>   | <i>Diomedes.</i>  |
|--|---|
| .....  | Two classes of <i>satura</i> : the Lucilian-Horatian-Persian type, the Ennian-Pacuvian type.        |
| .....  | <i>satura</i> =σάτυροι.   |
| .....  | <i>satura lanx</i> : two citations from the Georgics.   |
| <i>satura farcimen</i> : no citation from Varro.   | <i>satura farcimen</i> : Varro cited without name of work; Varro cited, from Quaestiones Plautinae. |
| <i>satura lex</i> : T. Annius Luscus and C. Laelius cited by name; a lacuna, unindicated, closed by a citation from Sallust, whose name does not appear. | <i>satura lex</i> : Lucilius cited by name; Sallust cited by name; no hint of a lacuna.             |

<sup>1</sup> Reifferscheid, Suetonii Reliquiae, 322-335, regarded Suetonius as Tertullian's main (sole ?) authority and included in his fragments of Suetonius nine passages from Tertullian De Spectaculis 3-12. But this is to disregard Tertullian's *multi* and *ab his* in Chapter 5.



The wide differences between the two accounts did not trouble Leo. Ejecting from the text of Diomedes the names of Horace and Persius (69: see above, p. 133, n. 1) and the citations from the Georgics, and injecting into the Festus passage the Lucilius quotation actually found in Diomedes, he holds that the two passages are identical and come from the same source. But even this wrong and arbitrary procedure does not prove his point.

More than once the sceptics have laid stress on the fact that in Festus's (Verrius Flaccus's) discussion of *satura* nothing is said of a dramatic *satura*; hence, they infer, Verrius Flaccus knew nothing of such a dramatic *satura*; hence, they inferred again, there was no such dramatic *satura*.<sup>1</sup> Even assuming that their procedure, given their premise, is logical, the table drawn up above nullifies all such arguments; a fairer inference, surely, would be that neither Verrius Flaccus nor Festus nor Diomedes was giving all that was to be found about the *satura* by him who was willing to make an exhaustive search; hence, even granting that Festus's brief notice reproduces all that Verrius said about *satura* (a hypothesis negatived by the very nature of epitomes), we have here no evidence that there was not a dramatic *satura* available to Verrius's inquiries, had he cared to make them.

Leo argues (71) that the 'medley' etymologies for *satura* given by Diomedes apply only to the *satura* of Ennius, not to Lucilius or his successors; it was only in his first period that Lucilius employed a variety of meters. Hence, he concludes, Diomedes's account here goes back to an early time, to some one who could keep the historical standpoint with respect to *satura* (Varro). This seems feeble. Why restrict *satura* to form, as Leo does in dragging in the meters of Lucilius? All Roman satirical writing is more or less of a medley; cf. Nettleship, *Satura* (Lectures and Essays, Second Series, 37, 39); Sellar, *Roman poets of the Republic*, 233-234 (on the discursiveness of Lucilius). Leo overlooks too the discursiveness of Juvenal, the medley character of his Satires, vouched for by Juvenal himself in 1. 81-85, verses which close with the famous words *nostri farrago libelli*.<sup>2</sup>

I pass over Leo's effort to show that Livy's account is identical with Aristotle's, because his main arguments are repeated and

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. Marx, *Lucilius* I. IX ff. (cf. my review of this book, A. J. P. XXIX 469); Elmore, *P. A. P. A.* 30. 67. See now Webb, *Cl. Phil.* 7. 186, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Butler, *Post-Augustan Poetry*, 295, 318-319; Friedländer, *Juvenal*, 48-52, Wilson, *Juvenal*, xxiii-xxiv.



elaborated in Hendrickson's paper, A. J. P. XV 1-30, to which we must now turn (Hendrickson everywhere makes Leo's paper the foundation of his own). I have space to consider only a portion of the part (10-20) in which he compares Livy with Aristotle, and Livy with Horace. His purpose is to show that the two Roman accounts are one, that they are based on Aristotle, and that *satura* in Livy is merely the designation of a form of drama which Varro<sup>1</sup> invented in order to have in Roman literature a parallel to the Old Comedy of the Greeks.

According to Hendrickson, the most important phase in the development of Greek comedy, as described by Aristotle, was the introduction of the general plot, and the giving up of the *λαμβικὴ ἰδέα*, i. e. personal censure and invective. Here it will be best to quote Hendrickson's exact words (10):

"Epicharmus and Phormis in Sicily had been the first to make this change, but of the Athenians Κράτης πρῶτος ἤρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς λαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους. With this description of the work of Crates compare the words of Livy (8): *Livius . . . ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere.*<sup>2</sup> That there is a relation here is obvious, and also that somehow or other the *saturae* are compared with the iambic ἰδέα—a phrase which describes the element of personal abuse . . . which characterized

<sup>1</sup> In A. J. P. 19 he makes Accius the inventor. But the identity of the inventor is here immaterial.

<sup>2</sup> Leo 24. 78 had used these considerations, in more dogmatic, less reasoned form. Livy 7. 2. 8-9, which deals with the *canticum* matter (see above, page 129), he condemned severely as an aetiological myth, because Andronicus was not actor, but schoolmaster (the two things are incompatible, he says: I wonder why!) nor were all writers of plays actors then. By *omnes*, then, Livy meant the *vernaculi artifices*; the whole story is an invention on the analogy of the accounts of the Attic tragic and comic poet-actors. "Das mag uns zum Verständniss der Worte führen *ab saturis . . . serere*. Was hat Andronicus mit der 'satura', was überhaupt mit volksmässigen Rudimenten römischen Bühnenspiels zu thun? Er war von griechischer Geburt und Bildung, das Latein hat er erlernt; er übersetzte attische Tragödie und Komödie . . . Seine Einreihung in eine organische Entwicklung, wie sie Livius' Gewährsmann versucht, ist das denkbar grösste litterarhistorische Missverständniss, erklärbar nur durch den Zwang der Schablone, nach der der Gewährsmann gearbeitet hat. Die Worte sagen selbst, woher sie stammen: sie sind eine fast wörtliche Wiedergabe des aristotelischen Κράτης . . . μύθους." There is here only assertion, not proof.

For sufficient commentary on these utterances see above, page 129, and below, pages 140-144.



the old comedy, in distinction from the *μῦθοι* or the *μῦθος διὰ τῶν αἰκότων* of the new comedy. *ἡ λαμβικὴ ἰδέα* serves, therefore, at once to designate and to characterize the old comedy, which Horace describes in the well-known lines at the beginning of the fourth satire of the first book . . . . For the same qualities of aggressive personal attack, Lucilius appears in a relation of dependence upon the old comedy in the verses which follow . . . . If a relation was thus recognized between Lucilius and the old comedy because of common characteristics, what would be more natural than that a descriptive designation of the old comedy (*ἡ λαμβικὴ ἰδέα*) should be interpreted by the name of the compositions of Lucilius (*saturae*)? Our conclusion therefore is that the term *satura* in Livy's account owes its origin to a transference of the word, in the sharply defined meaning given to it by the peculiarly aggressive quality of the poems of Lucilius, to an assumed Roman parallel of the old Attic comedy . . . ."

In so far as there is proof or argument at all in this passage, it lies in the comparison which the reader is requested to make between the sentences *Κράτης . . . μύθους* and *Livius . . . severe*. Professor Hendrickson's mind (so too Leo's) seems to have worked as follows. Disregarding Aristotle's *καθόλου*<sup>1</sup>—a most important word—he concluded that these sentences were identical in the latter part: he took *severe* as = *ποιεῖν*, *argumento* as = *λόγους καὶ μύθους* (the correspondence, at least verbally, of *πρῶτος* and *primus* is obvious): hence he inferred that the sentences were identical elsewhere, and so he interpreted *ad* as parallel to *ἀφόμενος*, and so finally reached the conclusion that *saturis*, the sole remaining element of the Latin sentence, must be identical with *τῆς λαμβικῆς ἰδέας*, all that remains of the Greek sentence. Here again the logical faculties of our sceptics seem defective. Granted that the sentences are identical in the latter part, the inference that they are identical elsewhere is a non-sequitur. But they are not identical in the latter part: Aristotle is speaking of a *specific kind of plot*, Livy is speaking of *plot in general*; Livius Andronicus brought true plot of any sort for the first time into the Latin drama. Further, Professor Hendrickson's contention proves too much. Granted the complete identity of the two

<sup>1</sup> On page 10, n. 3, Professor Hendrickson tries, unsuccessfully, I think, to show that elsewhere *argumentum* is a "very accurate rendering of *καθόλου* . . . μύθους". Granted, however, that he succeeded: the meaning of *argumento* in Livy is clear from the context.



sentences, it follows that the *saturae* had a plot, nay more, had individualizing, lampooning plot. But Livy clearly indicates that the *saturae* had no plot;<sup>1</sup> he mentions the word plot (*argumentum*) first in connection with Andronicus (§ 8). No word said of the *saturae* in § 7 suggests plot. Livy as clearly refrains from using any words concerning the *saturae* and other forms of the early Roman drama which can by any stretch of interpretation be regarded as setting forth the ideas contained in the phrase ἡ λαμβικὴ ἰδέα.<sup>2</sup> See P. A. P. A. 40, liv. To my eyes and mind, then, the sentences under consideration are at one at just a single point, in the words *πρῶτος* and *primus*. But even that identity is a purely verbal one; Crates and Andronicus were each pioneers, yes, but in quite different spheres.

I turn now to consider the use which Professor Hendrickson makes of Horace S. 1. 4. 1-6 in the passage quoted above from him (p. 140). To do this rightly it will be necessary to discuss the relation of Serm. 1. 4, 1. 10, and 2. 1 to one another. I accept the view that 1. 4 is Horace's *apologia pro scriptis suis*.<sup>3</sup> In the absence

<sup>1</sup> I am glad to find that Leo 39. 64 made this point clearly and well against Hendrickson (and, it may be said, against himself, 24). See also Webb, Cl. Phil. 7. 185.

<sup>2</sup> The only expressions in Livy at all pertinent here are *iocularia fundentes*, in § 5, said of the Fescennines, and *postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur* (§ 11) . . . There is nothing in these words suggestive of personal invective. If proof is needed, we may note that even *Fescennina licentia*, *opprobria rustica*, and *libertas* in Hor. Epp. 2. 1. 145, 146, 147 have no suggestion of the *λαμβικὴ ἰδέα*, as Horace clearly shows by 147-148, *libertas . . . lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam in rabiem coepit verti* . . . Livy's *iocularia* and *risus ac solutus iocus* are far removed from Horace's *saevus iocus*. Webb, Cl. Phil. 7. 188, n. 1, is sadly confused.

<sup>3</sup> I have carefully studied Professor Hendrickson's paper, Horace, Serm. 1. 4: A Protest and a Programme, A. J. P. XXI 121-143, but am not thereby induced to abandon the view that S. 1. 4 was written by Horace in self-defence. The latter part of 1. 4 does indeed contain a programme, but that programme is part of the self-defence. Professor Hendrickson had no warranty for saying that S. 1. 2 was the only piece in Lucilian vein Horace had ever written (see page 123: 122, top, is less venturesome). Nor had he authority for asserting that 1. 3 preceded in time 1. 4, and that, therefore, before he wrote 1. 4, Horace had already abandoned the Lucilian vein. I agree rather with Professor Morris that 1. 3 is late, that in "style and thought" it is "one of the mature satires of the First Book". The stage in the friendship of Horace with Maecenas represented by 1. 3 points the same way. Not only at the time of 1. 4, but later, in the days of 2. 1. 1, 13 ff., Horace had to meet criticism of his Sermones. He remembered those days of criticism for many years; see



of external evidence we must examine the poem itself. That his *Sermones* were much criticized is apparent from S. 1. 10. 1 ff., 2. 1. 1 ff., and Epp. 1. 4. 1 (see Wickham ad loc.). The criticisms of Horace had touched (a) the form, (b) the spirit of his *Sermones*. The criticism of the form of his writings he meets smilingly, by a confession of guilt (39-63). The other charge—far more serious—distresses him; to this he devotes much more than half the *Sermo*: with it he begins (1-7), to it he returns (64-143). In verses 1-7 he says in effect, "If you think that aught is wrong with the spirit of my *Sermones*, please note that I got that spirit from Lucilius, and that he in turn owed it to the Old Attic Comedy. What you criticize, then, has the best of lineages, the best of warranties". He begins, then, with spirit, hiding behind the popularity of Lucilius.<sup>1</sup> From matters of spirit he drifts easily and naturally, through his criticism of the carelessness of Lucilius, to the consideration of matters of form (8-63); from this he brings himself back sharply, in 64, to matters of spirit. Here, having felt his way to reasonably firm ground, having won some measure of tolerance, he might hope, by his plea of guilty to the charge that his *Sermones* are not poetry, he proceeds to show that after all the spirit of his *Sermones* is not particularly objectionable. In this piece, then, Horace is a lawyer, with himself as client; with all a lawyer's cleverness he makes out the best possible case for himself.<sup>2</sup> In a word, S. 1. 4 is throughout a piece of special pleading.<sup>3</sup>

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Epp. 1. 4. 1, with Wickham's note, and Epp. 2. 2. 60, where *Bioncis sermonibus* is said of the *Sermones* (see Wickham again). Why does Horace in 1. 4. 94, in a piece which can so easily be interpreted as an apologia, cite a verse from 1. 2, a Lucilian satire? Wickham's discussion of S. 2. 1. 34 ff. is pertinent: "I grant you", says Horace, "that I am like Lucilius, but I am also different. Like him, I strike hard on occasion (44-46), but only in self-defence". Pertinent, too, is the name *iambi* used of the Epodes: see Epp. 1. 19. 23 (interpreted in the light of A. P. 79), Epod. 14. 7, Carm. 1. 16, 1-3, 24. On the name *iambi* see Hendrickson, A. J. P. XV 10, 11, 25, 27. For the kinship of the Epodes to the *Sermones*, in time and theme, see Wickham's general Introduction to the Epodes, vol. 1, 326.

<sup>1</sup> For that popularity see above, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> He argues much as Cicero often does, for he says, in effect: (a) Assuming, for the sake of argument, that your criticism of the spirit of my *Sermones* is well taken, what of it? I am merely doing what Lucilius did, etc.; besides, I do not get what I write before the general public. (b) What you say is not so; I am not so very censorious after all.

<sup>3</sup> For one bit of disingenuousness see 70-76. Even on Mr. Hendrickson's theory of S. 1. 4 Horace is here not quite candid: if he is not to recite or to publish, what difference does it make what his theory of satirical writing is?



In S. 1. 10 the situation is different. Some time has elapsed since the publication of 1. 4; in that time Horace's position, social and literary, has become far more secure, and he is at liberty to set forth his real convictions. In 1. 4 he begins by praising the spirit of Lucilius; here he clearly condemns it (1-15). Lucilius always kept his bow taut; he did not know how to employ *ridiculum* as well as the *acre* and the *triste*.<sup>1</sup>

If, now, there is anywhere a conflict in the views expressed by these two Sermones, Horace's true beliefs are likely to appear in 1. 10 rather than in 1. 4. 1. 10 is the later utterance, in the days of his more assured position, when he may speak more unreservedly; in it he begins by criticizing (not praising) the spirit of Lucilius, passing on in 50-63 ff. to a criticism of his form severer even than that in 1. 4. 8 ff. Let us mark now 1. 10. 64-69:

Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,  
comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem  
quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,  
quamque poetarum seniorum turba: sed ille,  
si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,  
detereret sibi multa, etc.

Who is the *auctor* of 66? To my mind only one answer has ever been possible:<sup>2</sup> the *auctor* is Lucilius. Seeing that nowhere else in any of his writings does Horace connect the name of Ennius with his Sermones and the department they represent, Ennius cannot be meant here. All through 1. 4 and 2. 1 it is Lucilius, not Ennius, that Horace has in mind; in 1. 10 also, up to 64, Lucilius had been the literary forbear of whom Horace has been

<sup>1</sup>Here I agree, to some extent, with Professor Hendrickson (see his paper, Horace and Lucilius: a Study of Horace S. 1. 10, published in Studies in Honour of B. L. Gildersleeve, 151-168), especially in his interpretation of *sermone tristi*, 11: see pp. 152-153.

<sup>2</sup>I do not think it necessary to enumerate those who have held that *auctor* here means Ennius. They thought of Ennius to get rid of the conflict between 1. 4. 1-6 and 1. 10. 66. Professor Morris, in his note on 66, thinks that neither Ennius nor Lucilius is meant; he translates "I grant, therefore, that he had a certain degree of polish, more, of course than a writer composing some entirely new (rude) kind of poetry, some poetry untouched by the Greeks, would have had . . .". Part of this is negatived by the text above. Further, Hendrickson (Gildersleeve Studies, 139) has clearly shown that Horace did *not* mean, in 64 ff., to grant polish, etc., to Lucilius.



speaking. Further convincing evidence of the meaning of *auctor* appears in 46-51:

hoc erat experto frustra Varrone Atacino  
 atque quibusdam aliis melius quod scribere possem,  
 inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim  
 haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.  
 At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem  
 plura quidem tollenda relinquendis.

With *inventore*, 48, we must supply *eius* or *eius rei*, referring back to *hoc* (satire), 46. *inventore* is picked up by *illi*, 48, and that in turn by *hunc* of 50. Fortunately, the identity of *hunc* in 50 is made absolutely clear by the fact that 50-51 reproduce pretty exactly 1. 4. 11, plainly used of Lucilius.

The *auctor*, then, of 66 is Lucilius, and Lucilius is described in S. 1. 10 as writer of a form of poetry untouched by the Greeks; in 1. 4. 6 we have *Hinc* (i. e. from the writers of the Old Attic Comedy) *omnis pendet Lucilius*. Manifestly S. 1. 4 and S. 1. 10 are not in harmony with each other. In S. 1. 10 Horace has anticipated Quintilian's famous dictum (10. 1. 93) *Satura quidem tota nostra est*. If, as is argued above, 1. 10 gives us Horace's real views, Horace does not belong with those ancient authors who connect Lucilius with the Old Attic Comedy, and an important prop is removed from the theories of Leo and Hendrickson.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Hendrickson realizes that his readers will hesitate to identify the *saturae* of Livy with the Old Comedy, to see in them "an assumed stage of Roman dramatic development corresponding to the old comedy" (12). Accordingly, to reinforce his view, he asks what Livy really says about the *saturae*. That, he an-

<sup>1</sup> If my argument is sound, it has an important bearing on Professor Hendrickson's paper, *Satura—The Genesis of a Literary Form*, Cl. Phil. 6. Because Horace, in speaking of his own writings in S. 1. 4 and 1. 10, uses very vague and general expressions, Professor Hendrickson concluded that the word *Satura* was not yet in use as a designation of a form of literature. My argument above implies that Horace had the best of reasons for avoiding the term *Satura* as a designation of his *Sermones*. The same argument shows why he could without hesitation employ in Book 2—which belongs to a later day, when his position was secure—the term *Satura* of his own writings. Further, if Professor Hendrickson was right in seeing in S. 1. 4 (see page 141, n. 3) a protest by Horace against the current conception of satirical writing, he supplies himself a good reason for Horace's avoidance of the term throughout his first book of *Sermones*. See also Webb, Cl. Phil. 7. 178-181, and above, p. 130, n. 5.



swers, they had (a) some pretensions to form, (b) they were performed by professionals. (b) is right. In § 7 Livy does clearly describe the *saturae* as an advance in form over the Fescennines. In the negative side of his description he says they were *non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incompositum . . . ac rudem*; in the positive part of his description, he emphasizes, as the one new element, a more developed musical form.<sup>1</sup> There is no longer absolute 'Planlosigkeit' in matter; there is a better musical form. But I cannot follow Professor Hendrickson when he declares that the fact that the *saturae* were performed by professionals (*vernaculi artifices*, §§ 6-7) in itself shows "a stage of thoroughly-developed dramatic form". Professionalism and lack of form exist side by side even today, all too often. In the first stage described by Livy—the Tuscan dancer stage—we have professionals, but nothing that either the ancients or ourselves would really call dramatic form. Nor can I agree with Professor Hendrickson that the words *ab risu ac soluto ioco*, § 11, refer back to the *saturae* alone and so serve to characterize them alone further, with a hint, he means, of the *λαμβική ιδέα*. They refer, I am sure, to the Fescennines as well; Livy is looking back over the whole development he has described. But even if the words are restricted to the *saturae*, they do not help Mr. Hendrickson; there is in them no hint of the *λαμβική ιδέα*. See above, page 141.

One other suggestion made by Professor Hendrickson in this connection needs but to be stated to be disregarded. "By *impletas modis*", he says (13), "may well be suggested something of the manifold musical and metrical form of the parabasis". In a footnote he compares Platonius: *ἡ δὲ παράβασις ἐπληροῦτο ὑπὸ μελῳδρίου καὶ κομματίου καὶ στροφῆς καὶ ἀντιστροφῆς κτλ.*

It is difficult enough to see how Mr. Hendrickson could ever have believed that any Roman critic—a Varro or an Accius—could soberly have imagined or have expected any one else to imagine that the *saturae* of Livy were an analogue to the Old Attic Comedy, the marvellous productions of Aristophanes. It is an even severer strain on credulity to suggest that so vague a phrase as *impletae modis* would suggest what Platonius says. Once again Mr. Hendrickson's wonderful verbal memory has played him false: the words of Livy and Platonius agree at just one point: *impletae* and *ἐπληροῦτο* both suggest the idea of fullness.

<sup>1</sup>See Webb, Cl. Phil. 7. 183-184.



The limits of space allotted to this paper are nearly exhausted. I must, therefore, draw these remarks to a close. I have examined some of the more important arguments of the sceptics, and have, I think, shown how weak they are, and how poor has been the foundation on which their elaborate structures have been reared. There has been no room to consider a host of details involved in the comparison of Horace and Livy with each other, and of both with Aristotle. I feel sure that I can show that the same lack of logic, the same straining to make a point, the same bending of simple passages to suit a preconceived theory marks the detailed discussion of individual paragraphs and verses which we have noted in our discussion above of the broad general doctrines on which the sceptics sought to base their case. I can prove, I feel sure, that the article by which Professor Hendrickson, in A. J. P. XIX, claims to differentiate the views of Accius concerning the chronology of early Latin literature from those of Varro is without basis of any sort in fact, and that therefore this paper too is of no value, so far, at least, as its main contention is concerned.

I shall conclude the present paper with a brief discussion of Schanz's views of the dramatic satura. In his second edition he had been but little influenced by the views of the sceptics. In his third edition (1907), in § 9, pages 21-22, he adopts a curious compromise. He believes firmly in early native forms of the drama among the Romans. At Rome, as elsewhere, he says, the beginnings of the drama are connected with "die Festfreude". In Horace Epp. 2. 1. 139 ff. we get, he maintains, a definite name "für ein dramatisches element", i. e. *Fescennina licentia*. "Dass diese 'fescenninische Augelassenheit' uns den Anfang des italischen Dramas darstellt, kann nicht bezweifelt werden; auch die gelehrte Forschung des Altertums verkannte das nicht wie ein ätiologischer Bericht bei Livius zeigt". He then takes up Livy's narrative, which, he says, raises doubts. It is impossible that song and dance "erst später hinzukamen" . . . "Auch der Name satura ist höchst wahrscheinlich von dem Forscher, dem Livius seinen Bericht verdankt, zur Bezeichnung des improvisierten Spiels, das keinen Namen hatte, gestempelt worden". It should be remarked at once that Livy does not at all represent the *saturae* as improvisations: see § 7, and above, page 145.

On page 22, going into details, he declares that Livy's narrative shows plainly that "uns eine konstruierte Geschichte des röm-



ischen Dramas vorliegt", which seeks to set up a connection (Zusammenhang) that did not in fact exist. So quite wrongly, Livius Andronicus, who translated Greek comedies into Latin, is described as the "Fortsetzer einer volksmässigen Posse". I do not believe that Livy so pictures the rôle played by Livius Andronicus. Unfortunately the words *ab saturis* (§ 8) used of Andronicus are none too clear, but there is nothing in Livy's words to forbid the interpretation that Andronicus turned his back on the *saturae*, and essayed something quite different.<sup>1</sup> Livy does not, indeed, call Livius Andronicus a Greek; nor does every other Latin writer in referring to Livius Andronicus think it necessary to call him a Greek;<sup>2</sup> his Greek origin was perfectly well known, being perpetually brought to mind by his very name.

Let us return to Schanz. "Gewiss hat es in Rom vor Einführung der kunstmässigen griechischen Komödie durch Livius Andronicus eine volksmässige Posse gegeben, die wahrscheinlich als eine Fortsetzung der Fescenninen anzusehen ist. Allein diese volksmässige Posse dürfte kaum einen Namen gehabt haben". Why? one may ask. But, continues Schanz, the scholar who put together ("konstruirte") Livy's narrative wanted to give this "Volksmässige Posse" a name. He found the development from the popular pre-Andronican drama to Andronicus's play in this, that in the latter "ein Stoff planvoll durchgeführt war, während die volksmässige Posse Planlosigkeit und Durcheinander darbot"; hence, in looking for a name, he thought of the word *satura*, which was in ordinary use "um die mannigfachen Gaben der Opferschale und die heterogenen Bestandteile eines Gesetzes (*satura lanx*, *satura lex*) zu bezeichnen". His last words are: "Ausser unserer Stelle wird an keiner anderen die volksmässige Posse vor Livius *satura* benannt. Es dürfte daher geraten sein, aus der Litteraturgeschichte die dramatische Satura zu verbannen und nur von Fescenninen und volksmässige Posse zu sprechen".

Here is a most extraordinary jumble! Livy's account is held to set forth the essential truth, and yet is described as "konstruirte" by some combinierende Gelehrte! Livy's narrative is

<sup>1</sup> Some one, I think, has inserted *aversus* after *ab saturis*; I cannot, however, give the proper reference.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot follow Leo 39. 69 when he says "Livy schaltet das Griechische aus . . . Es ist möglich dass Livy selber das griechische Element verschleiern wollte".



accepted as true, virtually, in everything save in one detail—the name he gives to the something that lay between the Fescennines and the plays with plot written by Andronicus. How could one who believed—whether he realized it or not—all else in Livy's account balk over so insignificant a detail as the name *satura*? Further, why should one accept without hesitation the phrases *satura lanx*, *satura lex*, nowhere attested in a literary passage,<sup>1</sup> but vouched for only by grammarians and lexicographers, and yet reject the testimony of Livy,<sup>2</sup> a far better and earlier authority, to a mere name? However, all this is a mere *σκιμαχία*. I am not interested in the names borne by the forms of the early Roman drama; I rejoice that Schanz still believes in the existence of such forms prior to the time of Livius Andronicus.

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<sup>1</sup> See Funck, *Archiv.* 5. 38.

<sup>2</sup> See Webb's ingenious argument, *Cl. Phil.* 7. 182-185.



## II.—HORACE AND TIBULLUS.

### I. CARM. I. 33 AND EPIST. I. 4.

Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor  
immitis Glyceræ, neu miserabiles  
decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior  
laesa præniteat fide.

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,  
quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?  
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,  
An tacitum silvas inter reptare salubris,  
curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?  
Non tu corpus eras sine pectore: di tibi formam,  
di tibi divitias dederunt artemque fruendi.  
Quid voveat dulci nutricula maius alumno,  
qui sapere et fari possit quæ sentiat, et cui  
gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde,  
et mundus victus non deficiente crumena?  
Inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras  
omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:  
grata superveniet quæ non sperabitur hora.  
Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,  
cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum.

Horace addresses two of his poems, Odes I. 33 and Epistles I. 4, to a certain Albius, who is generally identified with the well-known elegiac poet, Tibullus. But over a generation ago this identification was challenged by Baehrens,<sup>1</sup> whose views were combated with more or less success by some scholars, but for the most part merely ignored.<sup>2</sup> They found, however, a very clever defender some years ago in the person of J. P. Postgate, the well-known English scholar.<sup>3</sup> So far as I know, Postgate's presenta-

<sup>1</sup> Emil Baehrens, *Tibullische Blätter*, 1876, p. 7 ff. Baehrens' idea is not new; Cruquius rejected the identification on the assumption that Tibullus was born in 43 B. C. (the year of the birth of Lygdamus who, in Cruquius' time, was supposed to be Tibullus) and thus could not have been a critic of Horace's Satires (Epist. I. 4. 1).

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Sellar, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, 1892, p. 225 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Selections from Tibullus*, 1903, p. 179.



tion of the facts as he saw them has never been answered. His arguments are very plausible, and therefore worth answering, but I should not attempt to do so if it were not necessary in order to clear the way for a detailed and partially new interpretation of the epistle that Horace addressed to Albius.

Postgate attempts to explain away all of the evidence that Albius was the *nomen* of the poet Tibullus. Such a course is made possible by the fact that no evidence for the *nomen* is furnished either by Tibullus or contemporary writers. The main sources are Porphyrio and Diomedes of the third or fourth century and a biography of Tibullus found in the Tibullian MSS.<sup>1</sup> This biography has been thought to be an abridgment of the one which Suetonius probably wrote in his "De Viris Illustribus". For the sake of the argument Postgate admits that Suetonius is the ultimate source of this life, and this surprising generosity rather takes one off one's guard. But his generosity is not altruistic. He argues that Suetonius may have known no more about Tibullus than we do; that in fact no more material for a biography may have existed in his day than at present. Surely this is going to extremes; judging from the Lives of Suetonius that are extant, he did have a considerable amount of material at hand which is not accessible to us. If historians were to use Postgate's method our histories would be very much attenuated. He arranges his argument very ingeniously: "I grant you", he implies, "that the Vita goes back to Suetonius, and since Suetonius lived so much earlier than Diomedes and Porphyrio, we can ignore the latter two; but there is nothing in the Vita which anybody at all could not find out from the extant poems of Tibullus and Horace themselves, or from an extant four line epitaph of Tibullus! Therefore", runs his argument, "Suetonius used only these sources, invented the identification of Albius with Tibullus, and thus there is no value in the evidence of the Vita—old as it is in origin—in favor of the *nomen* Albius for Tibullus". Surely we must protest against the ignoring of Diomedes and Porphyrio, and must ask why Suetonius should have identified

<sup>1</sup> In addition there are the MSS. of Tibullus (none earlier than the 14th century) and of Horace, with their titles. The Horatian titles, however, are believed to go back to Porphyrio's text (Vollmer, Philologus, Suppl. X, 1905, p. 315 n. 126). Porphyrio, Diomedes and the MSS. of Horace identify the Albius of Horace with the poet Tibullus.



Tibullus with Albius if they were as unlike as Postgate then sets out to show that they were.

The real arguments against the identification of Albius and Tibullus are internal. Horace says that Albius is blessed with material wealth; Tibullus constantly complains of being poor. But there is nothing inconsistent here; poverty and riches were relative terms then as now. Much of Tibullus' ancestral wealth had been lost, through no fault of his, as is apparent from his own words, and by contrast with the wealth of his fathers he felt himself poor.<sup>1</sup> Then, again, it was the proper thing for an elegiac poet to plead poverty. The statements indicative of poverty that seem least conventional are all in the first elegy of the first book—possibly showing that Tibullus' fortunes improved, perhaps with the help of Messalla.

Another point urged against the identification is the apparent comparison of Albius with an unimportant poet, Cassius Parmensis. Postgate sums up thus: "Would the author of the first book of the *Epistles* have publicly asked the poet of Delia and Nemesis if he was engaged upon something that would surpass the minor productions of this Cassius Parmensis? If so, he would have told the late poet laureate at the end of his life that he might write something to excel the minor productions of Mr. Andrew Lang". This point, such as it is, will be considered a little later.

The argument that has seemed strongest in favor of Baehrens' and Postgate's theory is that Horace, in *Carm.* I. 33, speaks of a Glycera as the beloved of Albius, though no such name is mentioned by Tibullus. Since everyone agrees that the Albius of the Ode is the same as the Albius of the *Epistle*, the battle has raged largely around this name. Some have held that Glycera is a pseudonym for Delia or Nemesis, the girls to whom many of Tibullus' elegies are addressed; by others, as Postgate puts it, "a third mistress and a third series of love elegies have to be invented and fitted in where best they can, and ill enough at that", while others, as Baehrens and Postgate, have denied the identification of Albius with Tibullus.<sup>2</sup> The second explana-

<sup>1</sup> See below, part II, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> It is with some diffidence that I venture to express an opinion on this well-worn theme. For the lengthy literature see Cartault, *Apropos du Corpus Tibullianum*, 1906.



tion is that of the literal-minded, and such can never appreciate Horace. They maintain either that the book of Glycera elegies is entirely lost, or that nothing remains of it but the two supposedly Tibullian poems, IV, 13 and 14 of the *Corpus Tibullianum*, though the name Glycera is not found in them. If it is necessary to accept this theory, I fail to see how one can avoid accepting the companion-theory that the girl casually mentioned in the same Ode by the type-name Pholoe is one and the same as the Pholoe once mentioned by Tibullus. This theory, actually proposed in all seriousness by early scholars, is now of course considered absurd.

It seems to me that the true explanation is that Horace has Nemesis in mind when he uses the name Glycera. I should not insist, however, on the point that Glycerae is the metrical equivalent of Nemesis in Horace's line, though this may have been a factor. The probable date of the Ode (see below) makes for the identification with Nemesis rather than with Delia. Horace's words, too, apply better to Nemesis, judging from Tibullus' description.<sup>1</sup> No sufficient reasons have ever been given for Horace's use of the pseudonym Glycera. Postgate justly criticizes Sellar's explanation that the name is chosen for the sake of the oxymoron—a favorite Horatian figure. Rather, *immitis* is chosen to produce oxymoron with Glycera.

We must find the true explanation elsewhere. No name perhaps had a more definite connotation to a Greek or Roman than the name Glycera. It was one of the most common names of *hetaerae*, and Horace might just as well have used the common noun *meretrix*, except that it would be less refined and romantic. Horace himself uses the name a number of times for no particular individual, but for the class. Glycera is, therefore, hardly a proper noun at all. Its use corresponds to that of Gaia, commonly used as a synonym for *mulier*. Similar instances are common in all languages; cf. Jezebel (in French *Mégère*), Jehu, etc. Now the use of such a name by Horace gives a deeper meaning to the passage. It does not mean merely: "Albius, do not grieve overmuch when you think of the bitter-sweet Glycera", but has the added force: "for she is only a *meretrix* after all". Horace does not deign to honor Nemesis by calling her Nemesis.

<sup>1</sup> It is to be remembered throughout that it makes no difference for our purpose whether Tibullus' love adventures are real or not; Horace may be thinking of Tibullus as the elegiac poet or as the man.





Horace goes on to say: "Do not drone out your pitiful elegies just because she has broken her word and a younger man outshines you in her favor". Some difficulty has been found in reconciling this with the fact that Tibullus does not complain of a younger but of a richer rival. The explanation that Horace is inexact because exactness is not necessary is sufficient, but another may be suggested. *Iunior* may have been deliberately chosen instead of *ditior* as another humorous dig like the use of Glycera—for with women of that sort a young rival was not to be feared so much as an extravagant one, especially since Tibullus could scarcely have been much more than thirty years old at the time, and may have been considerably younger. The juxtaposition of *tibi* and *iunior* would heighten the point of the jest.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to the 4th Epistle of the 1st book. In analyzing this poem we will see further objections to the theory that Albius and Tibullus are not the same. Our lack of knowledge concerning the circumstances has made this a difficult poem to interpret. It is necessary to approach it from the point of view of the student of Tibullus and yet consider it from the Horatian standpoint as well.<sup>2</sup> It was probably written between 23 and 20 B. C. Some editors have held that it was written before the Odes were published in 23, because they are not mentioned in verse 1 as having come under the critical eye of Albius, but there is no point to this argument at all, for by the same token it might be argued that it was written before the Epodes were published,

<sup>1</sup> In this Ode Horace is perhaps hinting to Tibullus to abandon elegiac poetry and to take up a form more suited to singing the praises and furthering the policy of Augustus. In the Ode immediately preceding, Horace calls upon his lyre to sing a "Latin" song, i. e., one concerning Roman affairs, and in Carm. II. 9. 19 openly asks Valgius to write about Augustus (note the tactful use of the first person *cantemus*). See also below, on Epist. I, 4 (p. 158, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> A detailed interpretation of the poem was given by Cartault (Horace et Tibulle, Rev. de phil. 30, 1906, p. 210) which hardly does that student of Tibullus and Horace justice. He misses the spirit of the Epistles altogether, thinking that Horace is making fun of philosophy and tragedy and is urging Tibullus to go back to his gay life of woman and song at Rome. Cartault expresses the same ideas, somewhat modified and curtailed, in his edition of Tibullus (1909) p. 26 f. The interpretation, it seems to me, needs no refutation. I would merely call attention to the fact that the mention of the *nutricula* in vs. 8 is entirely out of harmony with Cartault's interpretation.



which is impossible.<sup>1</sup> Tibullus may have been one of the *com-pluris alios*—scholars and friends—whom Horace says, in the 10th Satire of the 1st book, that he purposely passes over, after mentioning by name the men whose approval he seeks.<sup>2</sup> It is worth noting that the term *candidus* is at various times applied by Horace to five of the men appearing in this list, Maecenas, Virgil, Plotius, Varius and Furnius,<sup>3</sup> and that the only other time it occurs in the same sense it is used of Tibullus. It seems to be reserved by Horace for those who approved of the Satires. That Tibullus is not mentioned by name in the 10th Satire is not surprising; he must have been a very young man at the time. If this be accepted we must either put the date of Tibullus' birth as early as 54 or 55 (on the other hand, it could not have been much earlier; see below p. 164, n. 2), or else that of the Satire considerably later than 35, the commonly accepted date. The latter alternative seems impossible.

My conception of the situation at the time of the Epistle is this: Tibullus' love-affair with Nemesis was not turning out well, as we see from his poems; after the final break came, Horace comforted him with the Ode we have discussed (*memor* in verse 1 shows that it is all off). This may have been as late as 23 B. C., when the Odes were published. Matters went from bad to worse; Tibullus retires to the country, to the scenes of his childhood, to try to forget his unsweet sweetheart and his other troubles, but he cannot shake off his melancholy; his friends at Rome become alarmed, and Horace, one of the most tactful men that ever lived, writes to his young friend the Epistle before us, with the intention of cheering him and diverting his thoughts.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neither the Odes nor the Epodes are mentioned because only the Satires had been attacked by the critics, and only they defended by Tibullus. See also below, p. 167, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For evidence in favor of this supposition, see below, part III, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Epod. 14, 5; Serm. I. 5. 40-41, I. 10. 86.

<sup>4</sup> This description is perhaps too romantic. I see no reason however for believing that Tibullus' love affairs were entirely fictitious, unromantic as they may have been. Indeed he would have been a strange Roman if they had been. It is true that Jacoby makes the extraordinary statement (Rhein. Mus. 65, 1910, p. 68) that Tibullus' poetry proves that he had no liaisons with women; that, in fact, he was not interested in erotic elegy but in bucolic poetry, and that he spoiled his poetry by dragging in erotic passages in order to satisfy the demands of the genus elegy. But why in the world did Tibullus pick out such a genus to work in? And why could he not adapt the



Horace establishes himself, so to speak, by calling to mind that he and Tibullus are connected by the bond of literary friendship—*candide iudex*; this gives Horace the right to speak about Tibullus' affairs. At the same time the phrase puts the two into the position of two friends on a par, and the words which follow will not seem like the admonitions of an older man, given only to be ignored. Horace achieves a similar result in the 8th epistle by admitting his own failings. The right to quiz Tibullus he assumes in verse 2, by asking him what he is doing—yet he does not ask it directly, bluntly, but with fine tact and delicacy—not “What are you doing now in the *regio Pedana*”? but, “What shall I say that you are doing now in the *regio Pedana*”? Horace suggests the answer himself: “Shall I say that you are writing, etc. (verse 3), or wandering, etc. (verses 4 and 5)”? Notice that the second suggestion receives two lines, and the first only one line. They are not two evenly matched suggestions, but the second is the one really meant, as is often the case with the second member of a double question connected by *an*. But what is the purpose and meaning of verse 3? This has been much discussed. Cassius Parmensis is an obscure poet, and it has been urged that it would be no great compliment to Tibullus to be compared to him, and that, therefore, Albius is not Tibullus; but I fail to see why the comparison would be any more complimentary to an Albius who was not Tibullus but a rich literary amateur—as Postgate puts it—at least from Albius' point of view.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the comparison would surely give offense to an amateur, while a real poet with an established reputation would

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elegy to his own purposes? Jacoby does not sufficiently meet these objections. Nor do I agree with the analysis—keen and valuable as it often is in details—which leads him to these conclusions. To return to Tibullus, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he had some unpleasant experiences which increased an already existing tendency towards morbid introspection. A middle ground, something like that which Schanz takes (*Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* § 279.2), seems to me the safest in the dispute between those who accept every word that Tibullus says of himself and his sweethearts as historical fact, and those who hold that everything is convention. Furthermore, as far as we are at present concerned, it makes little difference, for Horace may have chosen in this Epistle, as in the Ode, to adopt the romantic, but fictitious, (if it is fictitious) attitude of Tibullus. This should be remembered throughout the following discussion.

<sup>1</sup> To be sure, Tibullus himself has been called a dilettante (Jacoby, in *Rhein. Mus.* 65, 1910, p. 72).



laugh at it. We know very little about Cassius Parmensis as a literary man. The Scholiasts seem to have drawn their information largely from the text of Horace. The word *opuscula* may be belittling, as it is in the only other place where it is used by Horace (Epist. I. 19. 35), in speaking of his own poems.<sup>1</sup> We need not infer from Horace's words that Cassius was a writer of elegies, especially not that he was a prominent writer of elegies; we can leave that to the literal-minded again. Horace is having a little joke at Tibullus' expense, though the joke has a purpose, to make Tibullus smile and to put him in a cheerful mood for the rest of the letter.

Do verses 4 and 5, then, represent what Horace thought Tibullus was doing? Was Tibullus a philosopher (i. e. a practical philosopher)—for that is what the *sapiens bonusque* was, cf. Epist. I. 7. 22, I. 16. 20, 73?<sup>2</sup> As there is nothing to indicate that he was, and much to indicate that he was not, some have thought that here, too, we have an argument against the Albius-Tibullus identification. But the true explanation is that Horace is here tactfully hinting to Tibullus that philosophy is his only cure.<sup>3</sup> The hint is so delicate that it has escaped many editors, but a comparison with other Epistles makes this interpretation certain. After the first dedicatory Epistle, the second, third, fourth, and probably the fifth and sixth, are all letters to younger men. In all of them Horace manages to introduce the thought that the philosopher's life is the best. In several of the letters Horace tactfully meets a delicate situation; the seventh Epistle, in which he openly declares to Maecenas his independence and his intention to do exactly as he pleases, and yet gives no offense, is a good example; another is the third, where he settles a quarrel between two young men in masterly fashion. In the same letter he suggests to Florus, by means of a contrary-to-fact condition, that he become a philosopher: "If you only could abandon these cold-compresses of care you would be going where heavenly philosophy leads". These and the two following lines are the only ones in the whole Epistle of 36 lines in which Horace's philosophy of life—the dominant theme of the first book of the Epistles—is touched upon. Now is not that the way verses 4 and 5 of the

<sup>1</sup> See below, part IV, p. 166, where additional light on the interpretation of verses 1-3 is given.

<sup>2</sup> *Curo* also is technical, cf. Epist. I. 1. 11.

<sup>3</sup> See also Kettner, *Die Episteln des Horaz*, *ad loc.*



fourth Epistle are to be taken? Horace means that it would be wise for Tibullus to turn philosopher; thus he could overcome his troubles. Verse 4 shows what is the matter with Tibullus; *tacitum* shows that he is brooding, melancholy; *reptare* suggests the dragging steps of a dejected individual; *salubris* cannot be an idle epithet, for that is not in Horace's style; it suggests that Tibullus was looking for *salubritas*—but *valetudo* in verse 10 shows that physical health is not meant. It must be mental health. Tibullus himself speaks of *salubribus herbis* (II. 3. 13) as an attempted cure for love, and the word is common in that sense.<sup>1</sup>

Now we come to verse 6. Here the connection of thought is rather obscure, and, therefore, all the more important. Horace leaves it to us to fill in the gaps, and, because he so often does so, the Satires and Epistles are not always easy reading. "You are fully capable of becoming a philosopher", implies Horace, saying: "(for) you did not use to be a mere body without a mind and soul."<sup>2</sup> (It is true that) the gods gave you beauty and riches, (but they also) gave you the art of enjoying them properly". Unless we take verse 5 as a hint in the way I have suggested I can see no plausible connection between it and verse 6. Others have called attention to the contrast between the tense of *eras*, in verse 6, and the *nunc* of verse 2. *Nunc* contrasts also with verse 1, and the whole passage means that Tibullus was getting the greatest possible enjoyment out of life when he was a very young man, as Horace knew, but that he was interested in other things as well, such as literature, so much so that he passed judgment on Horace's Satires, not to mention writing verse himself. Verses 8-11 are an amplification of verses 5-7. But why is the nurse mentioned? The diminutive is evidently one of affection. From our point of view a reference to his mother would have been more in place, but the indispensable nurse played a very important part in Roman home life, as she still very often does in some European countries. "In Latin literature are many passages that testify to the affection felt for each other by nurse and child, an affection that lasted on into manhood and womanhood".<sup>3</sup> The reason for the mention is obvious if our interpretation of the poem as a

<sup>1</sup> Pichon, de sermone amatorio apud lat. elegiarum scriptores, 1902, s. v.

<sup>2</sup> For the force of *eras*, see Wickham's note, though he misses the point in verses 4 and 5.

<sup>3</sup> Johnston, The Private Life of the Romans, p. 71. Cf. e. g. Pers. 2. 39 and Sen. Ep. 60. 1.



whole is accepted. Just as in verse 5 Horace suggests philosophy to Tibullus as a means of dispelling his melancholy, so in verse 8 he strives for the same result by delicately calling to mind tender memories of his childhood days in a manner displaying wonderful tact and good taste, especially, if, as I believe to be the case, Tibullus is at the time living in the country home of his childhood, a home of which he never tires of speaking in his elegies.

In verse 9 *sapere* again hints at philosophy as a care dispeller: "One who has it *in his power* to be a philosopher and to put into words what he feels", with the implication that Tibullus is not making use of these powers. The second book of his elegies is unusually short, and may be incomplete, suggesting that he gave up his writing after his troubles (whether love troubles, or melancholia, or both) began.<sup>1</sup> Besides that, he has influential friends (*gratia*), a good name (*fama*), good physical health (*valetudo*), and a comfortable income. *Sapere* and *fari* are put first, as indicating the things that Horace considers of most importance, and are separated from the rest.

In verse 12 again the connection of thought is difficult and important. Verses 12-14 can mean nothing unless a consolation is intended, and the consolation must suit the poem as a whole. The four emotions in verse 12 are not chosen to typify "the ordinary experiences of life", as it has been put, but are meant to apply rather to Tibullus' state of mind.<sup>2</sup> These emotions are arranged in pairs, the separation of the pairs being indicated not merely by the use of *inter* with each, but also by the use of the singular in the first pair and the plural in the second. We are justified, therefore, in looking for a resemblance between the members of each pair. No other resemblance seems possible except that the first pair are pleasant feelings and the second unpleasant. Furthermore there seems to be a relation between the first and third, and the second and fourth words. Thus we can determine the meaning of *cura*, the only word whose meaning is doubtful. The only meaning that *cura* can have here, classed as it is with the pleasant word *spem*, is love. This is a common meaning in

<sup>1</sup> It looks as if Horace were trying to get Tibullus to follow the lead of himself and Virgil and become an exponent of the emperor's policy of improving the morals, etc., of the people. See above on Carm. I. 33 (p. 153, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> For the emotions typifying the ordinary experiences of life, see the quotations from Horace and Virgil just below.



Catullus, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. Especially interesting is its use in Epist. I. 3. 30, on which Kiessling's note is to the point, and in Tibullus II. 3. 13, the very line which was quoted above for the use of *salubribus herbis*. *Spem* and *timores* are akin in that they both look to the future.<sup>1</sup> So *curam* and *iras* are alike in dealing with the present. Of course this is the secondary balance; the primary one being between the pairs. Such balances are not uncommon, e. g. Epist. I. 6. 12: *Gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad rem.*<sup>2</sup> The first pair deals with the present; the second with the future. Besides, *gaudeat* and *cupiat* are contrasted with *doleat* and *metuat*, the pleasant with the unpleasant. In this example the primary balance is between the time-spheres; in the fourth Epistle between the pleasant and unpleasant.

The use of *spes*, referring to love, is common, and the word in this sense is often contrasted with *timor*.<sup>3</sup> The idea of anger contrasted with love is seen in Carm. I. 16. 25 ff., in which Horace retracts his anger if love is allowed to take its place. In the elegiac poets *ira* is often the result of troubles in love.<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that Horace is using throughout this line the technical language of elegy.

In the midst, then, of these feelings brought on by his love affair Tibullus should remember, says Horace, what a precious boon mere life is, and should count every added hour a special gift of heaven.

The last two lines are humorous, as is generally recognized. The tact of *vires* should be noted: "You will come to visit me"—but in effect it is a command, though tempered by the following clause. The future is used thus in Epist. I. 13. 2, 10, 12 and I. 17. 12. A similar effect of quiet authority is attained by a different device in Epist. I. 3. 36.

<sup>1</sup> *Spes* and *res* (future and present) are often contrasted (e. g. Cic. Att. 3. 22. 4); so also *spes* and *opes* (e. g. Cic. Cat. 3. 7).

<sup>2</sup> See note in Kiessling, ed. 3 (not ed. 4). Cf. Virgil, Aen. 6. 733, *Hinc metuant cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque*. The context shows that these are the typical emotions of life.

<sup>3</sup> Tib. II. 6. 20. Cf. Pichon, op. cit.: *Saepius sperare est confidere aut se amatum iri aut amantem rediturum, et ita spes timori frequenter opponitur*.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. Tib. I. 6. 58 *tua mater me movet atque iras aurea vincit anus*; Prop. I. 18. 14; cf. Pichon, op. cit.



The jesting close, in which Horace humbles himself to the station of a pig, is intended to leave Tibullus in a more cheerful mood, and especially to bring Horace himself down to or below the level at which Tibullus imagines himself to be—Tibullus always modest and retiring, and now especially lowly in spirit. It should be noted that at the beginning Horace ingratiates himself by putting himself on a level with Tibullus, and by a jest, and that after his serious words are done he finishes in the same manner. We may imagine for ourselves the pathetic smile on Tibullus' lips. The poem is wonderfully sympathetic and shows Horace at his best. Perhaps we may now say that it is the most charming Epistle of them all.

As has been said, it may have been written as late as 20 B. C.; since Tibullus died in 19, or very soon after, it may well be that the melancholia ended in death.

## II. THE ALBIUS OF HORACE, SERM. I. 4.<sup>1</sup>

It is generally assumed that the diminution of Tibullus' property of which he complains in the first elegy was due to confiscation during or after the Civil Wars. Cartault (Tibulle, 1909, p. 8) makes the suggestion, only to reject it, that Tibullus' father squandered the estate. But this theory deserves some consideration. In Serm. I. 4. 28 Horace mentions an Albius who has a craze for bronze-collecting (*stupet Albius aere*), and again in verse 109 of the same Satire, in giving an example of his own father's method of teaching morals,—quoting him thus: *Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius utque Baius inops? Magnum documentum ne patriam rem perdere quis velit.* It is not at all likely that Horace means to be taken literally in this passage, and that those who are mentioned are actually the ones pointed out by his father. They are rather Horace's own stock of examples, taken from real life.<sup>2</sup> It is likely, however, that Albius was dead

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> It is usually assumed that the father Albius in verse 109 is the same as the bronze collector in verse 28, but it is suggested in Kiessling-Heinze (ed. 4. 1910) that *Albi filius* is the collector and that the phrase *Albi filius* is used because Horace's father would be more familiar with the older man. This is untenable, not only because the same ought to be true of the other men mentioned in the passage, but because Horace would scarcely speak of Albius' craze for bronzes in the same Satire in which he cites his own father as pointing out, ten or more years before, how the same Albius had squandered his money.



when the Satire was written (about 39 B. C.), judging from Horace's custom in satirizing (Serm. II. 1. 39. f.). It seems to me quite probable that this Albius was the father of Tibullus, and that Tibullus was the *Albi filius* who "male vivat" (in a material sense, on account of his father's extravagance). This would fit in well with the probable date of Tibullus' birth (see above, p. 154, and below, p. 164, n. 2), for he would have been about sixteen at the time of the Satire. Tibullus says not a word about his father, though he speaks of his mother and sister. It is altogether likely that the father died when Tibullus was very young. If this be true, it is barely possible that there is added point to Hor. Epist. I. 4. 6-7, the son being contrasted with the father (see above, p. 157). There would also be added significance and pathos, perhaps, in some of Tibullus' expressions: (I. 1. 38-41)—*fictilia—pocula de facili composuitque luto, non ego divitias patrum fructusque requiro*. (I. 10. 8) *faginus scyphus*. (I. 10. 17, 20) *e stipite—ligneus deus*. (II. 3. 47, 48) *mihi—Samiae—testae fictaque Cumana lubrica terra rota*. The fact that he had such a father and that he lost even him when he was a mere boy may partly account for his later melancholia.

### III. HORACE, SERM. I. 10 AND THE CIRCLE OF MESSALLA.

In the tenth Satire of the first book Horace defends his Satires against the critics, and concludes with a list of the men whose approval he seeks. The arrangement of names in this list is a matter of interest, for it is by no means haphazard. We have here the three great literary patrons of the age, Maecenas, Pollio

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The temporal inversion would be too striking. Morris (Satires) thinks that the bronze-collector could not be the father mentioned in verse 109 (he does not consider the possibility just refuted). If the two are identical, then the bronze craze of course resulted in poverty and the son was blameless, as Morris tacitly assumes when he says: "The point of the illustration would be spoiled if the father had wasted the property; *Albi filius* is the spendthrift son of a prosperous father, and so an excellent illustration of the conduct which Horace's prosperous father wished his own son to avoid." But Horace's father may mean that Horace should be careful of his inherited (*patriam*) estate lest his children should suffer. The use of the same name in the same poem for two entirely different individuals seems to me very unlikely. Besides, the use of *Albi filius* instead of the son's name would seem to indicate that it is the father who is to blame. The identification of the two Albii seems, therefore, to be less open to objection than any other hypothesis.



and Messalla, and the members of their circles.<sup>1</sup> Maecenas' circle, the most important and the one to which Horace belonged, is mentioned first. With Maecenas' name is linked that of his greatest protégé, Virgil. Plotius and Varius, as usual, are together; it is well known that they belonged to the circle of Maecenas.<sup>2</sup> Valgius' connections have been unknown, but it has been assumed that he belonged to the circle of Messalla.<sup>3</sup> The reason for the assumption is weak: because he is mentioned by the author of the *Panegyricus Messallae* in Tib. IV. 1. 180 as a suitable person to sing the praises of Messalla. Horace (*Carm.* II. 9. 19) tells Valgius to sing the praises of Augustus, and, as Schanz elsewhere says (p. 211), this means that Valgius' talent for epic poetry was recognized in the circle of Maecenas. Thus the evidence for Valgius' membership in the circle of Maecenas balances that in favor of the circle of Messalla, and the evidence of Horace's *Satire* should decide in favor of the former.<sup>4</sup> Horace next mentions Octavius, who is generally agreed to be Octavius Musa, a compatriot and fellow-student of Virgil's; he is addressed very affectionately in two poems of the *Catalepton*, very probably written by Virgil.<sup>5</sup> He may well have been a member of the circle of Maecenas. Of Fuscus we know only that he was a good friend of Horace. The brothers Visci are mentioned next; all we know of them is that one of them is mentioned twice more by Horace; in *Serm.* I. 9. 22, his name is coupled with that of Varius, and in *Serm.* II. 8. 20, he or his brother reclines next to Varius at a dinner party at which Maecenas is the chief guest. According to the *Scholia*, their father was a friend of Augustus. It certainly looks as if they belonged to the charmed circle of Maecenas.

<sup>1</sup> This arrangement is hinted at by Teuffel, but he omits details and substantiation: Teuffel-Schwabe (1890) and Teuffel-Kroll (1909), *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* sect. 219. In Kiessling-Heinze (ed. 4), the men mentioned in verses 81-83 are recognized as members of the circle of Maecenas, but the rest are classed together as members of the higher aristocracy.

<sup>2</sup> Plotius, Varius and Virgil are mentioned together in *Serm.* I. 5. 40. Maecenas also appears in this *Satire* (the Journey to Brundisium).

<sup>3</sup> Schanz, II. 1 (1911), p. 22, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Teuffel-Schwabe and Teuffel-Kroll, 241. 1, infer from this passage that Valgius was a member of the circle of Maecenas, but say nothing of those mentioned next.

<sup>5</sup> The whole collection is coming more and more to be considered Virgilian. Cf. Schanz, *op. cit.*, p. 105; also Dewitt's review of Birt, *A. J. P.* 32 (1911), 448.



Then Horace separates the next name by a whole verse from the ones just mentioned: *Ambitione relegata te dicere possum*, and comes to Pollio, who was apparently a circle by himself at this time—seemingly a rather crusty critic who found so much fault with other persons' writings that he was largely left to patronize himself. Messalla is next. The language of the rest of the passage should be noted: "Messalla, along with (*cum*) your brother, and at the same time (*simul*) you, Bibulus and Servius, and, together with these (*simul his*), you fair-minded Furnius, (and) several others, scholars and friends whom I intentionally pass over". The use of *cum*, *simul*, and *simul his* shows that these names are to be taken together, i. e., we have here the chief members of the circle of Messalla in 35 B. C. Messalla's brother, Gellius Publicola, of course is a member. Bibulus was a stepson of Brutus, and as such was brought into close contact with Messalla, one of the men on whom Brutus depended most. Is it not also significant that Bibulus was pardoned by Augustus at the same time Messalla was?<sup>1</sup> Servius is generally thought to be Servius Sulpicius Rufus, a son (or, as some think, a grandson)<sup>2</sup> of the orator of the same name famous in Cicero's day. Now Servius II married a sister of Messalla, and their daughter was Sulpicia, the poetess whose charming elegies are found in the *Corpus Tibullianum*, and who became later a prominent member of the circle of Messalla. In other words, the Servius of Horace is either the brother-in-law or nephew of Messalla, and is either the father or brother of Sulpicia. A further connection may exist in that Messalla's brother, just mentioned, was perhaps a pupil of Servius I.<sup>3</sup> Next Horace mentions Furnius: Now Hieronymus (who excerpted Suetonius, *De Viris Illustribus*) says under the year 36 B. C.: *Furnii pater et filius clari oratores habentur: quorum filius consularis ante patrem moritur*. There seems to be no particular point in mentioning these men for the year 36 (for the son did not die that year). But it should be noticed that one of the consuls for the year was Messalla's brother, Gellius Publicola. It may be that Suetonius spoke of the Furnii in connection with Publicola. However, their mention may be due to the fact that in this year Sextus Pompey was defeated by a

<sup>1</sup> Appian, B. C. IV. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Schanz, p. 366.

<sup>3</sup> If the corrupt reading Publicius Gellius in Pompon. dig. 1. 2. 2. 44 is emended to Publicola Gellius, as Hotomann suggested (see Smith, *Dict. Biog.*, s. v. Gellius Publicius).



fleet sent by C. Furnius.<sup>1</sup> We know nothing more of interest for our purpose concerning Furnius. The *compluris alios* that Horace mentions next no doubt were also members of the coterie of Messalla, and thus it is all the more likely that Tibullus was one of them.<sup>2</sup>

Another interesting fact remains. Of those mentioned in the last group, Messalla, his brother and Bibulus had been in Athens together in the years before the battle of Philippi, and then had taken sides with Brutus, as Horace had. The same may have been true of Servius and Furnius. In the year 35, in which the Satire was probably written, Messalla, Furnius, Bibulus and probably Messalla's brother were closely identified with Mark Antony. The same may have been true of Servius. Thus it would seem that the circle of Messalla had its origin in the group of young men at Athens in the years just before Philippi; that this group joined Brutus' forces as a unit (Brutus was one of them); and that later, under Messalla's guidance, they joined Antony. This would naturally have been Horace's course as well, but for some reason or other he left the group (for he must have been a member) after the battle of Philippi, and entered that of Maecenas. He kept up, however, his friendship with the circle of Messalla, as indicated by this poem, and perhaps by his later friendship with Tibullus.

#### IV. CASSIUS PARMENSIS AND CASSIUS ETRUSCUS.

It seems to be the prevailing opinion at present that Cassius Parmensis (mentioned by Horace in Epist. I. 4. 3, and by other

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars, however, assign Hieronymus' statement to the year 37 B. C. (So Dessau, *Prosopographia imp. Rom.* vol. II).

<sup>2</sup> It was suggested above, p. 154, that Tibullus was too young to be mentioned by name. He was no doubt at least five, and probably eight to ten, years younger than those whose names are mentioned. Maecenas was born before 64; Virgil in 70; Varius probably earlier, at least not much later (he was a well-known poet in 41); Plotius apparently was of about the same age, at any rate not younger than Horace; Fuscus and Viscus were scarcely born later than 60, both being good friends of Horace before 35 (they are mentioned in Serm. I. 9, and, furthermore, Viscus' name is there coupled with that of Varius); Pollio was born in 76; Messalla not later than 64; Messalla's brother was older than he (for he was consul in 36); Bibulus was about as old as Horace (he went to Athens in 45); Furnius was a famous orator as early as 37 or 36. Tibullus was probably born in 55-54. See above p. 154, 161.



writers) is not the same man as the Cassius Etruscus spoken of in Hor. Serm. I. 10. 61, and only there. But I am inclined to go back to the older view. In the first place, the Scholiasts (including Porphyrio) identify the two, though, of course, that is no proof in itself. It has been argued<sup>1</sup> that Parma is not in Etruria, but in Cisalpine Gaul. Two answers can be made to this point. Etruscus may be a *cognomen*, not a designation of birth-place, and, in accordance with common custom, the *cognomen* precedes the *nomen* when the *praenomen* is omitted (cf. Carm. II. 2. 3; II. 11. 2; Epist. I. 2. 1; I. 8. 1). In the second place, Parma was very close to the border of Etruria, in fact the Etruscans had once been in possession of parts of Cisalpine Gaul. Parma was about as near the Etruscan border as Venusia was the Lucanian, so that if Horace was in doubt about the province to which his native Venusia belonged (Serm. II. 1. 34, *Lucanus an Apulus anceps*) he might be still more so about a town of northern Italy. Cassius, furthermore, may well have been an Etruscan Parmesan.

It is urged too that according to Serm. I. 10 (written about 35 B. C.) Cassius Etruscus had long been dead, and that we know from good sources that Cassius Parmensis lived until after the battle of Actium. Let us admit the latter, but examine the Horatian passage to see if another explanation can not be found. Cassius Parmensis had been a partisan of Brutus and Cassius, and, after Philippi, joined Sextus Pompey, who kept Octavian worried for some time, especially from 38 to 36 B. C. Pompey was defeated off Sicily in September 36, on which occasion many of his ships were burned (Appian B. C. V. 121). He himself escaped with a few ships to Asia Minor, and Cassius Parmensis went with him (for according to Appian B. C. V. 139, Cassius was among those who deserted to Antony there). One of Antony's generals, Titius, started against Pompey with a large fleet, and Furnius, Antony's legate, advanced with a land force. In desperation Pompey burned his own ships and joined his naval force to his land troops (35 B. C.). Now it may well have been rumored at Rome, either in 36 or 35 B. C. (especially the latter), that Cassius Parmensis was burned up with his ships. A garbled account of the events of the year 35 may have reached Rome, in which simply the burning of the ships (presumably by Pompey's opponents) and

<sup>1</sup> Weichert, De L. Varii et Cassii Parmensis Vita, 1836, p. 220.



the "loss" (really desertion) of Cassius Parmensis and others was mentioned. One should note Horace's words: *fama est*, "it is rumored", and should remember that the Satire was written very near the time of these events. *Fama est esse ambustum* may just as well mean "it is rumored that he *has been* burned" as "it is rumored that he *was* burned". It is no accident, perhaps, that Furnius is mentioned in the same Satire (in verse 86) as Cassius. He belongs there as a member of the circle of Messalla, as we have seen (p. 163), but, besides that, it was he, or perhaps his father, who had been partly responsible for the final downfall of Pompey and his army in Asia Minor. In the same way Horace may have been influenced to mention Cassius by the fact that he was a political enemy of Augustus as well as a literary opponent of his own.

There is possible, furthermore, another explanation of Horace's words. The interpretation of the Scholiasts that *ambustum* is used for *combustum*, and that Cassius' books served for his funeral pyre, seems to me very doubtful. *Ambustus* properly means scorched,—the meaning it has in the only other passage in which it is used by Horace (*Ambustus Phaethon*, Carm. IV. 11. 25). Some story about Cassius' escape from a fire in his house after trying to rescue some of his writings may be hinted at, or else it may have been spread about as a joke (*fama est*) that Cassius wrote so much that he used his books for lighting his fire.

At any rate there is nothing in the passage which cannot be easily explained to harmonize with what we know of Cassius Parmensis. Horace is contrasting his own slow and careful work with the rapid and careless output of Cassius. It is probably the same characteristic of Cassius that Horace satirizes by implication in Epist. I. 4. He uses *opuscula* playfully, by contrast,—he means huge, ponderous volumes—and the feat of "beating" (*vincat*) these would seem to be a great one. But why should Cassius Parmensis be singled out seven or more years after his death,—if Horace is making fun of him? This objection has been made by Weichert (p. 267). When Horace says *Candide iudex* (v. 1), he recalls the time when Tibullus gave his approval to the Satires,—the approval which Horace sought of him (as we saw above) and of others in Serm. I. 10. Approval for what? For the polish and carefulness of his work, as contrasted with the facile volubility of Lucilius and his latterday successors—of whom Cas-



sius was one.<sup>1</sup> The whole Satire centers largely around that point (*Saepe stilum veritas*, etc.). Cassius Etruscus (=Parmensis) is contrasted with Horace, Virgil, Tibullus and others. What more natural than that Horace should later remind Tibullus thus delicately of the time when the latter had sided with him against Cassius and others of his ilk? There is a point, then, in the mention of Cassius Parmensis which would not exist if he were not the same as Cassius Etruscus. It is significant that Cassius and Tibullus both are mentioned, directly or by implication, in both the Satire and the Epistle.

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<sup>1</sup> Very interesting, as showing the similarity between Horace and Tibullus in this respect, are the words of Quintilian (Inst. X. i. 93-94). He describes Tibullus merely by the words *tersus atque elegans* (trim and choice; one must be *elegans*—choose his words carefully—to be *tersus*). Horace in his Satires is called *tersior ac purus magis* (than Lucilius); *purus*, chosen to contrast with *lutulentus* applied to Lucilius, conveys the same idea as *elegans*. See also the valuable article of Bürger, *Beiträge zur Elegancia Tibulls*, in Leo, *Xáριτες* (1911) p. 393. For Tibullus' debt to Horace's Satires, cf. Jacoby in Rhein. Mus., 64, 65 (1909-10). Neither the Odes nor the Epodes show the same characteristics; that is one reason why they are not mentioned in Epist. I. 4. See also above, p. 154, n. 1.



### III.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

#### VII.<sup>1</sup>

82. Fragment of a marble slab, 0,35 m. wide and 0,25 high, roughly broken at top and bottom.<sup>2</sup> The inscription, of which the beginning and a few letters of the last line are missing, is cut in a somewhat vulgar style, and probably belongs to the third century:

ET · HERENNIA SABATHIS  
SIBI · ET · LIBERTIS LIBERTABVS  
QVE · POSTERISQVE EORVM  
ET LOCVM CVM TERMINIBVS  
SVIS ET COLVMBARIS SVIS  
DVOBVS · IN QVIBVS SVNT  
~~OLLAE~~ NVMERO · IIII ·  
P · VI · LAT · P · IV

Sabathis is not common as a name of slave or freedwoman, but is found, for example, in X, 4320, ossa Sabatinis sita precario; and XIV, 1561, . . . l(ibertae) Sabbatidi. The *columbarium* is, of course, the *loculus* or niche, which usually, as here, contained two urns: for example, VI, 5533, Cn. Corneli Acuti columbaria ii ollae iii; ib., 8125, col(umbaria) viii ollae n. xvi. In some cases, however, the niche contained three, four, or even six urns, as in VI, 29698, ol. n. sex col. duo; ib., 7803, columbaria n. x ollarum n. xxxx; ib., 8131, columpare quinto ollas vi. Other inscriptions of interest in this connection are XIV, 1650, columbare et locum donavit; and VI, 15836, haec aedicula cum colum-

<sup>1</sup> The preceding articles of this series appeared in this Journal, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 450 ff.; XXX, 1909, pp. 61 ff., 153 ff.; XXXI, 1910, pp. 25 ff., 251 ff.; and XXXII, 1911, pp. 166–187.

<sup>2</sup> In the absence of any statement to the contrary, this and the following inscriptions may be regarded as of Roman origin.



(b)aris quattuor . . . in quibus ollae n. xii. The form *terminibus* is not uncommon in the Gromat. Vet., e. g., p. 55, l. 21, p. 70, l. 26, and index, p. 517: similar formations are seen in III, 12593, amicibus; and ib., 914, 7521, natibus.

83. Slab of marble, 0,215 m. wide and 0,35 high, from the Via Salaria, with the following inscription cut in fairly good letters of the second or third century:

HERAA · MEGISTENI  
CONTVERNALI  
SVAE · CARISSIMÆ  
FECIT · TVMVLVM

This inscription was first published by Gatti in Bull. Com., 1906, p. 100, and Not. d. Scav. 1906, p. 212. The name Herma is well attested in its two forms, for example, in II, 1733, L. Baebius Herma; and in IX, 6281, Hermas. The vulgar Latin declension of Greek feminines in -η has been already discussed in connection with the datives *Leuceni* and *Tycheni* (A. J. P., XXX, 63). The form *Megisteni* occurs also in IX, 4653, Egnatiae C. f. Megisteni; and in X, 5239, Futiae C. l. Megisteni; but the true Greek form is seen in IX, 2363, (*Ac*)diae Megiste coniugi. The phrase *fecit tumulum* is not unusual, appearing, for example, in X, 7868, f(ecit) pater tumulum, though, of course, *tumulum fecit* is more common, as in X, 7525, maritus tumulum fecit, ib. 7816, 7840.

84. Slab of marble from outside the porta Salaria, with the following inscription carefully cut in fine letters of the early empire:

D  M  
HILARITATI · FI  
LIAE · DVLCISSIMAE  
QVAE · VIX · ANN · XII  
FECERVNT · PAR  
RENTES · CARICVS  
ET · TITIA · SPES

The last letter in the fifth line repeated by mistake at the beginning of the sixth was erased in antiquity, but is still partly



visible. The proper names are all so common as to call for no remark: the occurrences of Caricus are given in Thes. Ling. Lat. Suppl., col. 191. Attention has already been called to the comparatively rare use of the *ascia* on Roman stones. See above under number 24 (A. J. P., XXXI, 28), and on the significance of the *ascia*, V. Chapot in Bull. Soc. Ant. Fr., 1911, pp. 113-118.

85. Tablet of marble, 0,24 m. wide and 0,14 high, bearing the following inscription in beautifully cut letters of an early imperial period:

HILARVS ·  
SOCELLIANVS ·  
HIC SITVS EST ·

The use of two names for a slave indicates, as usual, that he had changed owners, having formerly belonged to a member of the *gens Socellia*, which is attested in V, 2018; VI, 25479 and 26616. As the great majority of such cases were in the imperial household, this Hilarus was in all probability the slave of an emperor or of some member of the imperial family. To which emperor he belonged it is of course impossible to say, but the custom of using two cognomina for imperial slaves ceased with Trajan, as Huelsen has shown.<sup>1</sup>

On the reverse side of the same tablet is a second inscription, cut between scratched guiding lines in shallow vulgar letters of a later period:

M · VIPSANVS · DAPRN  
VS · CORNIILIA · PATIRI   *sic*  
SVO · CARISIMO                   *sic*

In the first line the R and in the second line a T begun in ligature with the A of PATIRI are incompletely erased. With the vulgar *patiri* may be compared *Mythirae* in III, 1112. Vipsanus may be an error for Vipsanius or Vipstanus, with which it is sometimes confused, as it is, for example, in certain manuscript variants in Tacitus.<sup>2</sup> Still, Vipsanus is attested in III, 3031, M. Vipsanus M. l. Faustus; X, 7222 and IX, 1451, though in the last case there is doubt about the reading.

<sup>1</sup> Roem. Mittheil., 1888, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Fabia's Onomasticon Tacit, p. 733.



86. Small fragment of marble, 0,06 m. wide, and 0,055 high, with the following inscription in vulgar letters:

*hort* ENSIAE  
I POS

In the beginning of the second line may be seen a portion of the preceding letter, which was probably B. The lost word may have been SIBI. At the top are traces of the preceding line, but none of the letters can be identified.

87. Tablet of marble, 0,315 m. wide and 0,285 high, with inscription in somewhat vulgar letters probably of the second century:

DIS · MAN  
HYGIAE · STRATONICES  
TRALIANAE · VIX · ANNIS      *sic*  
XVIII · PLÓCAMVS · CONIVGI  
BENE · DE SE · MERITAE  
FECIT

Seven of the eleven instances of the apex are over consonants, and only one marks a long vowel. Similar examples of the use of the apex for ornamental purposes are given by Hübner, *Exempla Script. Epig.*, p. lxxvi. Hygia is usually a cognomen for slaves and freedwomen: here, however, as in V, 6020, Hygiae L. f. Amiantae, it is used as a nomen. With Tral(l)ianae compare Cic. Phil. 3, 15, 'Aricina mater'. Trallianam aut Ephesiam putes dicere.

88. Fragment of a marble tablet, 0,17 m. wide and 0,26 high, now broken into three pieces. It bears the following portion of an inscription well and deeply cut in large square letters:

IVS · AV *g. l.*  
CVL · STA  
IRENI  
*benemere* NTI *fecit*



The stone seems to have been erected by an imperial freedman to his wife. At the beginning of the second line part of a C is preserved, and at the end of the same line the first stroke of A is clearly seen. At the end of the third line the letter following N may be either E or I, and in the last line only a slight trace of the E before NTI and the perpendicular of the F that follows are visible.

89. Tablet of marble (*ansata*), 0,26 m. wide and 0,115 high, of which a small fragment is missing at the lower right corner. Above the inscription is a conventional incised pattern, and at the left side the nail by which the tablet was attached to its place is preserved. The text, which is cut in rather vulgar letters, is as follows:

IVCVNDVS · Q · SALLVSTI  
 ABINNAEI · SER · V · A · XIX  
 EVM · SEMP̄ER · DOMINVS · PROB  
 HILARVS · CONSERVOS · FECIT · EV<sup>m</sup>  
 QVEM · AMASTI · DEFENDAS · ADSVP *eros*

This tablet doubtless belonged to the columbarium of the freedmen of Q. Sallustius, whose inscriptions are found in VI, 8173 ff. and 33709 f. The Q. Sallustius Q. l. Hilarus of 8196 and 8198 may possibly be the same as the Hilarus of our fourth line, and our Q. Sallustius Abinnaeus is in all probability the Q. Sallustius Abinnaeus faber intestinar(ius) of 8173. The personal appeal made by the dead in the last line is especially worthy of note. *Superi* from the point of view of the dead of course means those living on earth, and the word is not uncommon in this sense in the inscriptions. One example was cited in the note on line 16 of number 50 of this series (A. J. P., XXXII, 169); others are VI, 19331, abrepta a superis; ib., 28239, 8, vivite felices superi. The phrase '*ad superos*', too, in the sense of '*apud superstites*' is not rare either in literature or inscriptions; as, for example, Verg. Aen. VI, 481; Stat. Th. II, 17 and III, 145; Sil. XIII, 607; C. I. L., III, 4483, vixi . . . ad superos; X, 3969. With these compare XIV, 1597, aput superos; XI, 6079, nonleba(m) esse acerb(a) at inferos, quae at superos dulcis fui; Cic. Phil. XIV, 32 (imp̄ii) etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luent; and Mela, III, 19, ad manes.



90. Tablet of marble (*ansata*), 0,205 m. wide and 0,09 high, with the usual hole for the nail at each end, and the following inscription in good letters:

I V L I A  
A M M I A

The tops of the first three letters in the second line are extended to right or left with curving ornamental strokes. The *gens Ammia*, or, as it frequently appears on the stones, *Amia*, is well known from both literature and inscriptions. As a cognomen, however, *Ammia* is much less common: examples are XIII, 3624, *Securinae Ammiae*; XIV, 617, *Arruntiae Ammiae*. Another *Iulia Ammia* is on record in VI, 20366.

91. Marble statuette of *Silvanus*, 0,60 m. in height, with the dog and other usual attributes. The head and right hand are missing. On the base, which measures 0,25 m. wide and 0,05 high, and within the space surrounded by a moulding and intended for the purpose, is cut the following inscription in a somewhat vulgar style:

C · IVLIVS · C · F · ANI · LINVS  
S S IV

The letters of the second line are less deeply cut and stand upon the moulding, which has been much damaged and broken. The letters doubtless signify *S(ilvani) S(ancti) iu(ssu)*: cf. VI, 31028, *iussu Sancti Silvani posuit*. For a detailed discussion of the cult of *Silvanus* as revealed in the inscriptions, see A. von Domaszewski, *Silvanus auf lateinischen Inschriften*, in *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, pp. 58–85.

92. Tablet of marble, 0,205 m. wide and 0,155 high, with the following inscription in well cut letters of the early empire:

▼ C · IVLIVS · C · L  
CILIX  
CLODIA · HELPIS  
VXOR  
VIXIT · A · XXXV



Another Clodia Helpis is recorded in VI, 15815. The small v at the beginning of the first line, of course, stands for *vivus*.

93. Part of a marble slab, 0,30 m. wide and 0,25 high, roughly broken on the right side and at the bottom. The inscription is cut with care, but in letters of vulgar form and late date:

C / IVLIO / SATVR  
NINO / COIVGI  
KARISSIMO PV  
LAENA VEM

Along the lower edge of the stone slight traces of six letters may be discerned. The separative points in the first two lines have taken the common form of the apex above the level of the words, resembling the marks of punctuation used in the Herculean papyrus, *De Bello Actiaco*. The name C. Iulius Saturninus is very common. The indices of the Latin Corpus furnish many examples, C. I. G., 4272, p. 1124, records a C. Iulius Saturninus ὑπατικός who was governor of Lycia, and Vict. epit. 28 by some mistake calls the son of the emperor Philippus by this name. Pu(l)laena has its parallel in VIII, 4009, Pullaena Qu(i)eta, and the name is found in various other forms, e. g., X, 376, Pullania Casta, VIII, 9154, Pullaenia Minucia, and III, 1118, Pullaiana Caeliana.

94. Slab of marble, 0,30 m. wide and 0,33 high, with the following inscription in fairly well cut, though not early, letters:

D · M  
C · IVLIVS  
VICTOR FILIA  
BVS SVABVS  
VICTORIE E  
T MARVLLI  
n E FECIT

At the bottom of the stone, which is obliquely broken, traces of one letter are visible beneath the I of FECIT. As it was probably an M, the last line may be restored as B(ene) M(eren-tibus). The form SVABVS after FILIABVS is easy to under-



stand, though I have not observed it elsewhere. Compare VI, 11839, *sibi et suibus*, and Not. d. Scav., 1904, p. 195, *sibi et suebus*.

95. Slab of marble 0,265 m. wide and 0,66 high, found on the right side of the modern Via Salaria about a mile from the city. The inscription is well cut, but is probably not earlier than the third century :

*corona*

|           |                   |
|-----------|-------------------|
| D         | M                 |
| IVLIAE ·  | FELICIS           |
| SIMAE ·   | ANIMAE            |
| SANCTAE · | QVAE ·            |
| VIX ·     | ANN · PLVS ·      |
| MINVS ·   | XXV · FEC ·       |
| P ·       | AVRELIVS · HERMES |
| CONIVGI · | B · M ·           |

This inscription was first published in Not. d. Scav., 1886, p. 420, and in Bull. Com., 1886, p. 411, and now appears in VI, 35589. The names are none of them unusual: *Felicissima* is especially common in Christian inscriptions, and another P. Aurelius Hermes occurs in VI, 7235. The epithet *anima sancta* appears also in VI, 7580, 13545, 18817, and 23640, and may be compared with *anima dulcis* in numbers 48 and 50 above (A. J. P., XXXII, 166 and 169).

96. Block of marble, 0,18 m. wide, 0,20 high, and on the average about 0,06 thick, with an inscription cut in somewhat vulgar letters probably of late Republican times. The stone is roughly broken at the bottom and the last part of the text is therefore missing :

A · IVNIVS · FAVSTVS  
 HEIC · SITVS · MISELLVS  
 BEIMVS · MATR| · MEAE  
 INPIAE · SCELERATAE · D|  
*su*PER| · ET · INFER| · REFERAT *sic*  
*gra* TIAM · QVOD · ME



*Misellus* as an endearing epithet for the dead is not uncommon, though it does not occur in the sixth volume of the Latin Corpus, if we may trust Harrod's index.<sup>1</sup> It is even glossed by *mortuus* in C. G. L., V, 223, 2. Epigraphical parallels are VIII, 403, and 11594, and in literature instances are numerous. Compare especially Tertull., Test. Anim. 4, cum alicuius defuncti recordaris, misellum vocas eum. For *bimus*, see VI, 5861, bimus decessit, ib., 26544, minus bima; ib., 17196, bimus et mensum iiii dies xiiii vixit; Marucchi, Ep. Crist., 70, bimus trimus. *Bimulus*, too, is occasionally found, e. g., VI, 16739, 22321; V, 7950; XIV, 2482. With *matri-scleratae* may be compared VI, 9961, mater sclerata, quae hoc facinus vidit; ib. 15160, mater sclerata; Eph. Epig., VIII, 84, sce(ler)ata mater; C. I. L., VI, 13353, fecit iscelesta mater; ib. 36739, scelesta mater . . . quod. Another Iunius Faustus appears in VI, 20785, but his praenomen is Marcus.

97. Slab of marble, 0,34 m. wide and 0,49 high,<sup>2</sup> with a rude relief of a girl in an attitude of prayer, and beneath it the following inscription carefully cut in good square letters:

*orans*

|          |                  |
|----------|------------------|
| D        | M                |
| LABERIAE | · AVXIME ·       |
| QVAE     | · VIX · AN · X · |
| M        | · VI · D · XII · |
| L        | · LABERIVS ·     |
| HERMES   | · FECIT ·        |
| · PATER  | ·                |

The *gens Laberia* is well attested in the inscriptions. The cognomen Auxime, however, is otherwise unknown to me, though Auximus occurs, e. g., VI, 7979, 8684, 10773, and 31017. Sculptured *mulieres orantes* similar to this (see plate) are not rare on sepulchral stones and sarcophagi, more especially on

<sup>1</sup> Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship, Princeton, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> In December, 1903, when this inscription was first copied, it lay on the ground in the Vigna Nari. At that time the stone measured 0,76 m. in height, but the lower part has since been broken off.





See p. 179.



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those of Christian origin.<sup>1</sup> See, for example, XII, 483, 649, 947, 958, 960, 965, Not. d. Scav., 1904, p. 48 and 1905, p. 12; and compare Marucchi, Manuale di Arch. Crist., p. 313. This is not unlike the attitude referred to by Horace, C. III, 23, 1, Caelo supinas si tuleris manus; and Vergil, A. III, 176, tendoque supinas Ad caelum cum voce manus.

98. Marble cinerary urn, 0,32 m. wide, 0,29 high, and 0,25 deep, from outside the Porta Salaria. On the front is carved a *tabula ansata* with rosettes and other conventional ornaments, and the following inscription is cut in a somewhat vulgar style:

DIS · MANIBVS  
SEX LOLLI ·  
ALBANI ·

In the third line the horizontal stroke of the second A was left uncut.

99. Fragment of a marble tablet which was carved in the *ansata* form. Its size is now 0,09 m. wide and 0,11 high, and the nail at the left side is preserved. Most of the inscription is gone, but there remain a few letters, carefully cut between guiding lines scratched on the surface of the stone:

C · MA . . . . c  
L · } .

The second letter of the nomen, which is only in part preserved, is A without doubt, but the first letter of the cognomen, of which only the perpendicular remains, cannot be identified.

100. Small marble tablet, 0,175 m. wide and 0,13 high, with the following inscription cut in fairly good letters:

MEFANATIA  
C · L  
STORGE

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sittl, Gebärden d. Griechen u. Römer, p. 306: "Die Christen des Altertums liessen sich gerne auf ihren Grabsteinen betend darstellen, wofür keine sichere Parallele aus vorchristlicher Zeit vorliegt".



Its only interest lies in the nomen, which is of Etruscan origin and of rare occurrence in Latin: compare C. I. Etr., 1927, Mefanatial, and 2468, Mefana(tn)ei (both from Clusium). It is found twice in V, 4651, Mefanatia C. l. Nymphe, and Mefanatia C. l. Auge, side by side with two examples of the masculine form, C. Mefanati C. l. Diacono and C. Mefanati C. l. Arioni (Brixia). The same form Mefanas occurs as a cognomen in II, 5792, C. Terentius Bassus C. f. Fab. Mefanas Etruscus, and XI, 2115, L. Tiberius Maefanas Basilius (Clusium).

101. Slab of marble 0,225 m. wide and 0,79 high, now broken into two parts. At the top a part of the stone is missing, and with it almost all the sepulchral relief. The small portion remaining near the left side resembles the foot of a chair or couch. Below the relief but on the upper portion of the slab is the following inscription enclosed by conventional mouldings:

|                        |   |              |
|------------------------|---|--------------|
|                        | D | M            |
| P                      | · | MINDIVS      |
| VITALIS                | · | ET MI        |
| N                      | · | DIA · ZOSIME |
| <hr/>                  |   |              |
| PARENTES               |   | ET           |
| MINDIA                 | · | CHA          |
| RIS                    | · | MAMMA        |
| GALATIAE               | · | FILI         |
| AE                     | · | CARISSIM     |
| AE                     | · | FECERVNT     |
| VIXIT                  | · | ANN ·        |
| VI · M · VI · D · XXII |   |              |
| IN · AGRO · P · IIII   |   |              |
| IN · FRONT · P · III   |   |              |

The letters are fairly well cut, though in a somewhat vulgar style, and are probably not earlier than the end of the second century. The names present no peculiarity: the similarity of L. Mindius Zosimus in VI, 22513 to Mindia Zosime is nothing more than a coincidence. Here, as in many other cases, *mamma* doubtless means grandmother.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Examples are given by Harrod, *Latin Terms of Endearment*, etc., p. 57.



102. Slab of marble 0,255 m. wide and 0,56 high, bearing the following inscription cut in a vulgar style:

D ·                      · M ·  
 O E C I O Q V I  
 V I X I T · A N  
 N I S · D V O  
 B V S · M E N  
 S I B V S · O C T O ·  
 P A R E N T E S B E N E  
 M E R E N T I F E C E  
 R V N T ·

The most interesting feature here is the presence of cursive forms, especially of A, B and R, which resemble those of the Pupus Torquatianus inscription in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican.<sup>1</sup> As they may be clearly seen in the accompanying plate it seems unnecessary to attempt any detailed description. The inscription is evidently the work of an unpractised hand, though cut with considerable care, especially at the beginning. The name Oecius (οἰκίος) occurs also in X, 106, Oecius lib.

103. Small marble tablet from a columbarium (0,215 m. wide and 0,11 high) of the conventional *ansata* type, with the nail at the right side still preserved. A part of the stone is broken away at the left upper corner, but without damage to the inscription, which runs as follows:

L · O G V L N I V S  
 P V P I L L A E S · L  
 P H I L O N I C V S  
 T R E B O N I A · C · L · A P P I A

The letters are not in the best monumental style, but are fairly well cut and seem to belong to the early imperial period. Another example of the genitive in *-aes*, formed under Greek influence, occurs in number 36 (A. J. P., XXXI, p. 40).

<sup>1</sup> This inscription, VI, 27556, was illustrated and discussed in detail from the palaeographical point of view by Hellems, American Journal of Archaeology, III, 1899, 202 ff.



104. Slab of marble 0,89 m. wide and 0,22 high, now broken perpendicularly into two pieces, with the following Christian inscription:



OZIBVLA DVLCIS ANIMA  
QVAE VIXI ANNIS · VIII · IN PACAE

The letters are cut in a vulgar fashion and clearly belong to a late period. The second letter of the first word consists only of a perpendicular stroke, but is evidently intended for an L. In the two other examples of L the second stroke is not horizontal, but runs distinctly downward to the right. Other vulgar forms are the M, in which the third stroke joins the fourth at a point slightly above the middle, and the first N of ANNIS, in which the third stroke is quite separate from the rest of the letter and curves to the left at the top.

The proper name Olibula is nothing but a vulgar spelling of Olivula, a diminutive of Oliva, which is itself found in the spelling Oliba in IX, 412, Hi[c] re[q]uiescit in pace bone m[e]morie Oliba, a Christian inscription of the year 543 A. D. On *dulcis anima*, see under number 48 (A. J. P., XXXII, p. 166). Other examples of the common substitution of AE for E are found in number 77 (ib. p. 183).

105. Marble tablet, 0,30 m. wide and 0,26 high, with conventional incised moulding and a nail hole at each corner. The inscription, which is cut in the finest monumental style of a good early period, is as follows:

D · M  
ORPEO  
ET · RODOPAEO  
POSIT · MATER  
FILIS  
CARISSIMIS

The letters PE of ORPEO are cut in a lower plane than the rest and between the P and the E are signs which indicate that the





graver thoughtlessly began to add a tail to the P to make it an R. To remedy this error he seems to have cut the surface down with great care and to have brought it back to the normal level in the space now occupied by the E. The lack of the aspirate in ORPEO and RODOPAEO would be surprising in an official inscription as late as the end of the Republic, but in a text of this character it is not unusual even in the early Empire. The archaic POSIT has already been the subject of comment in number 41 (A. J. P., XXXI, 260).

106. Marble tablet 0,21 m. wide and 0,15 high, with the following inscription in fairly good letters:

C · PAPSENNA      *sic*

C · L · RVFIO

It is a well known fact, pointed out long ago by Mommsen, that nomina in -enna, like Porsenna and Perpenna, are of Etruscan origin. To this class clearly belongs Papsenna, which occurs also in VI, 28720, A. Papsenna Praenestinus, ib. 7478, C. Bapsenna (?) Secundus, and may be compared with C. I. Etr., 4, papsinaś (Faesulae). Such names are taken up in detail by Schulze, *lat. Eigennamen*, pp. 65-107.

107. Two fragments of marble together measuring 0,24 m. wide and 0,24 high, and forming approximately half of a tablet of the conventional *ansata type*. The inscription, so far as it remains, is as follows:

*dis ma* N · I B V S  
 a N XII · BENE ·  
 p E R E G R I N V S  
 TER · SIBI · ET · POSTERIS

These fragments were discovered about twenty-five years ago between the Via Salaria and the Via Pinciana, and are published in VI, 36068.

108. Slab of marble, 0,28 m. wide and 0,43 high, found in



1906 close to the so-called temple of Deus Rediculus. The inscription is as follows :

D        ♂        M ·  
P O M P O N I A  
S A B I N A · F E C I T  
P E T R O N I A E  
5 S A B I N A E · F I L  
B E N E · M E R · Q V E  
B I X · A N · T R I B V S  
M E S · X · D I E · V I I I  
F E C · A L V · I A N V A R I A  
10 M A M M A

The letters are fairly well cut, though in a somewhat vulgar style, and belong to a time not earlier than the third century. The inscription is enclosed in the conventional incised frame, with the exception of the formula D · M at the top and MAMMA at the bottom, which are outside. The ninth and tenth lines, though not essentially different from the others in style, seem to be a later addition. For the use of *alumna* and *mamma* in the Roman inscriptions, see Harrod, *Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship*, pp. 85, 54, 57 and 87. The forms *bix[il]* for *vixit* and *mes[ibus]* for *mensibus* in this period are so common as to call for no comment.

109. Tablet of marble, 0,35 m. wide and 0,16 high, with the following inscription in deeply cut but vulgar letters of a comparatively early period :

M · P O P I L L I V S · S P · F  
A C H A I C V S · Q V I E T V S  
H E I C · E S T · C O N D I T V S  
M E N S O R V M · X I

*Conditus* used with reference to the burial of the dead is much more common in literature than in inscriptions, where *situs* is the ordinary word. Compare Cicero, *Leg. ii*, 57, *siti dicuntur ii*,



qui conditi sunt. The vulgar genitive plural *ensorum* for *ensium* is found in a Christian inscription in Marucchi, Epig. Crist. 70, depositus puer Maurus annorum quinque ensorum tres, and in the form *mesorum* in X, 623 and 2535.

110. Round foot of a travertine pigna from Palestrina (Praeneste), measuring 0,245 m. in diameter; the cone and upper part of the foot are broken off and missing. The following inscription is cut in small archaic letters on the curving edge near the bottom:

V · Π V V I · N · F

The gens *Pulia* or *Pullia* is attested in the following inscriptions from Praeneste: XIV, 3221, M. Pulio, L. f.; 3222, P. Puli, L. f.; 3223, Q. Pulus, L. f.; 3220, C. Pullius, L. f.; Eph. Ep. IX, p. 458, n. 846, S. Puli, L. f.

This inscription was first published by Magoffin (American Journal of Archaeology, XIV, 1910, p. 53, n. 17), who called the stone a "travertine pigna base", intending to distinguish a 'base' from a 'basis' or independent pedestal. Dessau, however, in his last supplement to the fourteenth volume (Eph. Ep. IX, p. 457, n. 844), unfortunately translated Magoffin's 'base' by "in basi (quadrata)", which should be rather "in margine inferiore pedis rotundi cippuli", if we are to follow the terminology adopted in XIV, pp. 328 ff. I should suggest to avoid further confusion that the parts of these little monuments, of which so many have been found at Praeneste, should be regularly named as follows, beginning from the top: cone (*conus*), foot (*pes*) and pedestal (*basis*). The different parts of the foot can then be easily distinguished as upper (*pars superior*), middle (*pars media*) and lower (*pars inferior*). The unfortunate results of lack of uniformity among epigraphists in their terminology is still more apparent in connection with the following inscription.

111. Pigna of travertine without pedestal, from Palestrina, measuring 0,40 m. in height and 0,145 in diameter at the base. The inscription, cut in good archaic letters of large size (0,05 m. in height) on the middle part of the foot, is as follows:

Q · Π V V I V S · V · F

The same text appears in XIV, 3223 as "in pede cippuli", and after consulting the authorities there cited, I believe that number



3223 is identical with the one here given. The inscription was first published by Henzen, on the basis of a squeeze furnished by Bonanni, in *Bull. d. Inst.* for 1869 (p. 165, n. 16), where it is described as "nel corpo stesso del piede". On this authority, together with that of a new copy made in 1871 by Trendelenburg, who saw the stone, it was again published in *Eph. Ep.* I, p. 26, n. 98, by Wilmanns, who described it in the following words: "in basi rotunda pineae. Praeneste in fundo dicto *la Colombella* rep. m. Sept. a. 1868. Hodie *ai prati*". Five years later (1877) Garrucci included it in his *Sylloge* as number 741, with the description "in basi media". Anyone who carefully examines this evidence can scarcely fail to be convinced that the inscription which was copied by Bonanni in 1868-9 and by Trendelenburg in 1871 is the same as that now preserved in the Museum of the Johns Hopkins University. It is, therefore, very unfortunate that Magoffin, deciding against identification with XIV, 3223, included this among his unpublished inscriptions from Latium (l. c., p. 54, n. 18), and described it as "on the throat of the pigna". For Dessau, apparently not understanding what was meant by 'throat' in this connection, speaks of the inscription as "in margine pedis pineae" in his last supplement to the fourteenth volume (*Eph. Ep.* IX, p. 458, n. 845).

While the inscriptions from Palestrina are under discussion, I desire to revert to my comment on number 62 above (*A. J. P.*, XXXII, p. 174), in which I definitely asserted the independence of the inscription CAMELIA, and refused to identify it with XIV, 3083, as Dessau had done (*Eph. Ep.* IX, p. 450), because of the form of L with the acute angle at the base printed in n. 3083, which does not appear on the stone now preserved in Baltimore. An examination of the earlier publications, however, leaves the identification still in doubt. In the *Bull. d. Inst.* for 1866 (p. 135, n. 6), the inscription CAMELIA was first published by Henzen on the authority of a copy, accompanied by a squeeze, sent from Palestrina by Bonanni. His remarks there make it clear that the letters were cut on the cone itself, and that the archaic form of L did not appear in either copy or squeeze. In both these respects the inscription published in 1866 corresponds exactly to that which is now in Baltimore. Wilmanns, however, following the copy of Trendelenburg, who five years later saw what he believed to be the same stone, printed the inscription with the



archaic form of L, describing it as "in ipsa pinea", and Dessau in XIV, 3083, accepts the archaic form of L, though he describes the inscription less definitely as "in cippulo". Either then Trendelenburg was in error in reading L with the acute angle at the base in this instance, or the inscription seen by him in 1871 is not to be identified with that published by Wilmanns five years before. In either case XIV, 3083 stands in need of correction.

The remainder of the sepulchral inscriptions will form the basis of the next paper.

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#### IV.—PROTESILAUDAMIA LAEVII.

Of the poem by Laevius on the story of Protesilaus and Laudamia nothing has come down to us but the title, composed of the wedded names of the man and the girl, and seven meager fragments. In calling attention to one of these fragments I have two objects in view: first, to point out its probable setting in the lost poem, and second, to indicate the possibility of combining it with another fragment not previously attributed to the Protesilaudamia.

The lines to which I have reference are preserved by Priscian, who says (II, p. 496 K): *pellicui quoque pro pellexi ueteres protulerunt. Laevius in Laudamia:*

aut  
num quaequam alia te Ilias,  
Asiatico ornatu adfluens,  
aut Sardiano ac Lydio  
fulgens decore et gratia,  
pellicuit?  
"Or hath some other maid of Troy,  
Rich in the gauds of Asia, bright  
With Sardian, Lydian comeliness and charm,  
Beguiled thee?"

As regards the text which I have printed, *num* is Müller's conjecture, accepted by Havet and de la Ville de Mirmont; the manuscripts of Priscian read *nunc*. With de Mirmont I accept Havet's *Ilias* for the *illo* (*illa*) of the manuscripts.<sup>1</sup>

The words, of course, are Laudamia's; they voice a doubt of the fidelity of Protesilaus. On their setting the editors of Laevius have had little to say. Concerning themselves only with the question whether Laudamia is addressing her husband face to face or apostrophizing him in a soliloquy during his absence, they have entirely neglected a more vital matter, the motive for her reproach. Jealousy must have some cause, real or imaginary, and in the case of Laudamia the cause is anything but obvious. Protesilaus, torn from her arms on the eve of their marriage, is constrained to take part in the expedition to Troy. Though aware of the prophecy that the first man ashore will be the first

<sup>1</sup> *Te ilico* Osann; *de Ilio* Voss, Müller, Bährens.



to die, he leaps from the ship while the others are hanging back, and is killed by Hector soon afterward. As an amelioration of his hard lot, the gods of the nether world permit him to return to his bride for three hours. This brief space over, he goes back to the shades, whither she soon follows him by a self-inflicted death. Such, in its essentials, is the story of the pair as it was usually told in antiquity: it is singularly barren of grounds for jealousy. Laudamia could not in reason complain even of long-continued absence on the part of her lord, for the first courier from Troy would have brought her word of his fate; moreover, there is nothing to indicate that any great length of time elapsed between his departure and his return *via* Hades.<sup>1</sup> The position of Laudamia was quite different from that of a Clytemnestra or a Penelope.

For this reason Maximilian Mayer, the only person, I think, who has suggested a motive for Laudamia's reproachful words, advances the theory that Laevius departed from the usual version of the tale.<sup>2</sup> "Eine wirkliche Spur späterer Dichtung glaube ich dagegen bei zwei andern Römern zu finden; ich meine die eifersüchtigen Besorgnisse, denen die junge Gattin bei Laevius dem aus der Ferne Zurückkehrenden gegenüber Raum giebt, und auf die Properz Bezug nimmt (I, 19, 13):

illic (im Hades) formosae ueniant chorus heroinae,  
 quas dedit Argiuis Dardana praeda uiris;  
 quarum nulla tua fuerit mihi, Cynthia, forma  
 gratior.

Dieser bei dem vorzeitigen Tode des Helden nicht allzu nahe liegende Gedanke hat, wie ich vermuthe, seinen Anlass in einer Ortssage, welche thatsächlich den Protesilaos mit kriegsgefangenen Frauen zurückkehren liess. Diese vom Epos unabhängige Ueberlieferung, welche den frühen Tod des Helden nicht kennt, die Gründungssage von Skione, findet sich bei Konon 13. Danach soll Protesilaos mit der kriegsgefangenen Aithilla, einer Tochter Laomedons und Schwester des Priamos, auf der Heimfahrt in jener Gegend gelandet sein: während aber er und seine Genossen landeinwärts gingen, um Wasservorrath zu holen, hätte jene im Verein mit den übrigen gefangenen

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Catull. 68, 85 quod scibant Parcae non longo tempore abisse si miles muros isset ad Iliacos.

<sup>2</sup>Der Protesilaos des Euripides, Hermes, 20 (1885), p. 132.



Troerinnen die Schiffe angezündet und so die Griechen zum Dortbleiben genöthigt".

In Mayer's opinion, then, there was a version of the story according to which Protesilaus came back to Laudamia in the flesh, accompanied by captive women from Troy. Hence the jealousy of Laudamia in Laevius; hence the mention of the *heroinae* in Propertius. But this appears to me, *εἰ μὴ ἀγροικότερον ἢ εἰπεῖν*, flatly impossible. The version which he postulates is a fusion of the ordinary story with the entirely distinct myth of the *κρίσις* of Scione.<sup>1</sup> The story of the foundation of Scione is told only by Conon; the contaminated version is purely hypothetical. It lacks even the support of the passages which it was invented to explain. In the case of Propertius we need but look at Mayer's quotation in its proper context:

illic Phylacides iocundae coniugis heros  
 non potuit caecis inmemor esse locis,  
 sed cupidus falsis attingere gaudia palmis  
 10 Thessalis antiquam uenerat umbra domum.  
 illic quicquid ero, semper tua dicar imago:  
 traicit et fati littora magnus amor.  
 illic formosae ueniant chorus heroinae,  
 quas dedit Argiuis Dardana praeda uiris;  
 quarum nulla tua fuerit mihi, Cynthia, forma  
 gratior.

It is at once clear that in lines 7-10, where Protesilaus is referred to, there is no hint of anything but the usual story of his dying and coming to life again; and that in lines 13-14, where the *heroinae* are introduced, there is no shadow of a reference to Protesilaus. Propertius has dropped the Protesilaus story, and is simply thinking in a general way of the fair Trojans whom he is likely to see in the lower world and who will not be able to alter his allegiance to Cynthia, thinking of Andromache and Cassandra rather than of Aethilla, sister-in-law of Hecuba (save the mark!), whom there is no reason to believe he ever heard of.<sup>2</sup>

The Laevius passage, then, is the only one in which jealousy on the part of Laudamia is intimated. At first glance Mayer's

<sup>1</sup> On this story see Türk, Protesilaos, Roscher, p. 3162.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rothstein, on l. 13: Die Heroinen der Unterwelt kommen, um den neuen Ankömmling zu sehen. . . . Zu der Vorstellung eines feierlichen Empfanges ist diese Anschauung ausgebildet bei Stat. Silv. V. 1. 253 (vgl. Culex 261). . . . Gerade die Heroinen nennt in demselben Zusammenhang Herodes Atticus in der Grabinschrift auf seine Gattin (Kaibel, Ep. Graec. 1046, 57) *ἐς χόρον ἐρχομένην προτεράων ἡμιθεάων*". See also his note on l. 14.



assumption that Protesilaus is accompanied by captive women from Troy would appear to explain this passage, but in reality it lacks much of so doing. Under such circumstances she would have been jealous, to be sure, but she would not have expressed her jealousy in the terms in which Laevius makes her express it.

aut  
num quaequam alia te Ilias,  
Asiatico ornatu adfluens,  
aut Sardonio ac Lydio  
fulgens decore et gratia,  
pellicuit?

Her language is general, not specific,—*quaequam alia*, not *istaec quidem altera*. The rival whom she fears is to her only in posse, not in esse.

It is quite unnecessary to create a hypothetical version of the story, for the usual version affords us a motive entirely adequate to explain the jealousy of Laudamia. It lies in the fact that Protesilaus had to leave her so soon after coming back to her. From this standpoint I should reconstruct the setting of the fragment in the following way. When he appears, she thinks him to have come from Troy: the first intimation that he must return to the place from whence he came fills her with amazement, for she naturally supposes that he means to go back to Troy. Under this delusion she plies him with indignant, suspicious questions: "Have you not done enough for Menelaus? Have I, your bride, no claims? Have you ceased to love me? Have I done anything to estrange you, or are your affections engaged over there?" Little by little she extorts from the reluctant lips of Protesilaus an explanation which transforms her incipient anger into black despair.

Here we have, it seems to me, a good and sufficient motive and a poetical setting. But is there any warrant for the assumption on which its validity depends, that Laudamia thinks her husband come from Troy? Not in the account of Hyginus (103): quod uxor Laodamia Acasti filia cum audisset eum perisse flens petit a diis ut sibi cum eo tres horas colloqui liceret. quo impetrato a Mercurio reductus . . . est. According to Hyginus, then, Laudamia not only had heard of her husband's death, but herself brought about his return from the lower world; consequently she could not but realize that he came thence and must return thither.

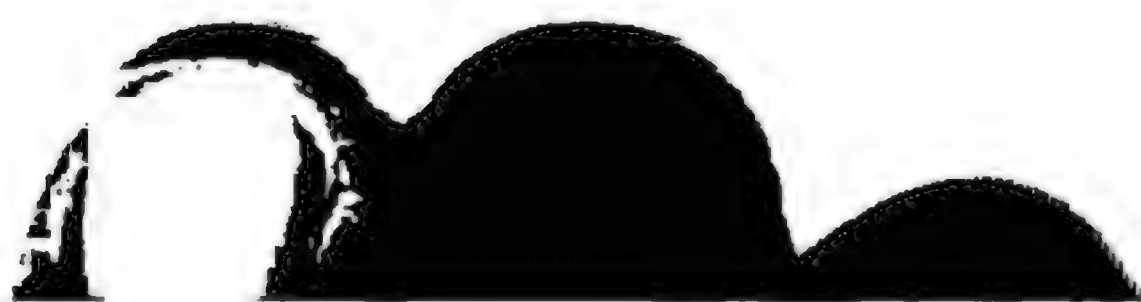


At the time when Mayer wrote, this would have constituted a weighty objection to the interpretation which I offer. But in 1891 Richard Wagner published an extensive fragment of an epitome of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* which he had discovered a few years previously in the Vatican Library, and which contains the following reference to the story of Laudamia:<sup>1</sup> τοῦτου γυνή Λαοδάμεια καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἦρα' καὶ ποιήσασα εἶδωλον Πρωτεσίλαον, τούτῳ προσωμίλει. Ἑρμῆς δὲ ἐλεησάντων θεῶν ἀνήγαγε Πρωτεσίλαον ἐξ Ἑλίου. Λαοδάμεια δὲ ἰδοῦσα καὶ νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐκ Τροίας παρῆναι, τότε μὲν ἐχάρη, πάλιν δὲ ἐπαναχθέντος εἰς Ἑλίου ἐαυτὴν ἐφόνευσεν. Here we have exactly what we want,—a direct statement to the effect that Laudamia thinks her husband has come back from Troy. Moreover, the statement is derived from the one source which Laevius is most likely to have drawn upon, the *Protesilaus* of Euripides.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing, therefore, in the way of our supposition that Laudamia is under this delusion in Laevius.

The question now arises whether Laevius derived the jealousy *motif* from Euripides along with the situation. Unfortunately the *Epitoma Vaticana* does not tell us how the disillusionment of Laudamia was effected in the *Protesilaus*. Disillusionment, however, there certainly was; and we may be sure that it was brought about in a striking manner. This follows not only from the fact that her cruel error and her causeless joy are thought worthy of record in the epitome of an epitome, but from the consideration that Euripides, τραγικώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν, is not in the least likely to have overlooked the possibilities of the highly dramatic situation which he had created. Let us consider this point a moment. If Laudamia were human (and what else could she be in Euripides?) she must have said at once: "But we heard that you were dead!" How did Protesilaus answer? Did he shatter her delusion immediately, and so submit her to a horrid shock, and himself and the audience to three hours (or the stage equivalent thereto) of *alaï alaï* and *φεῦ φεῦ*? Or did he humor a natural

<sup>1</sup> R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, etc., Leipzig, 1891, 17, 16 (p. 65); cf. p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Wagner, l. c.: Höfer, *Laudamia*, Roscher, p. 1827. As she has had tidings of his death, we must suppose either that she does not believe them true (Wagner), or that she does credit them till the sudden appearance of Protesilaus overthrows her belief (Höfer). I favor the latter view: her previous acceptance of the report would count for little in the face of the evidence of her senses. It should be borne in mind that Protesilaus is not a specter; he actually comes to life.





inclination to spare himself and her, and leave her a while in her error? In my opinion he took the latter course, and I think we have his equivocal answer in the much-discussed fragment of the Protesilaus *πόλλ' ἐλπίδες ψεύδουσι καὶ λόγοι βροτούς*. Sooner or later, however, he had to tell her the truth, and almost inevitably the attempt to break it to her gently would give rise to a misunderstanding. It seems to me, therefore, that the situation in Euripides cries out for just such a treatment as we have ascribed to it in Laevius. For this reason, and also because the idea is quite good enough for Euripides and rather too good for Laevius, I believe that it originated with the tragedian.

We come now to our second theme. The interrogations of a jealous woman do not come singly, and Laudamia was no exception to the rule. Since the citation of Priscian begins with *aut*, it is clear that this question was originally preceded by another like it in form and content. Just such a complement is ready to hand. Under the lemma *hostire, offendere, laedere* we find in Nonius (p. 121 M) the following quotation: Laevius Erotopaegnon lib. II:

hunc quod meum admissum nocens  
hostit uoluntatem tuam.

Instead of Laevius the manuscripts read Pacuvius, but we know that Laevius was the author of a work called Erotopaegnia, that his name is almost always maltreated by copyists and that Pacuvius is not likely to have written anything of the sort. Consequently by common consent the name of Laevius has been placed in the text of Nonius since the time of Mercer, and the quotation has been included among the scanty remnants of the writings of Laevius.

Although *hunc* is clearly corrupt, the general sense of the passage is plain enough. Editors agree that the words are those of an injured girl to her lover. "Have I done anything to offend you?" It is a stock reproach, of which there are plenty of examples: a few from the Heroides will serve our turn.

Oenone (V, 6): ne tua permaneam, quod mihi crimen obest?  
Phyllis (II, 27): dic mihi, quid feci nisi non sapienter amavi?  
Dido (VII, 164): quod crimen dicis praeter amasse meum?  
Briseis (III, 41): qua merui culpa fieri tibi uilis, Achille?  
quo levis a nobis tam cito fugit amor?

Not only are some such words as these apposite to our context, but they are almost necessary to it. Either this thought or its positive counterpart, the *exprobratio immemoris beneficii*, "Have



I not done this and that to please you?" is put in the mouth of every wronged maiden in poetry; and as Laudamia had done nothing special to insure her husband's loyalty, it is ten to one that she brought out the fact that at least she had done nothing to forfeit it.

Both fragments are naturally in the same meter, the iambic dimeter: a far more significant fact, however, is that the last word of the Nonius quotation, *tuam*, terminates in a syllable capable of elision, so that *aut*, the first word of the other quotation, can be taken on at the end of the line. Note what Havet, speaking of the Priscian fragment, has to say on this score:<sup>1</sup> "Le premier dimètre est trop long: *aut* est à rejeter sur le membre précédent (*qui devait se terminer par une syllabe élidée*) comme *et* dans les saphiques d'Horace".

The formal parallelism of the two fragments is striking. Observe *hostit* and *pellicuit*, each beginning its line; the pronouns *quod* and *quaepiam* and their position, and the correspondence of subject and object in both clauses. To complete the parallelism and make the fragments fit together perfectly is a simple matter. The manuscript reading *hunc* is a manifest corruption of *nunc*; we need only assume, as Bährens and Müller have already assumed,<sup>2</sup> that *nunc* is a misreading of *num*, just as in the Priscian fragment. The result speaks for itself:

num quod meum admissum nocens  
 hostit uoluntatem tuam? aut  
 num quaepiam alia te Ilias,  
 Aslatico ornatu adfluens,  
 aut Sardiano ac Lydio  
 fulgens decore et gratia,  
 pellicuit?<sup>3</sup>  
 Hath any hurtful deed of mine  
 Run counter to thy heart's desire?  
 Or hath some other maid of Troy,  
 Rich in the gauds of Asia, bright  
 With Sardinian, Lydian comeliness and charm,  
 Beguiled thee?

To me, at least, this combination carries conviction. I have no doubt, however, that some will be inclined to stick at the

<sup>1</sup> Rev. de Phil. 15 (1891), p. 7. The italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> Both claim the emendation: in Poet. Lat. Fragm. (1879) Bährens says *scripsi*, and in Müller's Nonius we find *numquod* (*fuit nunquod*) *M*.

<sup>3</sup> For *num* . . . *aut num* see Plaut. Pseud. 219; Cic. Phil. 2, 92; Top. 45; De Div. 1, 24; 2, 9.



point that *num* in each case is conjectural. In reply to this objection I would say in the first place that we are not dealing with ad hoc conjectures. In each case *num* has been already suggested, for the reason that the editors want a question, the form in which such reproaches are usually cast, and do not want *nunc*, which they find it hard to account for. The readiest way to get the question and eliminate *nunc* is to change *nunc* to *num*. In the second place the correction is an extremely easy one. The words *num* and *nunc* are constantly confused in the manuscripts (Plautus, for example, is full of instances),<sup>1</sup> owing to the fact that in the Rustic Capital script a carelessly drawn M is very difficult to distinguish from NC. That the mistake should be repeated is not at all surprising, for the corruption of *num* to *nunc* in one instance would almost inevitably have induced a similar corruption in the other. Naturally it is to be assumed that the transmission of the text of Laevius is responsible for the double corruption, and not the independent traditions of Nonius and Priscian.

The fact that the fragment quoted by Nonius is ascribed by him to the Erotopaegnia does not stand in the way of its assignment to the Protesilaudamia, for it is generally agreed that this poem and many others similarly cited by name were included in the collection entitled Erotopaegnia.<sup>2</sup> This opinion is based chiefly on Charisius (I, 288 K), who speaks of "the Phoenix of Laevius, the last ode in the Erotopaegnia", thus making it clear that separate poems in this work in some cases bore separate titles.

An issue is raised by the fact that Nonius refers the citation to the second book of the Erotopaegnia, since Havet has already assigned the Laudamia<sup>3</sup> to the sixth book. This he does by capping a fragment from Nonius (209 M):

in eum inruunt, cachinnos,  
ioca, dicta fusitantes

with one from Charisius (I, 204 K); Laevius Erotopaegnon VI:

lasciuitque ludunt.

<sup>1</sup> E. g., Poen. 1258; Rud. 328; 611; 636; 962; 1288; Truc. 641; Mil. 1019.

<sup>2</sup> Bährens, Fragm. Poet. Rom., p. 287: "fragmenta duplici modo a grammaticis adferuntur, partim secundum libros, partim secundum singula carmina, quorum compluria sine dubio unusquisque continuit liber". Cf. Schanz in Iw. Müller, VIII, 1, p. 34, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. de Phil. 15 (1891), p. 12.



In such a case we can only weigh the two combinations against one another and determine which is the more probable, since absolute proof or disproof of either is in the nature of things impossible. My own feeling is that Havet's combination has distinctly less in favor of it and more against it than mine. In the first place, it is doubtful whether his two fragments are in the same meter. The words *lasciuiterque ludunt* are not necessarily an Anacreontic: they can just as well be a catalectic dimeter, used either by itself as a clausula or with others in a system.<sup>1</sup> In the second place, the phrase is susceptible of more than one interpretation. It is of course applicable to the *Fescennina iocatio*, but it is equally applicable to the wanton play of kids in pasture or the dalliance of lovers. In the words *mea Vatiēna, amabo*—"Sweet Vatiēna, prithee!"—we have another Anacreontic from the pen of Laevius. The atmosphere of *basiationes* into which it introduces us would form just as appropriate a setting for *lasciuiterque ludunt* as the *Fescennina iocatio* of the Protesilaudamia.

To be sure, all this does not prove that Havet is wrong and that I am right. It merely shows how much less plausible his suggestion is than one which combines two fragments unquestionably kindred in sense, parallel in form, and not only identical in meter but so constituted that a superfluous word in one finds a place in the other.

To sum up in a word, it seems to me altogether probable that the fragments in question belong together, that the Protesilaudamia stood in the second book of the Erotopaegnia, and that Laevius, following Euripides, based Laudamia's jealousy on the fact that Protesilaus had to leave her so soon after his return.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marius Victorinus (VI, 138 K): "huius tenoris ac formae quosdam uersus poetas lyricos carminibus suis indidisse cognouimus, ut apud Arbitrium inuenimus, cuius exemplum

|      |                       |
|------|-----------------------|
|      | Memphitides puellae   |
|      | sacris deum paratae.  |
| item | tinctus colore noctis |
|      | Aegyptias choreas.    |

Cf. also Terent. Maur. 2486; Diom. I, 518 K.



## V.—PHONETIC TENDENCIES IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN CONSONANT SYSTEM.

1. Since the seventies of the last century, the hypothesis of phonetic laws has won general recognition; occasional opposition (Wheeler, Bremer, Herzog, etc.) is directed rather against loose definitions of these laws, or their universal extension, than against their basic assumption. Their psychological reasons have been explained in various ways (Paul, Wheeler, Oertel, Wundt, Delbrück, Bremer, Herzog), but the general gist of practically all explanations may be concentrated in Sievers' statement (Phon. 4, 243): "Aller lautwechsel beruht auf mangelhafter reproduktion der traditionellen aussprache".

The physiological factors, however, which necessitated phonetic changes, have hitherto received but little attention. It is generally assumed with great probability—though hardly proved—that there exist no important differences between the organs of speech of different individuals or linguistic groups, although minor differences are occasionally admitted (Bremer, *Deutsche Phonetik*, p. 11).

2. At the same time, even the most untrained ear can perceive without difficulty that any given language has a well-defined phonetic character which can easily be imagined to have had a decisive influence upon phonetic changes. We are hardly able at present to understand the psychological reasons of this phonetic habitus of languages, but our present stock of phonetic formulas seems sufficient to permit the description of linguistic characteristics in three respects: As to the actual occurrence of certain sounds in certain languages—as to their direction of development—and as to the physiological tendencies expressed by these currents. In other words: it seems that the time has come to give phonetic sketches of languages from a comparative standpoint, thus systematically grouping our present knowledge of apparently isolated phonetic laws.

Not the slightest attempt even at an approach to completeness is contemplated in this brief article. It is rather intended as a tentative program, a suggestion of investigations that might be

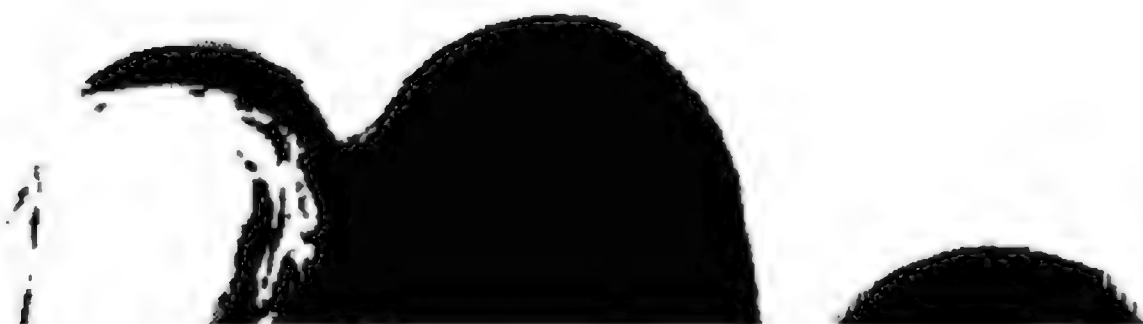


made along these lines, adding only meagre instances of a few especially clear phonetic tendencies. More detailed analyses of individual problems have been attempted by the writer in two articles which will appear in the near future (*Die Stabilität des germanischen Konsonantensystems*, I. F., and *Forchhammers Akzenttheorie und die germanische Lautverschiebung*, JEGPh).

3. The Indo-European consonant system, to which this paper is limited, shows a fairly wide range of places of articulation, tending rather toward front articulation, at least in comparison with the Semitic languages, as it lacks only the larynx and the pharynx articulations. Surprising is the Indo-European lack of spirants: The primitive Indo-European language possesses practically only the dental spirant *s*; voiced *z* occurs through assimilation, and similarly *ḡ* and *ḡ* can become real spirants only through combinatory sound changes; the existence of *p* has not been demonstrated in a convincing manner. The occurrence of three complete series of "gutturals" is peculiar and not paralleled in living Indo-European languages, but may be interpreted as a phonetic interpolation between older, simpler conditions, and the beginning separation of the primitive language into the dialects. This leaves aside the question of the assimilation of the so-called palatals, for which compare Hirt, KZ. 24, 226 ff., Hermann, KZ, 41, 59, Delbrück, *Einleitung*<sup>4</sup>, 124.

4. In the historical development of the Indo-European languages, two facts become clearly apparent at first glance: in the eastern, western and (partly) southern Indo-European languages, a tendency toward a suppression of the two extreme places of articulation, the labial and the velar, and a preference for palatal and dental articulations; on the other hand, in the central and northern part of the Indo-European territory, a very conservative adherence to the labial and velar articulations, however without any loss of dental articulations. E. g., Armenian and Celtic lose, partly or entirely, the *p* sound. All eastern languages, including Albanese, abandon the labial element of the labiovelars, while in Greek and Celtic there is at least a considerable trace of the same tendency, and the Romance languages show similar inclinations especially on Celtic territory (compare French *quatre*).

Without citing isolated details (like Latin *p* > *f*) it can be stated that changes of the place of articulation are frequent everywhere except on Germanic territory, where they occur only





as results of assimilation or dissimilation (like Goth. *pliuhan*—German *fliehen*).

5. Next to changes of the *place* of articulation, comparative phonology takes account of changes of the *mode* of articulation, which comprises differences between voiced and voiceless consonants, and between stops and spirants, as e. g.  $d > t$ ,  $t > p$  or  $t > ts$  or  $ss$ . But in considering the geographical and ethnic distribution of such changes, a further discrimination between spirants (at least of the dental and palatal series) seems imperative: spirants of these places of articulation can be formed in two ways: either, the surface of the tongue is convex, so that the breath passes through a narrow slit, as with  $p$ ,  $x$ ; or, the tongue forms a more or less distinct rill in its median line, as with  $s$ ,  $sh$ . The former may be called slit sounds, the latter rill<sup>1</sup> sounds. This is not a minor distinction, but one which influences the phonetic character of a language more than any other consonant change in Indo-European languages. Accordingly, it may be well to distinguish the changes of the mode of articulation into such affecting the *way* of articulation (the conditions of voice and voicelessness, occlusion and narrowing), and such affecting the *shape* of articulation, or, more accurately, the shape of the articulating organ of speech, according to slit or rill shape.

6. With respect to this distinction, the Indo-European languages show a surprising regularity of development, which I have outlined approximately in the following way in my article on the stability of the Germanic Consonant system:

The tendency to substitute rill spirants for velar, palatal, or dental stops, or for slit spirants, appears in all Indo-European languages with the exception of the Germanic group. The time and frequency of its appearance is in direct proportion to the geographical and chronological remoteness of a given language from the Germanic group. In all *satem*-languages it is fully developed in the very earliest documents that we possess; only Albanese, Lithuanian, and Sanscrit show conservative traces of adherence to the older articulation—the former possibly in consequence of their close proximity to *centum*-languages, the latter perhaps on account of the strict separation of the Indo-European and the non-Indo-European ethnic elements in India. Greek shows this tendency only in minor points; in classical Latin,

<sup>1</sup> I use this rather awkward term in translation of Jespersen's *Rille*.



there is no trace of rill formation—on the contrary, -s- becomes -r- which is the direct opposite of such changes; but other Italic dialects, like Umbrian, exhibit the rill tendency from early times, and the Romance languages develop it completely; the purely Celtic languages show a predisposition in the same direction, and are justly considered the phonetic basis of at least certain Romance languages.

7. The Germanic languages do not take part in this development, but show a strictly contrary tendency—a tendency which was mentioned in connection with Latin: *Nowhere* in *purely Germanic* territory has a rill sound ever been developed from a slit sound or a stop. In two instances, rill sounds have even been changed to slit sounds: *s* became *r* under Verner's law, and *j* became the "narrow spirant" of North German and Scandinavian, with convex tongue surface, instead of the "wide spirant" pronounced with concave tongue surface, which we have in English and South-German. With respect to rill formation, Germanic is nearly identical with Indo-European, presenting a slight development on the original lines of the primitive language. Only two dialect groups of the Germanic branch show rill formation: Anglo-Frisian, in its palatalization, and South-German, in the development of dental sibilants in the second sound shifting. But it must not be forgotten that these two groups belong to formerly Celtic territory, where the continuance of Celtic phonetic tendencies can readily be understood.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this respect, it is interesting to note the discrepancy between actual English usage of the present day, and a somewhat artificial opposition to it, in the pronunciation of the suffix *-ture*. English linguistic tendency requires imperatively the pronunciation *-tʃər* or *tʃūr*; as early as 1810, Smart, in his *Gr. of Engl. Pron.*, requires the former pronunciation; Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, 1162, remarks: "My own pronunciation *kritʃūr* is, as I fear, pedantically abnormal, although I habitually say so, and *kritʃə*, *fəmitʃə* are the natural sounds." And in the Introduction to Walker's *Pronouncing Dictionary*, Smart says (1838):

"Let any English mouth fluently pronounce the phrase '*I'll meet you*' without accent or emphasis on *you*, and there will be heard, in the transition from the *t* in *meet*, to the *j* in *you*, a slight interposed sound of *sh*. So likewise in saying: '*Would you favor me?*' there will be heard, in the transition from the *d* in *would* to the *j* in *you*, an interposed sound of the vocal *sh* (*ʃ* in *pleasure*). It would indeed be possible to prevent the intrusion, but what the speaker would gain in accuracy by such care, he would lose in ease and fluency of transition. So likewise it is possible to preserve the pure sound



8. While in regard to rill formations the Germanic languages are conservative to the utmost, the opposite is true in regard to the changes of the *way* of articulation, in the meaning of the term defined in § 5. These changes are, on the whole, covered by the term "sound shifting". Changes from voiced to voiceless stops appear, to a minor extent, in Armenian, from voiced to voiceless spirants in Latin (similar  $dh > \theta$ ,  $bh > \phi$ ,  $gh > \chi$  in Greek), from voiceless stops to slit spirants to a very limited extent in Iranian and Celtic. But only the Germanic languages exhibit a general principle of such a change, affecting all three classes mentioned. In this respect again, they stand isolated from all other Indo-European languages. Not as an explanation, but only as a description of this phenomenon, the following may be stated: The non-Germanic Indo-European languages show an inclination towards articulation at or near the hard palate, the Germanic languages avoid it. In consequence of this, palatalization in the narrower sense of the word—"mouillierung"—is of common occurrence in the former, but unknown in the latter. Rill formation frequently accompanies or follows palatalization, and presupposes similar phonetic conditions as this, namely a relatively great pliability of the tongue-surface; avoidance of palatalization, and of rill formation, on the other hand, point to a comparative rigidity of the tongue-surface in Germanic territory; this need not by any means be a physiological condition, but rather seems to develop in individuals through the linguistic tradition of their surroundings. The phonetic fact, nevertheless, remains.

9. Sound shifting is due to an increase in the force of expiration. This is an acknowledged fact which is almost self-evident. This increased force of expiration causes the development of voiceless stops to voiceless spirants, and of voiced aspirates to voiced spirants, by gradually overcoming the muscular tension of the tongue (or lips) and thus changing the occlusion into a narrowing; on the other hand, it causes opening of the glottis, i. e., voicelessness, (change of  $b$  to  $p$ , etc.) at a period when, by reaction, the muscular tension had increased. The details of

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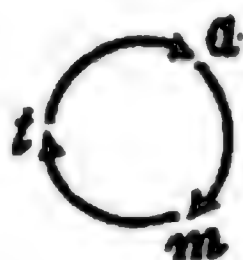
of the  $t$  and  $d$  in *nature* and *verdure*; yet nothing is more certain than that they are not preserved pure by the best and most careful speakers".

On the other hand, these  $t\check{s}$ ,  $d\check{s}$  combinations (also in words like *just*) present difficulties to the native German or Scandinavian.—Engl. voiced  $t\check{h}$  is pronounced  $s$  by Frenchmen, Italians, etc., but  $d$  by Germans and Scandinavians.



these changes are analysed from a physiological standpoint in my article "Forchhammers Akzenttheorie und die germanische Lautverschiebung", where also Verner's law, Sievers' law, Holtzmann's law, and the Germanic assimilation of *n* are explained on the same basis.

The two-fold nature of the Germanic sound shifting—increase of the strength of expiration, and of the muscular tension, balancing each other in a measure—has been aptly represented by Jacob Grimm in the form of his well-known circle:



While we can no longer accept this diagram as to details, it shows, on the whole, an ingenious insight into the character of this phonetic change.—It is a natural consequence of the facts here presented that the second sound shifting means, in part, a reversion to the Indo-European consonants; compare OHG. (Lex Sal.) *haupit* (and *haubit*): Lat. *caput*.

10. The second sound shifting presents peculiar problems from the standpoint of phonetic tendencies as outlined in the preceding paragraphs. Originally, it is clearly based on the same tendencies as the first sound shifting: *tenuis* becomes voiceless spirant, *media* becomes *tenuis*, voiceless spirant *p* becomes voiced spirant *d* and then *d*.

But: (a) these changes are non-exceptional and permanent only in the dental series, (b) instead of the spirant, we find in certain positions its phonetic predecessor, the affricate, which partly returns to the simple stop (*kh* > *k*), (c) the dental stops develop (gradually?) to rill sounds, originally with a comparatively flat, later with a sharp rill: *t* > *z̥z̥* > *ss*.

On the basis of § 7, the following hypothesis seems justified: The Germanic element of the present South German population belongs to the Suevian group which until the beginning of our era inhabited the center of Germania Magna. The second sound shifting, as a tendency, started before, or at the time of, their migration, being nothing but a continuation of the first sound-shifting. It was impeded, and partly deflected, through their intermingling with the Celts in South Germany: Celtic phonetic tendencies replaced the Germanic phonetic tendencies. The



Anglo-Frisian conditions were similar, except that in this group the Celtic influences are older, and were partly repeated.

11. These are only a very few illustrations of the phonetic tendencies in the Indo-European consonant system. The physiological or traditional explanation of the basic non-Germanic tendencies has been mentioned in § 8: a relatively high pliability of the tongue. This is fact, not hypothesis. The cause or causes of the Germanic tendencies described above cannot be stated with such certainty. Rigidity of the tongue is a merely negative element which does not explain anything. Increased force of expiration is the underlying factor, but raises the question "Why?" even more vividly than the phonetic changes do themselves.

The question has been answered in various ways. Hans Meyer assumes effects of the mountainous habitation of the Germanic people (ZfdA. 45, 101 ff.), but his proof is not convincing; Wundt (Völkerpsychologie I<sup>1</sup>. 208 ff.) supposes acceleration of speech, but has been refuted by Delbrück. Herzog (Streitfragen der roman. Phil. 66 ff.) approaches a phonetic explanation more than anyone else (although his explanation of Verner's law is obviously incorrect, being based on the untenable statement that a spirant belongs naturally to the preceding syllable: "Wo aber der vorhergehende Sonant nicht betont war, also die anschwellende Bewegung auch während der Einsatz (*sic*) des Spiranten, der ja zur vorhergehenden Silbe zu gehören pflegt, anhielt, assimilierte sich zunächst dieser an den Sonanten bezüglich des Stimmtons"). He assumes, "es sei zu einer gewissen Zeit statt des gleichmässigen Einsatzes des Druckes ein leicht anschwellender eingetreten, sodass also betonte Silben eine anschwellend-abschwellende Druckverteilung erhalten . . . . Die Druckverschiedenheit innerhalb der Silbe hätte sich nun immer mehr verstärkt, so dass dieselbe schliesslich äusserst schwach betont einsetzte". This theory cannot lead to correct results because it is based on the incorrect assumption that an accented syllable requires a stronger force of expiration than an unaccented one. But it contains the admission of the well-known fact that in Germanic languages a change of the character of accent has taken place, in such a way that a more or less musical accent was gradually replaced by a very decidedly dynamic accent. It is not my purpose to discuss in this paper the development and effects of this phonetic tendency. However, we can certainly



assume that one common psychological or physiological cause must be at the bottom of both the Germanic accent and the Germanic sound shifting. It would be hard to imagine any physiological causes of such changes, but a psychological explanation seems more feasible. Would it be too wild a hypothesis to think of a Germanic tendency to direct the attention to the *thought*, instead of the *form* of speech? To concentrate, accordingly, the force of a sentence into one or few words, the momentum of a word into one important syllable? This would be entirely in accordance with the general development of Germanic languages, but it goes far beyond the scope of this paper, in fact, at present even beyond the limits of comparative phonology.

12. As said in the introduction, these are only suggestions, not detailed investigations. Much is to be done in this field: Phonetic sketches of individual languages, both from an historical and a strictly modern standpoint; detailed investigations of single groups of sounds; of the problems of the various vowel changes; of palatalization, especially in the Slavic and Romance languages; of assimilation, dissimilation and metathesis. Much has been done along these lines, but, as far as I am aware, from the standpoint of more or less isolated facts, not with reference to phonetic tendencies. The ethnic structure of nations, its relation to phonetic tendencies and the influence of economic, geographical, cultural conditions upon pronunciation present problems of the greatest interest and importance. In short: Comparative philology, with all its splendid achievements in the recognition of isolated facts has nearly arrived at the point of Mephisto-Faust:

Dann hat er die Teile in seiner Hand,  
Fehlt leider nur das geistige Band.

In building this spiritual bridge, correlating the phenomena of language, I see the most fascinating task of Comparative Phonology—and in a more distant future, also of Comparative Morphology and Comparative Syntax.

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## VI.—ON JUVENAL SAT. I. 144.

*Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.*

To the Montpellier scholiast the *intestata senectus* of this well known passage meant "intestate old age", and it is somewhat remarkable that not until the appearance of Housman's article in 1899<sup>1</sup> was it regarded as capable of any other interpretation. It is true that Madvig had already felt the lack of causal connection between a bath after excessive eating and an old age without a will, but his remedy, which was to change *intestata* of the text to *infestata*, found little acceptance. Housman, agreeing with Madvig that the thought, as the scholiast understood it, did not hang together, offered a new explanation, viz., that as *intestatus* is the opposite of *testatus*, the meaning here is "unattested old age," that is, an old age *adeo invisitata ut teste careat*—in other words, a non-existent old age, if I understand him rightly. This view of Housman's gives a certain logical consistency to the text, but the expression is a very indirect one, and moreover, if *intestata senectus* be not a mere repetition of *subitae mortes*, it makes the line imply that old age among men of luxurious habits at Rome was unknown. All of which leaves the student of Juvenal unsatisfied.

In the view which I wish to suggest, *intestata* does not refer either to witnesses or to wills, but is the same word as the *intestatus* which occurs in Plaut. Mil. 1416, and which is there used of physical mutilation. I take it here in a secondary sense of "vigorless", "enfeebled", "impotent", and regard the whole line as meaning "Hence come sudden deaths and (what is worse) impotent old age". In addition to the straightforward and excellent sense which this interpretation seems to give, it reveals a touch that is especially Juvenalian. This secondary meaning of *intestatus* seems not to occur elsewhere, but, given the primary significance and the fact referred to in Persius (Sat. I 103, *Haec fierent si testiculi vena ulla paterni Viveret in nobis?*)<sup>2</sup> that the

<sup>1</sup> Class. Rev. XIII, pp. 432 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the same use of *mentula* in Mart. XI 90, 8.



testes were the symbol of strength and manhood, it would be certain to arise and to become a common, if not refined expression.

The association of old age with incapacity for the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense is a familiar one. We need scarcely recall the recognition of it by Plato in Rep. 329 b, c, or Cicero's paraphrase of the Platonic view in Cat. Mai. XIV 47,<sup>1</sup> or Juvenal's bitter proclamation (X 204 f.) of the same truth. This bodily inefficiency in old age is produced or exaggerated by unrestrained and luxurious living,<sup>2</sup> so that Juvenal in making an impotent and enfeebled old age the result of excessive indulgence, is only following in his own striking way a beaten path.

For modern readers the real significance of *intestata* is obscured by the frequent references in the satirists to legacy-hunting and the making of wills. To this latter, doubtless, is due mainly the persistence of the scholiast's explanation.

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<sup>1</sup> For Cicero's personal experience and attitude see the unique passage in Fam. IX 26, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. Cat. Mai. IX 30; Sen. Ep. XV 15-18 (quoted by Mayor on Juv. I. 142).



## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**Roman Stoicism : Being Lectures on the History of the Stoic Philosophy with Special Reference to its Development within the Roman Empire. By E. VERNON ARNOLD. Cambridge University Press, 1911. Pp. xi + 468.**

The book under review falls naturally into three parts. Chapters I.-III. ('The World-Religions'; 'Heraclitus and Socrates'; 'The Academy and the Porch') aim to present the antecedents of Stoicism and the known details of its founder's life and development; chapters IV.-XV., constituting the main body of the work, set forth the Stoic doctrine; the two remaining chapters, entitled 'Stoicism in Roman History and Literature' and 'The Stoic Strain in Christianity', deal with the influence of the Porch. From this summary view, as from the title of his work, it is clear that our author is chiefly concerned to present a faithful account of Stoicism and its doctrines; what precedes and follows is of secondary importance. This the reviewer is bound to take into consideration, and to judge the book accordingly. It may be said at once, therefore, that in the part which the author clearly regarded as of first importance his work is unusually excellent; it is only in the chapters which serve to frame his picture, that the critic discovers his coveted opportunity for fault-finding.

In his chapter on the world-religions Professor Arnold, who rightly conceives Stoicism as essentially a religion, passes in review Chaldaism, Persism, Buddhism, Judaism, and Druidism, and considers them in relation to the thought of the Porch, assuming in general the point of view of those who are most inclined to credit foreign, especially oriental, religions with a great influence on Greek thought. Though aware of the reluctance of leading historians to accept the views which he entertains, he advances them with apparent assurance. His procedure may be excused on the ground that all this is *ἔξω τοῦ μυθεύματος*; but it is to be regretted that he fails to make distinctions which would seem to be necessary in any historical account. First, there is the distinction of periods. One who readily accepts Persian or Chaldean influence in the time of the Roman Empire may be pardoned for incredulity touching the period extending from the seventh to the fifth centuries B. C. Again, one may incline to admit the probability of a general stimulus to religious enthusiasm without believing in the propagation of specific alien doctrines, especially if known indigenous antecedents fairly suffice to explain the facts. The statements of Greek and Roman authors on such matters are known



to afford an insecure basis for history, since their motives and the limitations of their knowledge are patent. The modern student is incomparably more competent to judge; for he not only has ready to his hand the results of ancient observation and the accumulated data of anthropological research, but he commands also a wider survey of history and an acquaintance in particular with the slow processes by which even the most energetic propaganda succeeds in changing the deep-seated convictions of alien peoples. We know that centuries of inner disintegration of the Hellenic bed-rock were required to prepare a soil suitable to the growth of Hellenistic syncretism. Even after this secular *præparatio* the several oriental religions, though organized and pressing a zealous propaganda, failed in more than one instance to strike root in Greece. Such considerations as these, supported by a formidable array of facts brought to light by the researches of recent years in the field of Hellenistic religions, counsel conservatism respecting the venturesome guesses of certain partisans who flourished a generation ago. This is preëminently a matter in which the ark of science is in the keeping of the sceptics. The case is similar to that of the enthusiasm for literary reminiscences; for there is a real difference, though it may be difficult in individual instances to distinguish, between a phrase that suggested to the mind of an author an imitation or an allusion, and one that by whatever inscrutable links of association may serve to connect it with another in the mind of a reader. An old friend used to speak of such so-called reminiscences as 'literary illusions', and it behooves us similarly to guard against historical illusions.

The other two introductory chapters, which deal with the history of Greek thought, are open at many points to quite as serious objection. In looking over the pencilled pages I am struck with the number of statements which provoked a protest or a query. Some are indeed debatable questions, but even in regard to Plato and Aristotle, where one may speak with a larger measure of assurance, there are slips which would merit censure if they belonged to the central theme of the book. One might have expected better things even here from a pupil of Henry Jackson. The worst fault of these chapters is that they are superficial and perfunctory. The same charge cannot be leveled at the chapter (XVII.) on the Stoic strain in Christianity; for though the author is confessedly trenching on debatable ground, he writes with obvious interest and with first-hand knowledge. The chapter on Stoicism in Roman history and literature gives an instructive survey of the higher morality and serious thought under the Republic and the Empire. One feels, however, and the author is obviously himself aware, that the term 'Stoicism' is at times employed to cover what is in no way technically to be so regarded. Thus when the Stoicism of Vergil is discussed, much that was only the common heritage of Greek thought is ascribed to the influence of the Porch.



It is in fact difficult to define Stoicism. Professor Arnold ranges it among the religions, and claims for it only a slight degree of originality of thought. It were better to regard it as essentially a temper of soul—the strenuous, heroic temper, coupled with a robust will to think and act consistently and to subordinate all to the supreme ideal. At Rome it came to be the practical faith of many a true man who acknowledged no allegiance to the school; just as to-day in Christian lands the thought and conduct of men in no way allied to the Church conform to its central doctrines. Whether or not one should speak of such men as Stoics and Christians, is a matter of definitions.

If one cannot agree with all the positions taken by our author in the accessories to his central theme, it is a pleasure to be able to speak in unqualified praise of his account of Stoicism itself. The matter is everywhere well arranged and digested, and his summary of the Stoic doctrines is the best available in any single volume. For most readers it will be entirely adequate, though some will no doubt be disappointed by the brief exposition of the Stoic psychology and logic. For such Professor Arnold is prepared, because he clearly shares the distaste of his Roman authorities for the subtleties of logic; and, writing primarily of the Stoicism of the Empire, he has a clear right to adopt the perspective of the time. In the same way he may be excused for bestowing relatively little attention on the representatives of the period of transition,—on Panaetius and Posidonius,—in whose opinions students of Stoicism are at present generally most engrossed.

What one may perhaps most justly deplore is that our author, who admits the scant originality of thought and the failure of Stoicism to reduce to a thoroughly consistent system the body of opinions appropriated from predecessors and contemporaries, should not more clearly have pointed out the organizing principle of selection, although he possessed the key in the perception that Stoicism was essentially a temper of soul. This is the force operating toward unity in every system, and it is peculiarly interesting to follow its application in a system like that of the Stoics, who acknowledged no static unity, but found the principle of organization in the *λόγος* which works in all things.

Since this central doctrine of Stoicism is even now imperfectly understood it may be desirable to devote a little space to the consideration of its origin and applications, particularly as it well illustrates the curious development of concepts. Stein (*Die Psychologie der Stoa*, II., 129) and Baeumker (*Das Problem der Materie*, 351, n. 3) have traced the Stoic doctrine of the *λόγος* to Hippocrates; most writers appear to have paid little attention to the question. Singular as it may seem, no one so far as I am aware has sought its origin, where one would most naturally expect to discover it, in the physics of Heraclitus. There was a brief reference to the problem in my article, *Qualitative Change*



in Pre-Socratic Philosophy (Archiv für Gesch. der Philos., XIX.), 354, n. 55.

In Heraclitus occurs the conception of the *ἐναντιοδρομία* by which the cosmic fire or *ἀναθυμίασις* not only periodically constitutes and destroys the world but also maintains an unstable equilibrium in individual things. This equilibrium is variously called *παλίντροπος* and *παλίντονος ἁρμονίη*. In fr. 51, Diels gives the preference to the form *παλίντροπος ἁρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης*, because of Parmenides, fr. 6, 9 *πάντων δὲ παλίντροπός ἐστι κέλευθος*, although he admits that the variant *παλίντονος* is equally well attested and finds support in the phrase *παλίντονον τόξον* current from Homer onwards. But there is also a passage in Plato's Republic 439 B which, though commonly disregarded, seems to support the reading *παλίντονος*: *ὥσπερ γε οἶμαι τοῦ τοξότου οὐ καλῶς ἔχει λέγειν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἅμα αἱ χεῖρες τὸ τόξον ἀπωθούνται τε καὶ προσέλκονται, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄλλη μὲν ἡ ἀπωθούσα χεὶρ, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ προσαγομένη*. Hippocrates, *Περὶ διαίτης*, I, 6 clearly shows that the thought was derived from Heraclitus. Although one might have been inclined to suspect the influence of Stoic tradition in the form *παλίντονος*, the suspicion is shown to be unfounded; and we have reason to approve the course of Bywater, who recognizes two fragments (XLV. and LVI.) instead of one.

According to Heraclitus, then, an object as empirically known is constituted by streams of fire (*ἀναθυμίασις* or, as Hippocrates and the Stoics commonly call it, *πνεῦμα*), regarded as entering and issuing from it. The object is of course in perpetual flux, and strictly speaking it could not be said, either from the Heraclitic or from the Stoic point of view, to exist, but only to be becoming; but practically things were conceived as constituted by the affluent stream and as dissipated by the effluents. It is the latter that strike the senses and determine the qualities which we ascribe to things. If we think of this conception as brought into relation to the Peripatetic distinction between essential (permanent) and accidental (variable) properties, we obtain the Stoic doctrine of the *τόνος* as we find it stated by Nemesius, *De nat. hom.*, 29 *Ellebod.* οἱ Στωϊκοὶ (λέγουσι) *τονικὴν* *τινα εἶναι κίνησιν περὶ τὰ σώματα, εἰς τὸ ἔσω ἅμα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔξω κινουμένην, καὶ τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔξω μεγεθῶν καὶ ποιότητων ἀποτελεστικὴν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔσω ἐνώσεως καὶ οὐσίας*. The 'tension' varies according to the intensity of this reflux motion, the motion being much more rapid at the periphery of things (as in the cosmic fire and air) where the fire is kindling, and becoming sluggish at the center (as in water and earth) where it suffers extinction; cf. Censorinus, *De die natali*, I, 1, p. 75 Jahn: *tenorem, qui rarescente materia a medio tendat ad summum, eadem concrescente rursus a summo referatur ad medium*. But just as Heraclitus applied conceptions which had a clear application only to physical things equally to mental concepts and moral ideals, so also did the Stoics embrace all things within the scope of their *κίνησις τονική*.



As applied to the soul, it was conceived as the *intentio animi*, the foundation of all the virtues, as the vices are forms of remissio, or the extinction of the divine fire in the soul. Here we find the highest expression of the tense temper of the Stoic, who might have said, in the words recorded in John 5, 17, ὁ πατήρ μου ἔως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, καὶ γὰρ ἐργάζομαι. The influence of the Stoic temper on the theories of rhetoric and style still calls for investigation. In this respect the treatise *Περὶ ὕψους*, with its emphasis on ὕψος and πάθος and its cosmopolitanism, presents a most attractive point of departure, although it also raises many questions not easy to answer.

But this review has already grown too long. In closing it should be said that the book is well printed and contains few typographical errors, except in the bibliography, which is not worthy of its place in the volume.

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BELZNER, E., *Homerische Probleme. I. Die kulturellen Verhältnisse der Odyssee als kritische Instanz. Mit einem Nachwort (Aristarchea) von A. Roemer.* Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1911, VI, 202 pp. M. 5.

Dr. Belzner sets for himself the task of investigating the culture-stages of the Odyssey and from these stages to form an argument for its origin. According to the author the poet or poets of the Odyssey had the gift of abstraction, so there is often a distinct difference between the customs described and those of the age of the poet. When the poet speaks in his own person or uses similes he frequently refers to stages of culture different from those current in the Epic Age, or the assumed period of the Trojan War. There are thus two cultural groups, the one of the poet's age, the Homeric culture, the one of the age described, the epic culture, e. g., the poet refers to the boiling of meat, but warriors never eat boiled meat, the trumpet is mentioned in a simile, but is not used in the action of the poems, and there is a similar difference in matters of geography, cosmic beliefs, varieties of food, riding of horses, and the use of crowns or garlands.

The fact that the poems move between the conditions of the Homeric Age and the assumed Epic Age makes it impossible to divide the different parts of the poem on the basis of culture-stages.

The Odyssey is subjected to a careful test in regard to the following: Kings and Nobles, Material of Arms, Method of Arming, Riding of Horses, Dwellings, Dress, Food, Dowry, Burial, Writing, Temples, Images, and Religion. Each one of these divisions is treated with such thoroughness that a summary



of the results obtained in each is impossible, so I shall limit myself to his treatment of the first two, Kings and Nobles, Material of Arms. The arguments advanced by Finsler to show that in the Iliad the king rules by divine authority, in the Odyssey he is chosen by the nobility from their own number, have been generally accepted and have passed over into the stock of admitted facts, e. g., Christ, Gr. Lit. Gesch.<sup>6</sup> 57. Belzner has tested every relevant passage in the Odyssey and finds that the king rules solely by the grace of God. "If Odysseus were really the creature of the nobles, why did they not choose a substitute during the long years of his absence, and why was there no meeting of the assembly"? A positive proof that the king ruled by divine right is found in the words:

a 386: μὴ σέ γ' ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ βασιλῆα Κρονίων  
ποιήσκειν, ὃ τοι γενεῇ πατρώϊόν ἐστι.  
390: καὶ κεν τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιμι Διὸς γε διδόντος ἀρέσθαι.

The author finds that all references to sovereignty in Homer belong to the same social stratum. Here another argument of the Chorizontes proves futile when fairly tested.

It is generally admitted that bronze is the older, iron the later metal, and on this basis has been built the theory that those parts of Homer which mention iron are later than those in which only bronze appears. The essence of Belzner's arguments is:

In the Bible the weapons are generally of bronze, the head of Goliath's spear was of iron, but the rest of his armor was bronze. In the book of Job armor and weapons alternate between bronze and iron, XX 24; "He shall flee from the iron weapon", XLI 27; "He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood". Cf. Gen. IV 22; "Tubal-cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron".

In the construction of the Ark and the Altar, Ex. XXXVII, XXXVIII, gold, silver, brass, and wood were used, but no iron, and so in Rev. IX 20, "idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood", but no mention of iron. In a chest of the sixth century B. C. found in Cyprus there are offerings to Athena of plates of silver and weapons of bronze, but no iron. Here and in the passages quoted iron was evidently too little valued to be used in religious offerings, and accordingly in the relative use of iron and bronze appears a new principle, the *principle of value*. This is alone the reason for the age of iron following the age of bronze in Greek Mythology. Hence the warrior centuries after the discovery of iron felt that his weapons were too noble to be made out of the cheaper metal, and so continued to carry bronze arms. That warriors sometimes preferred the more costly to the harder metal is shown in the fact that Glaucus, Z 236, and Rhesus, K 439, carried weapons of gold.

A second principle, less important than the one of value, is



that of *poetic variety*, e. g., Psalms CVII 16, "For he hath broken the gates of brass and cut the bars of iron".

γ 2: οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον. ρ 565: σιδήρεον οὐρανόν.  
P 424: σιδήρειος δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς/χάλκειον οὐρανὸν ἔκε.

Just as brazen is used in modern poetry as a general expression for metal, so in Homer bronze was a more poetic as well as more archaic word than iron; therefore no inference in regard to the use of iron and bronze in the poet's own age can be drawn from the relative frequency of the appearance of these words. It pleases me that the author accepts as genuine the proverbial phrase:

αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος.

Belzner believes that iron was in general use in the Homeric Age and this phrase is but the statement of a poet who projected a modern proverb into an earlier stratum of culture.

Had Homer been written in prose the mention of iron might have surpassed in frequency that of bronze. The more frequent mention of bronze is due to the principle of value, poetic variety, and intentional archaizing. In regard to the sphere of the metals all parts of the Odyssey reflect the same stage of culture.

After an examination of the cultural elements, as named above, he finds that the Odyssey everywhere gives evidence of composition at a single epoch, and that it is impossible to assign any part of the Odyssey to an earlier or later period than the whole, "vielmehr weisen uns alle Beobachtungen über die Kultur des Epos auf die Annahme einer einheitlichen Konzeption hin".

This book is another illustration of the fact that most of the arguments of Higher Criticism crumble as soon as they are carefully examined. Homeric scholars can expect much in the future from the author of this sane and accurate investigation.

Belzner evidently was in close touch with Professor Roemer who adds a Nachwort in regard to Aristarchus.

Professor Roemer by reason of his writings in various publications, but especially in recent numbers of the *Rheinisches Museum*, has become the leading interpreter of the Alexandrians, and has been able to show that the work of Aristarchus deserves even higher praise than that given it by Lehrs or Ludwich. In this treatise Roemer emphasizes the sanity of judgment shown by Aristarchus in the discussion of the dowry and writing in Homer. Cauer relies much on Roemer in his last edition of the *Grundfragen*, e. g., p. 133, he quotes him in regard to the doubtful statement of the scholiast that Iliad XI once followed IX, also to show that possibly the Alexandrians knew of the recension of Peisistratus. Roemer referring to his being thus quoted by Cauer says, p. 155: Es ist mir absolut unbegreiflich, wie Cauer dazu kommt zu sprechen. Das gerade Gegenteil ist der Fall. It is astounding that such a scholar as Cauer should



make so capital an error in quotation in order to advance another error in regard to Homer. Wilamowitz has recently given the glory to Zenodotus of being the creator of the great Alexandrian recension. Aristarch durfte nicht mehr *recensui* sagen, sondern nur *recognovi* und erkannte das durch seine Zeichen, die auf Zenodot verwiesen, auch an. Sitz. der kgl. preuss. Akad. 1910, 376.

This sentence has led Roemer to a thorough investigation of the relative importance of Zenodotus, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus, and he reaches this conclusion: Zenodotus and Aristophanes were not competent to produce a text according to strictly scientific methods; being slaves of prejudice and false opinion, depending solely on superficial observation, they did not and could not produce an edition of Homer of any high value. Their failures helped Aristarchus to discover the true method, so that by infinite labor and most careful observations he founded the genuine science of philology.

He says in regard to Wilamowitz, p. 171, Da hatte nun Aristarch einen sehr verbrecherischen Gedanken und meinte: Ehe man kritisiert und konjiziert, sollte man vorher etwas studiert haben und beging die unglaubliche Torheit, sich darauf hin seinen Homer anzusehen. Freilich durch diesen Irrwahn, dass man studieren müsse, hat er sich den Weg gänzlich verbaut zur "schöpferischen Kritik". Die neueste Offenbarung von Wilamowitz ist also—bei einem andern würde ich vielleicht sagen Wind, bei Wilamowitz sage ich—nur Phantasie, jedenfalls eher alles andere, als Wissenschaft.

I cannot read the scholarly work of Professor Roemer without feeling that he has assigned the Alexandrians to their true positions. It is only by the accurate observation of all the facts according to the methods followed by Dr. Belzner and Professor Roemer that we can hope for the final solution of the Homeric problem.

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Thucydides, Book IV. Edited by A. W. SPRATT. Cambridge, At the University Press: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912.

Mr. Spratt's edition of the Fourth Book of Thucydides follows the same lines as his Third and Sixth Books, which have found and deserved wide acceptance. A special feature is the diligence with which he has noted the phenomena of moods and tenses. This, I presume, is what he calls in his preface 'milk for babes', and I, for one, have no reason to quarrel with his preference for condensed milk. There is no neater statement of the



*φθάνω*-rule than one finds on c. 4, 6: *φθάνω* exacts from its participle a rigid synchronism, which is the sum and substance of A. J. P. XII 76. The emphasis thus laid by Mr. Spratt on Thukydides' exactness in the use of moods and tenses goes far to redeem the historian from the charge of imperfect mastery of the language, and this exactness is matched, as might easily be shown, by exactness in other lines.

The critical apparatus is very full, such an apparatus as would have been welcome many years ago when I took up the Fourth Book in the Greek Seminary, moved thereto by Rutherford's edition (cf. A. J. P. XV 115), which is hardly ever mentioned now except as one of the aberrations of a scholar, noted for his aberrancy. When Rutherford's Fourth Book appeared, a well-known French reviewer remarked that he had out-Cobeted Cobet, and Mr. Marchant, who when he edited the Second Book was overborne by his chief's hectoring ways—Hector is a favourite Scottish name (cf. A. J. P. XVIII 244)—has since learned, as he confessed in his edition of the Third Book, that 'a long acquaintance with MSS has caused <him> to withdraw entirely from the opinion of those who detect incessant interpolation and wholesale corruption in the MSS <of Thukydides>.' True, Mr. Murray, in his History of Greek Literature, has still a good word to say for Rutherford, but as Mr. Grundy has put the case (l. c., p. 48): 'The essay was peculiarly unfortunate; the more so as the textual corruption was ascribed in the main to copyists of the second and later centuries A. D., and the first century (Oxyrrhynchus) text agrees closely with the received text of the present day'. To the same purport Sir John Sandys in his History of Classical Scholarship I<sup>2</sup> 285, and another critic, Sir William Ramsay, wrote some months ago with cruel frankness (Expositor, June, 1911): The main value of <Rutherford's edition> simply is to prove that its initial principle is false.

Mr. Spratt's Introduction to the Fourth Book is a puzzle. He gives only the prelude to the Peloponnesian War, whereas one could expect at least a summary of the first six years of the War; and in that prelude he contents himself with a foot-note in which he remarks that 'modern criticism has suggested a fourth cause of war, the commercial rivalry of Corinth and Athens'—a brief mention which will be a distinct disappointment to Messrs. Cornford and Grundy and their surviving forerunners (A. J. P. XXVIII 356; XXXII 482). Mr. Spratt does not commit himself, but I imagine that he would sympathize with Mr. Zimmern, who, in the Preface to his Greek Commonwealth, says: 'It has long been clear to historians that economic circumstances had a good deal to do with the Peloponnesian War; yet we have no right to pass from this to an explanation of the whole struggle in modern economic terms'. It has been my own fortune to live through a great war, *αίσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*, and I know how easy it would be



to represent our Civil War as the result of the invention of the cotton gin—it has been so represented—as the result of the machinations of an overseas Corinth—it has been so represented—as a question of tariffs, as the conflict between two systems of labor, the tyranny of the boss of a mill and the tyranny of the master of a plantation, white ‘mudsill’ against black ‘mudsill’. My own little contribution to the literature of the war (*Atlantic Monthly*, Jan. 1892, Sept. 1897) has been lightly put aside in certain quarters as a ‘poetical view’, but poetry is more philosophical than history, and I explained my Civil War out of Thukydides.

B. L. G.

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Yiddish dictionary, containing all of the Hebrew and Chaldaic elements of the Yiddish language, illustrated with proverbs and idiomatic expressions, compiled by Dr. C. D. SPIVAK, and SOL. BLOOMGARDEN (Yehoash). New York, 1911, pp. xxxi + 340.

The dictionary of the Hebrew elements in the Yiddish language compiled by Dr. Spivak and the well-known Yiddish lyric poet Bloomgarden (generally known by his nom de plume *Yehoash*) is a fine piece of scholarly work, and is deserving of much praise. It fills a long-felt want. It is, therefore, advisable to call attention to several of its characteristic features:

(1) Completeness. It is the first complete dictionary of the Hebrew elements in Yiddish which has thus far been published. The several older dictionaries are rare and entirely inadequate.<sup>1</sup> The omissions in the Spivak and Bloomgarden dictionary are few and unimportant. Of these the following may be mentioned: *megabber* (sein) “to bury”, *menadder* (sein) “to vow a contribution”, *megaššem* (sein) “to materialize, embody”, *menaššeq* (sein) “to kiss” (vulgar), *betēba’* “by nature, naturally” *asmakhla* (Talm.) “proof, support” (rare in Yiddish), *otho maqom* (Talm.) “pudenda” (rare in Yiddish), *meba’er* “commentator”, and a few others.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The explanations are brief but lucid and illuminating. Owing to this feature the compilers have been able to compress much material in little space.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly the Judeo-German-English dictionary of Alexander Harkavy (New York, 1898; 6th edition, 1910) is inadequate as far as the Hebrew elements in Yiddish are concerned.

<sup>2</sup> A few words appear in the wrong place: *meba’er hamets* (sein) should be treated on p. 140<sup>a</sup>, after *mebalbel* (sein), instead of on p. 139<sup>a</sup>, and *matteket* “metal” should be given after *mithkawwen* instead of after *methiqdth*.



(3) The Spivak and Bloomgarden dictionary is exceptionally accurate and authoritative.

(4) Owing to their judicious selection of phrases and proverbs, distributed throughout the whole work, the compilers have made their dictionary interesting reading material, a characteristic rarely found in dictionaries.

In the appendix of the work the compilers have given us a list of about four hundred popular Hebrew proverbs alphabetically arranged. It is to be regretted that they have not given the exact reference after each proverb. A number of grammatical remarks are given in the introduction.

The compilers have admirably carried out the twofold aim which they had in mind in the preparation of this work (cf. preface, p. ix): They have furnished an indispensable help to readers of Yiddish who have but a scanty knowledge of the Hebrew language or none at all. Moreover, they have collected much valuable material for the future investigator of the Hebrew elements in the Yiddish language.

The work will be of interest also to Hebraists. It is interesting and instructive to observe the changes which the Hebrew words have undergone in Yiddish, both in form and meaning.

From a perusal of this work we are strongly impressed by the important part the Hebrew language has played in the formation and development of the Yiddish language. Quantitatively the Hebrew language furnished approximately twenty per cent of the entire Yiddish vocabulary;<sup>1</sup> but qualitatively it is of much greater importance. The majority of the Hebrew words in Yiddish are expressive of religious, moral, and philosophical ideas; or are words intimately connected with Jewish history, life, and thought.<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew words in Yiddish are borrowed not only from the Bible, but also from the Talmud, Midrashim, medieval Hebrew literature, and especially from the liturgy of the Synagogue. The philological investigation of the Hebrew elements in Yiddish is still in its infancy. To the future growth of this investigation Spivak and Bloomgarden may be regarded as having given a strong impetus.

AARON EMBER.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. M. Piné's, *Histoire de la littérature Judéo-Allemande* (Paris, 1910), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. the very interesting article on Hebrew and Yiddish by Prof. Israel Davidson of the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, in the January number of *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, p. 292.



## REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, Vol. XXXIII (1909), pp. 163-303.

Pp. 163-178. H. de la Ville de Mirmont. The Date of Seneca's Voyage to Egypt. In the *Ad Helviam*, which was written not long after his banishment in 41 A. D., Seneca tells us that he accompanied his mother's sister on the fateful voyage from Egypt in the course of which she lost her husband, who had been prefect of Egypt for sixteen years. The problem that presents itself is the determination of the date of this voyage. Three solutions have been proposed. Justus Lipsius advanced the hypothesis, which was accepted by a number of eminent scholars, that the Vitrasius Pollio of Dio Cassius 58, 19, who was the predecessor of A. Avillius Flaccus in the prefecture of Egypt, was the uncle of Seneca. But this hypothesis, besides involving a number of highly improbable assumptions, was based upon Letronne's false restoration of a lacuna in CIG. 4963, and had to be abandoned when, in 1900, Stein supplied the correct reading. A second hypothesis, which was advanced by Borghesi and which also received the sanction of eminent scholars, regarded the Aemilius Rectus of Dio Cassius 57, 10 as the husband of Seneca's aunt, and places the term of his prefecture as 1 A. D.—17 A. D. Fatal to this hypothesis is the fact that according to certain inscriptions P. Octavius was prefect of Egypt in the years 1 A. D. and 3 A. D., and that, in the year 10 to 11 A. D., this office was held by C. Julius Aquila. The third solution is that of Cantarelli, who tries to show that C. Galerius was the only prefect that held office for sixteen years and that he was appointed in 16 A. D. and recalled in 31. This view is based upon the following data: Aemilius Rectus was prefect in 14 A. D. (Dio Cassius); he was succeeded by L. Seius Strabo (Dio Cassius); C. Galerius was prefect in 22 A. D. (CIG. 4711); and Vitrasius Pollio died as prefect in 32 (Dio Cassius). To obtain a period of sixteen years for C. Galerius, Cantarelli is obliged to assume that the prefects L. Seius Strabo and Vitrasius Pollio both died shortly after reaching their province. De la Ville de Mirmont concludes that, since the first two hypotheses are out of the question, there is no other alternative than to accept the third hypothesis, from which it would follow that the date of Seneca's return from Egypt was 32 A. D. The writer thereupon addresses himself to the task of showing that the family of the Galerii possessed sufficient influence to enable the widow of the devoted servant of Tiberius to secure from Caligula the office of quaestor for her nephew.



Pp. 179-182. E. Cavaignac, On a Passage of the Letter of Philip to the Citizens of Larissa—Philip and the Roman Institutions. The passage in question, which was written in 215/4 B. C., is οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι . . . οἱ καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὅταν ἐλευθερώσωσιν, προσδεχόμενοι ἐς τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ τῶν ἀρχείων με[ταδι]δόντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου οὐ μόνον τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα ἐπηυξήκασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποικίας (σ)χεδὸν [εἰς εἰς]δομήκοντα τόπους ἐκπεπόμφασιν (IG. IX, 2, 517). Scholars have called attention to the inaccuracies of this passage and, above all, to the gross exaggeration of the number of the Roman colonies. Granting the correctness of this criticism, Cavaignac nevertheless thinks that the passage rests upon a basis of fact, and that it records the impressions that Philip had gained of the reforms which took place at Rome in 220, in the censorship of C. Flaminius. The change by which the freedmen, who had up to that time been distributed among all of the tribes, were thenceforth confined to the four city tribes, impressed upon Philip the numerical strength of the Roman freedmen and the liberal treatment accorded to them by the Romans, and, on the other hand, the reduction of the number of the centuries of the first class from 80 to 70 (35 seniores and 35 juniores, each pair of centuries of seniors and juniors corresponding to a tribe), furnished the number 70, though Philip made the serious mistake of confounding the colony with the tribe. This confusion was probably due to the difference of procedure in the planting of a Roman and a Greek colony. When a Roman colony was sent out, it was either enrolled in one of the existing tribes, or a new tribe was created, whereas in a Greek colony the number of the tribes of the mother city was faithfully reflected.

Pp. 183-204. Charles Joret, Seven Unpublished Letters of Villoison, Genêt, Hennin, Senebier and the Geneva MS 44 of the Iliad. The letters here published belong to the correspondence of M. Hennin. They were written during Villoison's stay at Venice, and embrace three letters of Villoison (one to M. Genêt, chief of the bureau of interpreters at Paris, and two to M. Hennin, first secretary of the French foreign office), three of Hennin (two to Villoison, and one to Senebier), and one of Senebier to M. Hennin. All these letters were occasioned by Villoison's desire to borrow the celebrated Geneva MS of the Iliad, and they therefore constitute a valuable supplement to the letters of Villoison that were published by Nicole on pages 59-70 of this volume of the Revue. Villoison appealed to Genêt to ask Hennin to use his influence with the Geneva government to obtain for Villoison the loan of their precious MS for a few months. The Geneva authorities, however, seemed disinclined to allow the MS to leave their city, and after a few letters had passed among the persons interested, Villoison, who had in the meantime succeeded in borrowing the valuable Hamburg MS of the Iliad and had obtained a copy of the Vatican scholia of Por-



phyry, reached the conclusion that in view of these large accessions to his material he would be able to do without the Geneva MS.

Pp. 205-220. Book Notices.

Pp. 221-224. Pierre Boudreaux, A New MS of the Aristotelian Divisions. Mutschmann, who in addition to the *δαιρέσεις* preserved by Diogenes Laertius, published also the collection of the codex Marcianus 257 of the 14th century, did not know that this second collection was contained also in the Parisinus graecus 39 (ff. 168 v.-172 v.), in a handwriting of the 13th century. The cause of this ignorance is probably the fact that Omont, in his *Inventaire sommaire*, described the contents of ff. 167-174 of the Paris MS as *Fragmenta historica et theologica*. Although thirty of the divisions are missing in the new MS, and there are other omissions and errors, yet, with the aid of the Parisinus, false readings of the Marcianus may often be corrected, intrusions eliminated, and the text of lacunae restored.

P. 224. C.-E. Ruelle, Aristot., Probl. physica, IV, 13; p. 878 a 14-15. For ἀ φέρουσιν (αἴρουνσι) read ἀ ἀφαιρουσιν.

Pp. 225-237. Louis Havet, Notes on Plautus. Critical notes on Mil. 894, 917-919, 1005, 1038, 1054, 1062, 1066, 1071, 1080, 1138, 1177, 1178, 1190, 1192, 1197, 1204-1207, 1276, 1279, 1313-1314, 1315, 1357, 1358, 1380 (and Rud. 222), 1384, 1388, 1389, 1398, 1399, 1408, 1411-1412, 1413, 1421, 1426.

Pp. 238-245, L. Parmentier, Eunomius in the Rôle of Tachygrapher. In Theodoret's Ecclesiastical History, IV, 18 (ed. Gaisford), Protogenes is described as τὰ ἐκ νόμου γράμματα πεπαιδευμένος καὶ γράφειν εἰς τάχος ἡσκημένος. Whilst ἐκ νόμου is the reading of a number of MSS, the others have εὐνομίου, and Εὐνομίου is the reading of the editio princeps. ἐκ νόμου makes no sense and the attempts to explain it have been unsatisfactory. The MS tradition points to Εὐνομίου as the original reading, but the meaning of the phrase τὰ Εὐνομίου γράμματα seems early to have been lost. The Eunomius referred to is the celebrated leader of the Anomoean Arians, Eunomius of Cappadocia, the pupil and friend of Aetius. There are several sources of information as to the fact that Eunomius started out in life as a tachygrapher. One of the most valuable of these sources, Nicetas Acominatus V, 31, is here pointed out for the first time, and the Greek text, as found in the Parisinus graecus 1234, f. 112 v. (13th cent.), is cited. The facts narrated by Nicetas must have been derived from the lost treatise of Theodore of Mopsuestia against Eunomius. In view of Eunomius' attainments in the line of tachygraphy, it would appear that τὰ Εὐνομίου γράμματα means 'the Eunomian characters', 'the Eunomian system of shorthand'. Tachygraphy formed a



regular part of the elementary instruction at school, and Parmentier augments the proofs that may be adduced in support of this statement by citing Symeon, *Vita S. Luciani*, I, 4, a passage from which we learn that St. Lucian also, in early life, was a tachygrapher and conducted a school at Antioch.

Pp. 245-246. L. Parmentier, Note on a New Fragmentary MS of the Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret. The existence of the new fragment, consisting of ff. 225-226 of ms. suppl. gr. 1248 of the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris, was pointed out by Serruys (see above, report on pp. 80-85). The handwriting is of the 9th century. Professor Papadopoulos-Kerameus of St. Petersburg possesses a larger fragment (26 leaves) of the same MS. The Paris fragment fits into a gap of the Petersburg fragment. The value of the MS consists chiefly in showing that the mistakes, revisions, and lacunae that are common to two younger MSS of Theodoret, G (13th cent.) and S (12th cent.), go back to a period that antedates the writing of the Paris-Petersburg MS.

Pp. 247-254. René Pichon, Magic in the Fourth Book of the Aeneid. The object of this paper is to give an explanation of the unusual prominence accorded to magic in the Dido episode of the fourth book of the Aeneid. The author claims that if the magic rites were introduced simply as a ruse to deceive Anna as to Dido's real intent, there would have been no need of the fulness of detail that makes this passage one of the most important sources of information for the student of ancient magic. Rejecting Sabbadini's seductive hypothesis that the magical portion of the narrative did not form a part of the original design of the poet, but was subsequently added to satisfy the popular craving for magic, the writer expresses the view that the Dido of tradition must have been a sorceress, and that Vergil was therefore practically compelled to adopt this character for the heroine. Indeed, the words of Dido to her sister Anna, *testor, cara, deos . . . magicas invitam accingier artis*, must be interpreted as a sort of apology for the poet himself, whose scruples of conscience had been aroused as to the propriety of a national poet portraying practices that were forbidden by the laws of the state. Pichon further ventures to put forth the following hypothesis. Following a clue of Servius' commentary, he thinks that Dido did not in the Aeneid figure for the first time in the national epic, but that she had previously appeared in the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius, not, however, in the character in which she was to appear in the Aeneid, but in a character similar to that of Circe in the Homeric Odyssey. At the time of the composition of the *Bellum Punicum*, the Odyssey, which had been translated by Livius Andronicus, had become the epic model, and the adventures of Aeneas and Dido were patterned after the adventures of Odysseus and Circe. In the time of Vergil, on the other hand, the knowledge of Alexandrine litera-



ture had spread among the Romans, and, as a result of the influence of Catullus and of the change in Roman customs, the love story had found its way into epic poetry. Vergil, therefore, yielding to the taste of the times, pictures Dido as a lovesick woman that is deserted by her lover and seeks solace in death, but, mindful of the Dido of tradition, the poet retains as much of the original sorceress as seems proper, without, however, being able everywhere to effect a perfect amalgamation of the two characters. But there is another point in which Vergil has departed from tradition. Varro says that it was Anna, not Dido, that fell in love with Aeneas and killed herself after Aeneas' departure. A trace of this version seems to have been left in the verses 420 sqq., *Miserae hoc tamen unum | Exsequere, Anna, mihi—solam nam perfidus ille | Te colere*, etc. There is thus manifested in the composition of the Dido episode a spirit of independence that is coupled with a desire to incorporate as far as possible all the materials of current tradition. This combination of originality and conservatism is a characteristic of the art of Vergil, and may nowhere be studied to better advantage than at the close of the fourth book of the Aeneid.

Pp. 255-264. Gustave Bardy, *Septuagint Papyri*. The article is divided into four sections. The first section consists of a catalogue, brought up to date, of all the papyrus texts of the Septuagint. The second section is devoted to showing that the origin of the Ecclesiastical Psalter must be sought elsewhere than in Egypt and most probably in Syria, whence it spread to the Occident and even gained a foothold in Egypt. In the third section the author raises the question as to the origin of the Lucianic recension, and adduces evidence from the papyri to show that even at a very early date there were in circulation various recensions of the Greek text of the Old Testament, this text having been subjected to a series of revisions to bring it into conformity with contemporary Hebrew texts. The fourth and concluding section presents traces of the influence of the Hexapla upon the texts of some of the papyri.

P. 264. Eusèbe Vassel, *On a Passage of Pliny the Elder*. By reference to a superstition that prevails among the natives of Tunis, who believe that praise forebodes evil, the writer shows that the word *laudatio* in Pliny, N. H. VII, 2, 8 means *praise*, not *paroles enchantées*, as Littré translates it.

Pp. 265-273. Georges Romain, *On the Attribution of the Replies and the Order of the Verses in a few passages of Plautus*. The passages considered are *Amphitruo* 794-800, *Casina* 402-405, *Curculio* 487-525, *Poenulus* 313-316, *Pseudolus* 349-350, and *Trinummus* 1155.

Pp. 274-303. Book Notices.

C. W. E. MILLER.



Glotta: Zeitschrift für Griechische und Lateinische Sprache.  
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SKUTSCH. I Band. Göttingen, 1909.

Pp. 1-9. F. Buecheler, Grammatica et epigraphica. Collection of notes on evidence from inscriptional sources bearing on points of Latin diction; (p. 6) several cases of inf. for impv.

Pp. 9-51. Kretschmer, Zur Geschichte der griechischen Dialekte.

1) Ionier und Achäer (9-34). Cannot accept Ed. Meyer's view that the Ionians were entirely a hybrid people, and their dialect a mongrel dialect, and that both originated only in Asia Minor. Ionic is no "Mischdialekt"; the Ionians were a distinct people who preceded the "Achaean" population in the Greek mainland. This does not imply anything as to the age of the name *Ἴωνες*, which as an inclusive name in its later sense probably was first used among the islanders. To this pre-Achaean or "Ionian" population may perhaps be reckoned "Stämme, für die achäische oder westgriechische Herkunft nicht zu erweisen ist", as e. g., the Dryopians, and particularly the *Pelasgians*. *Πελασγοί* is derived (following Crain) from *πέλαγος*, weak stem *πέλαγσ-* + *κος* (-γσκ- > σγ also in *μίσγω* < \*μῑγ-σκω et al.) and means "people of the plain" (OHG. *flah*, OSl. *ploskŭ*, etc.). They were the people found in Greece by the Achaeans and regarded by them as autochthonous, though recognized in Homer as being at least not wholly alien to the Achaeans. (So also Ed. Meyer.) They were in reality part of the pre-Achaean (Ionian) Greek population, intermingled with the pre-Greek inhabitants, but Greek (Ionic) in language. The Achaeans then were the second, not the first, wave of Indo-European invasion into Greece, and the Dorians (West Greeks) the third. This same succession was deduced by Reisch from archeological evidence in Crete (p. 21). It is to be noted that the historic Ionians seem also to have been connected with Crete; many of their nobility derived their lineage thence. In some points the Arcadian-Cyprian dialects agree with Ionic against not only Doric, but the more closely related north-Achaean (Aeolic) dialects. This K. attributes to influence from the speech of the (prehistoric) Ionic neighbors of these southern "Achaeans", who in penetrating into the south came more into contact with the Pelasgians (Ionians) than their northern brethren. But even the Aeolic of the north shows "Ionic" traits (σ for Doric-West Greek τ, etc.) which Doric, for instance, lacks.

2) Die Apocope in den griechischen Dialekten (pp. 34-59). In opposition to Joh. Schmidt, who explains the frequent dialectic disappearance of a final vowel of a preposition before an initial



consonant as due to proclisis, K. ingeniously tries to explain all such cases as due to various other factors.

(a) For West Greek he says that apocope mainly appears with *ἀν(ά)* and *παρ(ά)*; these he explains by a "law of dissimilation", that of two similar vowels in neighboring syllables, if a nasal or liquid appears in their proximity, one (the *unaccented* one!) is suppressed. Sporadic cases of other prepositions (*κατ'* before dentals, etc.) are explained in various other ways (haplogy, etc.).

(b) The Achaean dialects (Aeol., Arcad., etc.) go a little farther in apocope, but mainly along the same lines.

(c) In Ionic-Attic there was properly no apocope; the few instances are either Aeolisms or Dorisms, or are due to haplogy or the like.

The preposition *πρός* (Ion.-Aeol.), *πός* (Arcad.), is not to be derived from *προτί* (*ποτί*). *προτί* (Skt. *prati*) is IE. \**pro + ti* (BB. 27. 156 f.), while the *s* of *πρός* (*πός*) must be original. *πρός* : *πάρος* (Skt. *puras*) = Lt. *prae* Osc. *prai* : *παρά*. So also *πός* and *ποτί* are independent forms; the one = Lith. *pàs* "near", Lt. Osc. Umbr. *pos-t(i)*, the other = Av. *paiti*. Finally, K. attacks other supposed cases of final apocope mentioned by Schmidt (dat. pl. *-οις* < *-οισι*, thessal. gen. sg. *-οι* < *-οιο*, supposed to have originated in the definite article). K.'s article is one that must be prominently considered in any study of Greek dialects.

Pp. 60-67. Sommer, Zu den homerischen Aoristformen *ἔκτᾱ*, *οὔτα*, *ἀπηύρα* und *ἐγήρα*. Cleverly and convincingly explains *ἔκτᾱ* (as well as all the active forms *ἔκταν*, *ἔκταμεν*, etc.; such "root aorists" are properly restricted to the middle in Gk.) by proportional analogy after the mid. *ἐκτάμην*, *ἔκτατο*, etc., and the thematic 2d aor., as *ἔσχόμην* : *ἔσχον*, *ἔσχετο* : *ἔσχε*, etc. *οὔτα* (pres. *οὔτάω*, *οὔτάζω*!) is then analogical to *ἔκτα*. (Brugmann reverses this relation, but fails to account for *οὔτα* satisfactorily). Less fortunate seem to me the remarks on *ἀπηύρα* and *ἐγήρα*.

Pp. 67-68. O. Hoffmann, Die Medialendung *-σαι* in der themat. Flexion. In Samml. Gr. Dial. Inschr. 3339, l. 44 end *ὑποδέκεσ-*, restore *ὑποδέκεσθαι*, not *-σαι*.

Pp. 69-71. Skutsch, Die Flexion von *τις*. The *ν* of *τινος*, etc., by analogy with *ένός*, etc. (*εἷς*).

Pp. 71-75. Bechtel, Beiträge zur griechischen Wortforschung. 1) *ἀβληχρός*, 2) *ἄκνηστις*, 3) *ὄρηξ*, 4) *τερπικέραυνος* is a Bahuvrihi cpd. from \**τέρπος* (an *s*-stem to *τέρπω*, cf. *ἀ-τερπής*), and means "dessen \**τέρπος* der *κεραυνός* bildet". The *ι* is explicable; cf. *κρατι-σθένης* (*κράτος*).

Pp. 76-82. Solmsen, Eine griechische Namensippe. Group of names in *κοιρ-* (*κοίρων*, etc.); related to *κοίρανος* and derived from \**κοῖρος* "army"; IE. \**kórijos*, Gth. *harjis*, Lith. *karias*, etc. *κοίρανος* : *κοίρων* = *στέφανος* : (Hesych.) *στεφών*. *κοίρανος* is not



derivable from an IE. fem. *\*koriā* (Osthoff), which cannot be shown to have existed.

Pp. 82-86. Kretschmer, Eine Boiotische Vaseninschrift (with cut). An urn given by a newly-married man to a bachelor friend, with facetious inscription urging marriage.

Pp. 86-104. Sokrates Kugéas, Herkunft und Bedeutung von neugriech. Νικλᾶνοι und Φαμέγχοι (names for the aristocrats and the plebeians respectively in Mani). Φαμέγχος < Ital. *familia*, *famiglia*, as has long been known. Νικλᾶνος not < Νύκλιον, as has been assumed, but originally a family name, < Νίκλος, a name which appears repeatedly among the noblemen of Mani since the 16th Century. The name Νίκλος is also preserved in popular sayings, where it is used proverbially for a "great man". As a family name it has died out, but the derivative Νικλᾶνοι persists as a name for the δυνατοί or εὐγενεῖς. The division of the people into δυνατοί and πένητες (φαμέγχοι) goes back to Byzantine times.

Pp. 104-113. Skutsch, Vom pompejanischen Strassenleben. Some Oscan inscriptions at Pompeii, beginning "*eksuk am-vianud eituns*". Meaning: "*hac via (mensae) argentariae inter turrim XII et portam Sarinam (or the like) ubi praedicat praeco N. N.*".

Pp. 113-116. Vollmer, Zur lat. Konjugation. No evidence in the language itself that forms of *edo* (*est*, *esse*, etc.) ever had *ē*. Probably the *e* was short at least through the Augustan period. Later grammarians prescribe *ē*; perhaps influenced by the false theory of contraction from *\*edit*, etc.

Pp. 117-128. Hatzidakis, Grammatisches und Etymologisches. 1) Nouns in -ιδεύς and -δοῦς; 2) οἱ ἄλλες, τὸ ἄλλας, etc. 3) Accent of dims. in -ίσκος; 4) Mod. Gk. Etymologies.

Pp. 128-132. Buck, Greek Dialect Notes. 1) νέωτα; 2) Delphian ποιῶντι, ποιόντων (analogical, not contract, forms); 3) Thesalian προξενιοῦν (κοινή influence).

Pp. 132-145. Witte, Zur Homerischen Sprache. 1) Zum "poetischen" plural der Griechen. Pl. used for sg. for metrical reasons, and by analogy with associated words used in the plural, as στήθεσσι (cf. φρεσί), and πῆματα for πῆμα (cf. ἄλγεα). 2) Zur Entstehung Homerischer Formeln (by contamination of two formulaic expressions a new one arises).

Pp. 145-240. Sommer, Zur griechischen Prosodie.

1) Die Positionsbildung bei Homer. "Wernicke's Law" says that the 4th foot of a hexameter must not end in a syllable made long by position by the union of a word-final with a following initial consonant. Analysis of all cases; exceptions, S. shows, are cases of very close syntactical connexion between final word in 4th foot and following word (preposition or article + noun,



etc.), such groups being felt in the prosody as practically one word. A few cases where the connexion is less close (*ἄλλον λαόν*, etc.). Sommer finds that Wernicke's rule holds equally well of the third foot, even better of the fifth, and almost as well of the first and second. In connexion with Solmsen's results concerning *F* and double consonants, this leads to the following rule: "Eine prosodische Länge des homerischen Hexameters darf in der Senkung normalerweise nicht mit Hilfe eines folgenden Wortanlantes zustande kommen" (p. 172).—The end of a word is an important point in the hexameter. "Der Auslaut eines Wortes wird nur dann mit dem nächsten Anlaut kombiniert, wenn er diesen nicht an natürlicher Schallfülle übertrifft" (p. 173). Thus final consonants and semi-vowels both "combine" (*not* making position!) with vowels (hence "shortening" of final diphthongs before a vowel, *i* and *u* becoming *i̇* and *u̇*), and final consonants with *F* (hence *κρήγυον* *φείπας*, i. e., *κρήγυο νφείπας*), but never with other cons. This thesis of the relative "tonality" of sounds is brought into relation with the treatment of initial consonant-groups and their effect on a preceding short vowel (pp. 178–192), and with "Wernicke's Law" (192–198).

2) Zur Gestaltung der Thesis im 4ten Fusse des versus heroicus (pp. 198–219). The rule defended by Schulze and others that a trochaic word (or word-group) may replace a spondee (dactyl) in the first foot of the hexameter applies also to the fourth foot. In both cases it is due to a verse-pause (in the latter, to the "bucolic diaeresis").

3) *ὑμιν* und *ἡμιν* (pp. 219–240). The *ι* was originally short; no case in Homer or any non-Attic poetry where it must be long, except the pseudo-Doric or -Aeolic of Aristophanes and the Bucolics. The *τ* was peculiar to Attic and the κοινή; it originated by analogy from *ἡμεῖς*, *ἡμῶν*, *ἡμᾶς*, etc., all with uniform accent and quantity of the final syllable. When enclitic all these forms had recessive accent; but enclisis did not affect the quantity of the vowel. In Classical Attic forms with the original *τ* also persist, beside *τ* (especially in Sophocles). A careful, thorough and convincing study.

Pp. 240–244. Thurneysen, *Italisches*. 1) Die Betonung des Oskischen. Long vowels are written doubled only in the first syllable of a word, which indicates that Oscan words even in historic times accented the first syllable.

2) Umbrisch *poni* (*pune*); in phrase *pune frehtu* = *pollinem frictum*, "baked grain" (used in sacrifice).

Pp. 245–261. Methner, *Dum, dummodo* und *modo*. The first two were in origin genuine temporal clauses, which "die im regierenden Satze ausgesprochene Einwilligung oder Einräumung dadurch einschränken, dass sie die Voraussetzung nennen, unter der jene Einwilligung oder Einräumung gelten soll".



*Modo* differs from *dum* (*dummodo*) only in that it contains no temporal force.

Pp. 261–270. Niedermann, Neue Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der lateinischen Glossen.

Pp. 270–287. Fraenkel, Zur griech. Wortbildung. 1) Zu den Nomina agentis auf -της, postulating several cases of haplology (μετανάστης for \*μεταναστύτης; ὑψι-, ὠκυ- πέτης for \*-περέτης). 2) Eine glosse des Hesychius (παιδικέωρ).

Pp. 288–303. Kretschmer, Remus und Romulus. Oldest (Greek) sources of Rome legend know only one founder, Ῥῶμος or (fem.) Ῥώμη. Ῥῶμος moreover continues to be known even in later Gk. literature, where he is generally one of the twins (taken over from Latin sources); but he takes the place of Lat. *Rēmus*, not *Rōmulus*! The form Ῥέμος only rarely occurs in Gk. K. believes that the Romans took the legend of their own city's foundation from the Greeks, but substituted the name *Rēmus* for Ῥῶμος as founder, so as to suggest ancient family and place names (*Remmius*, *Remnius*, *Remuria*, etc.) known at Rome. Later the name *Rōmulus* was invented, probably with allusion to the *tribus* or *gens Romilia*, so as to approach more closely the name of the city. Both names persisted, and hence the story of the two brothers sprang up. Remus was the senior brother in the original legend; in early sources he is mentioned before Romulus, and Romulus is once called *Altellus* (i. e., \**alter-los*), "the second (brother)". Ingenious and interesting, but to the reviewer's mind not quite convincing.

Pp. 303–322. Skutsch, Lateinische Pronominalflexion. As *quis*, *is* are mixtures of *o*-stems and *i*-stems, so *ille* and *iste* had originally two stems, *illo-* *isto-* and *illi-* *isti-* (wrongly Brugmann Demonstrativpronomina 81 and 96). From stem *illi-* are derived these forms: Nom. *ille* < \**illis* (final -*is* in general may become -*e*, as *sequere* < *sequeris*, *nime* < *nimis*, *mage* < *magis*, *sat(e)* < *satis*).—Gen. *illeis* (*illīs*), required frequently by Plautine prosody for MS *illius*.—Dat. *illei* (*illi*).—Acc. *illim* (adv. *illinc*). From stem *illo-* are derived: Nom. (\**illus*) *ollus*.—Gen. *illi* (old; the later *illius* by analogy with *eius*, *quoius*, cf. Vulg. Lat. *illui* with *cui*). *Eius* and *quoius*, *cuius* are possibly "Neubildungen vom dat. *ejei*, *quojei* [*eī*, *cui*], . . . . Proportion *ejei quojei* : *ejus quojus* = *Venerai* u. s. w. : *Venerus*").—Dat. *illō* (in adv. of direction *illō*, *illōc*, *illūc*, which S. regards as an old dative; so then, of course, also *hōc hūc*, *eō*, *quō*, *istō*).—Acc. *illum*, etc.—Analogously stems *isto-* *isti-*.—The argument is most clever and interesting; the general point that there was a stem *illi-* (*isti-*) seems pretty clear, though some details rest on daring assumptions, as the author admits at times. At least the reviewer agrees with S. (p. 322) that his conjectures have "den



Vorzug der Einfachheit . . . in höherem Grade als die Vermutungen anderer".

Pp. 323-333. Kretschmer, Zur griech. und lat. Wortforschung. 1) ἀλλᾶς "sausage" < ἀλλᾶεις (Herodian), < a Doric noun \*ἀλλᾶ = Italian Ionic (Hesych.) ἄλλην : λάχανον Ἴταλοί. The word was borrowed first into the Greek of South Italy from a Sabellian (hence -λλ- for -li-) dialectic word equivalent to Latin *ālium* (*allium*). 2) Lat. *nubo*. No evidence for supposed original meaning of *nubo* "veil oneself" except the etymological fancy of Aelius Stilo. This guess was suggested by *obnubo*, which however is a late denom. formation from *nubes*. *Nubo* is related to νύμφη and OSlav. *snubiti* "woo". 3) *Dies* als femininum. So used when = *tempus*; gender perhaps due to *tempestas*, fem., which originally had the same meanings.

Pp. 333-339. Schmalz, *Si tamen*. Comes to equal *si quidem*. In classical language poetic (*metri gratia*?).

Pp. 340-348. Kretschmer, Der Plan eines Thesaurus der griechischen Sprache. The present state of the question; difficulties and problems.

P. 348. Skutsch, *Armentum*. For \**arāmentum* (*arāre*); shortening by iambic law, then syncope; cf. *calfacio* < *calēfacio* < *calēfacio* (*calens facio*).

Pp. 349-416. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1907; Greek by Kretschmer; Italic incl. Latin by Skutsch.

Pp. 417-432. Word indices and Index of Passages to the volume, by Kurt Witte.

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## BRIEF MENTION.

When I survey the mass of unmarketable manuscript that accumulates during the course of my studies in the by-ways and blind alleys of philology, that smooth-faced gentleman, Tickling Commodity, whispers to me at times, 'Why not saw all that lumber into lengths for *Brief Mention*?' and perhaps some of my readers think that I yield too often to the temptation, and that instead of writing noncommittal summaries of current publications, for which *Brief Mention* was designed, I have abused my editorial privilege and made this section of the Journal a place of deposit for my own lucubrations—philological and other. And yet, who knows what allurements of the Evil One I have resisted? Of my lecture on Chantecler only a pinch of sawdust here and there has escaped into *Brief Mention* (A. J. P. XXXII 367); and yet I have had ample excuse. There, f. i., is the attitude of Aristophanes towards nature, a subject involved in the study of Rostand's achievement, which has already become a classic, and, being a classic, is with the classics already laid on the shelf. There is the different extent of the spheres of comic effect in the two poets, the range of allegory, the range of symbolism, the sincerity of the lyric, the typicality of the characters, as f. i., the character of the Greek professor, Pivert (Πῖ vert), which calls for a vindication of the guild. There is the alliance of Chantecler and Patou, which goes back to the mysteries of Mithras, to say nothing of the hero himself, still 'a bird of good omen', says Mr. Horton, whose 'cheery matutinal chant is supposed <by the Greeks of to-day> to exorcise the malignant spirits that lurk about hallways o' dark nights'. (*In Argolis*, p. 5.)

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Another such side-study of which one or two scraps have found their way into the last *Brief Mention* is the comparison of the Greek text of Mr. MACKAIL'S Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology with his English version of the same. Translation is an unending theme, and I could fill many pages of the Journal with comments that might be justified at a pinch as contributions to the closer study of Greek. There is the chapter of flowers—their identification, their symbolism; the chapter of synonyms—Greek and English—for which the MACKAIL book offers many suggestions; the significance of the genders—not purely grammatical genders in poetry; the rôle of the sea; the difference between the Greek aura and that of its English translation; the meaning and the distribution of compounds; the subtleties of cases and prepositions; the structure of the elegiac distich;



the mechanical pressure of quantity, which often crushes out the sharpest synonyms; the order of words, so different according to Wilamowitz in Greek and Latin elegiacs. Some of these things I might have smuggled into *Brief Mention*, and I am even now tempted to call attention to the fact, which I have never seen emphasized, that in the so-called model distich commonly credited to Schiller, though Wilamowitz claims it for Schlegel,<sup>1</sup>

Im Hexameter steigt des Springquells flüssige Sättele,  
Im Pentameter drauf fällt sie melodisch herab,

the poet has constructed an hexameter on lines that are so unpopular in Greek that in 695 hexameters of the Theognidea there is only one spondee in the bucolic diaeresis. In the MACKAIL selection the most conspicuous example is A. P. VI 336, which is readily explained by emotion. It is true that the spondee in the fourth place is common enough in Latin, but an hexameter that is to be a model should follow the Greek standard; and it is interesting to note that in the 'faultless distich' of 'der romantische Oedipus', Platen has built both hexameter and pentameter on Greek lines, the third trochee caesura in the one, the polysyllabic ending in the other:

Möge die Welt durchschweifen der herrliche Dulder Odysseus  
Kehrt er zurück, weh' euch, wehe dem Freiergeschlecht.

These breaks are all important for the effect of the hexameter. One can hardly bring oneself to believe that Bernard of Cluny's verse is an hexameter:

Hora novissima, tempora pessima, nunc vigilemus,

and the loss of the hexametrical feeling may be illustrated by the following rhymed distich:

Weary of goddesses' kisses, outspake the Endurer Ulysses:  
Grant me, Circe, surcease; grant me, Calypso, release.

But I shall be suspected of abusing the rhetorical figure *παράλειψις* of which Grumio showed himself such a master in the Taming of the Shrew.

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Caesura and diaeresis are indeed important questions in this whole matter of translating into the metres of the original—a subject which takes up more than two-thirds of LUDWIG BELLER-MANN'S Preface to his *Translation of the Aias of Sophokles* (Weidmann). Sixteen pages are consecrated to the play itself, a vindication, if vindication were needed, of the dramaturgy of that wonderful piece, thirty-four to the metrical form of translation, in which the author stands up stoutly for holding to the trimeter as the appropriate measure for the dialogue. The danger

<sup>1</sup> Kultur der Gegenwart, S. 141.



of the break in the middle, which changes the trimeter into the Alexandrine, he recognizes—as who would not? But he emphasizes the fact that this very break is after all not such a rarity in Greek verse. Indeed it is much less a rarity than is commonly recognized, and if the sense bridges the gap, the break is not felt. It is the triple break, the χαῖρ' & Χάρων break, that is to be sedulously avoided in serious poetry. In a monosyllabic language like the English the difficulty is greatly enhanced, and whereas BELLERMANN emphasizes the trouble a German encounters in keeping the translation within the bounds of the verse, the translator into English finds himself forced to pad at every line (A. J. P. XXX 364). If it were worth the space, I might illustrate this by comparing my own version of the famous monologue with BELLERMANN'S, but I forbear, as I forbear to express an opinion on the merits of the new rendering. No familiarity with a language will make up for the lack of the native feeling, and when I say that I have read long stretches unjarred, that is no real commendation, and when I say that I cannot reconcile myself to such a verse as 'Und nun, ihr ewig jungfräulichen Göttinnen', that is no censure worth considering. The introductory matter will be read by all students of the art of translation with pleasure and profit, and I admire the spirit of detachment which enabled the author to quote the words of Wilhelm von Humboldt to the effect that translations are but transitory things, and serve chiefly as documents of the language for the time being—'Der wahre <Geist> ruht allein in der Urschrift'.

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I could find it in my heart to linger long over the *Aias*, a favorite of mine from my early student days, when everything was a revelation, when ἐφριξ' ἔρωτι, περιχαρὴς δ' ἀνεπτόμαν might have figured on every page of my diary. In the same package with BELLERMANN'S *Aias* came two other Weidmann books, and with them other memories of the distant past. HEINRICH OTTE'S tractate, in which he asks the question, 'Kennt Aristoteles die sogenannte Katharsis?', calls up the image of Bernays (A. J. P. XXIX 114) and I take down the old 'heft' on the Poetics of Aristotle, in which is recorded the doctrine, which has been the centre of controversy ever since. OTTE impugns it as so many have done. In the famous passage, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν, he would have us read πραγμάτων for παθημάτων, and if we must keep παθημάτων, still the κάθαρσις deals not with the feelings of the spectator but with the character of the actors, and he renders the whole: 'Die Tragödie ist diejenige künstlerische Gestaltung einer ernsten u. abgeschlossenen Handlung, welche durch Mitleid und Furcht die Reinigung solcher Geschehnisse (oder leidvollen Vorgänge) zustande bringt'. The poet must not 'purge' the beholder, but remodel the myth so as to bring out clearly the fundamental principle of tragedy, which



is the representation of actions that stir pity and fear. OTTE is jubilant over his discovery, but between me and OTTE's book rises the shade of the young privat-docent—he was only twenty-eight—with his sensitive countenance, his half-closed eyes, his half-kindly, half-mocking smile, as he corrected the crude views of his boyish hearer; and I pass on to the third of the books, which was bound up in the same bundle and which evoked memories of the same period of my life. In HERRMANN'S *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des xv. u. xvi. Jahrhunderts*, WALTHER JANELL (A. J. P. XXII 348) has edited *Nicodemus Frischlinus, Julius Redivivus*, with introductions by WALTHER HAUFF, on Frischlin as a man; GUSTAV ROETH, on Frischlin as a dramatist; WALTHER JANELL, on Frischlin as a philologist. In 1856 David Strauss's *Life of Frischlin* fell into my hands, and I was so much fascinated by the narrative that I made it the theme of an article in one of the religious quarterlies of the day. The trivial fact that the editor declined to pay me the stipulated honorarium because I no longer needed the money, made a deep impression on my mind, but, if there was no pecuniary reward, I have had occasion from time to time to air my Frischliniana in the *Journal* (e. g. VIII 253); and I have had great pleasure at this late day in renewing my acquaintance with the story of the ill-starred poet and scholar who has come to his rights in the attractive volume which tells the tragi-comic tale of the strange *farceur* of Tübingen and helps to keep green the memory of the erratic genius, who was long known to students of the classics chiefly as the author of a translation of some of the plays of Aristophanes—a translation which few take the trouble to consult, and which is slightly mentioned by Aristophanic specialists. It is one of the ironies of fate, as I have noted elsewhere (A. J. P. XXIX 500) that in Sir John Sandys's *History of Classical Scholarship* the name of Frischlin is saved alive by that of his arch-enemy, Martin Crusius, who hounded him to his death and hounded him after death. A sordid life was his, but it mirrored his environment better than a loftier one would have done. He accomplished nothing great, says HAUFF, but there was a Latin grammar to his credit far in advance of his time, his comedies are still worth reading, and if his humor was broad, his wit was keen. 'Bossierig in convivio' he was, as even his enemies had to admit, and some of his jests, struck out in the lively discussion of the lecture-room, are fresh to-day. The wealth of wit and wisdom, of eloquence and poetry, stored in the treasury of the Neo-Latin literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at one time too much neglected, is now sedulously explored; and the hold of Latin studies has been strengthened thereby to the greater glory of the language and the literature of antiquity. The mass is too great to be made accessible by translation and the value too great to be passed by with indifference.



Of Frischlin's comedies the one that has been selected for revivification is the *Julius Redivivus*, a glorification of Germany which enjoyed great popularity in its day, and suggested similar performances in the following century. In this play Caesar is represented as brought again from the dead by Mercury, the Guide of Souls, to revisit Germany—how changed from what it was in the olden times! On this visit Caesar is accompanied by Cicero, with whom he had made friends at the bidding of Pluto—not without some reserves, as appears here and there in the dialogue. The scene is laid in Strassburg, the glory of German cities, and Caesar and Cicero join in admiration of the famous clock of the minster. Caesar, of course, is especially interested in the changes that have taken place in the art of war, and is enlightened as to guns and gunpowder by Hermann, a descendant of Arminius of old. According to Frischlin's wont, the *Commentarii* are freely drawn on, and Caesar's prose turned wherever possible into verse. Cicero on the other hand is inducted into the state of the humanities in Germany by the famous poet, Eobanus Hessus, and profits so much by his short stay that he is able to pronounce judgment on the merits of the leading German scholars and poets of the sixteenth century. Some of the names are familiar enough, such as Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Camerarius. Some of them have faded out and convey no more image to the modern scholar than the members of the 'Geisboltzheimaea propago', celebrated in one of Frischlin's occasional poems. Eobanus, however, gets something more from Cicero than this list of literary judgments, and while he explains to the orator the mysteries of paper-making and printing, he is instructed as to the lost art of making papyrus. The low comedy is furnished by a Savoyard pedlar, who represents France, and by a Milanese chimney-sweep who represents Italy, much to the enhancement of Germany's glory as a home of the Muses. By the way, the figure of the Savoyard may have been suggested by an incident which is thus related after Strauss in the article to which I have referred. On one occasion Frischlin proposed the thesis "*Mundus dumtaxat unus est*". A stupid young Savoyard who was on the opposite side adduced the passage from Luke xvi 17, which runs in the Vulgate "*Nonne decem mundi facti sunt?*" Frischlin kept his countenance and replied gravely, "But do we not read in the same Scripture, '*Ubi autem sunt novem?*'" The Savoyard ran out of the hall which rang again with the laughter of the students. The comedy is, as I have said, a glorification of Germany, but it is not all glorification. The old German character is in danger of being undermined by the introduction of foreign gewgaws, and the peril of drink is emphasized, a subject about which Frischlin was competent to bear testimony. 'Fregit' he sings elsewhere addressing the Brunswickers '*vires Mummia vestra meas*'. The *Julius Redivivus* is a curious document, but one is somewhat relieved when Pluto puts an end to the show.



Like the strains of music, which floated out from the deck of the foundering Titanic, come the notes of the *Aristoxenian Theory of Musical Rhythm* by C. F. ABDY WILLIAMS, the musical composer, whose setting of Sophoklean choruses did so much to make the famous Bradfield performances successful (Cambridge, At the University Press: New York, G. B. Putnam's Sons). The reactionist metrists have had it all their own way for some years, so that to me the chapter on Pindar's Melody is 'like a fair dream, too fair to come to pass, and yet it has come to pass', if I may be allowed to quote my own remark on O. 6, 4. The enoplios is discussed by Mr. WILLIAMS, but not the antispast; and epitrite and logaoedic flourish amain. There is a chapter on *ethos*, *ethos* of the quintuple rhythm, more properly called sescuple, *ethos* of the logaoedic, *ethos* of the glyconic, which according to Wilamowitz has no character at all (A. J. P. XVI 394); and when Mr. WILLIAMS tells us that Schmidt's metrical arrangement (cf. P. 1, 2) corresponds with the musical barring of Gevaert (p. 76), and that in 'the eighth Pythian ode the logaoedic rhythm is suitable for dealing with the energetic character of a wrestler' (p. 114), I am tempted to say 'redeunt Saturnia regna' or rather  $\lambda\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \text{Ze}\ddot{\upsilon}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\phi\theta\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \text{T}\iota\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\varsigma$ . How far all this harmonizes with ithyphallic and enopliac, how far it harmonizes with the doctrines of the  $\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\nu\tau\alpha\iota$  Schroeder, as translated by Professor SHOREY in the last number of *Classical Philology*, this is not the place to inquire. Nor is it the place to inquire how far these theories affect the practical recitation of Pindar, which seems to demand a kind of chant. 'Even now', says Mr. Murray in his Ariel, not to say airy, way, 'even now, though every wreck of the music is lost, one feels that <Pindar's> words need singing to make them intelligible'. Of course, I cannot go so far as that, and, needless to say, I am not one of the many lovers of Pindar who 'agree that the things that stay in one's mind stay not as thoughts, but as music', but in common with all who care for Greek lyric poetry I am grateful to those who, like Mr. WILLIAMS, help us to some appreciation of the music. The melody is lost, but the modern reproduction that follows Aristoxenian rhythm is perhaps as near to the original as certain translations that have passed through the refracting medium of poetical interpreters. In the matter of metre, as in the matter of translation, 'naufragium sibi quisque facit', to continue in the same sphere of imagery as that with which I began this *Brief Mention*—a sphere of imagery out of which it seems impossible to emerge at the time that I am writing.

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The reaction in metrical theory to which I have just referred, the return to the ancient authorities, which became pronounced shortly after I had committed myself hopelessly to the Westphal-Rossbach-Schmidt system, has not affected my spirits any more



than has the demolition of the Hegelian triads (A. J. P. XXXIII 106). It has, it is true, made it impossible for me to complete my edition of Pindar (A. J. P. XXXI 126), but I croon the odes to myself, and ask myself whether after all there is so vast a difference in the actual recitation. I was little more than a boy when I entered the lecture-room of Johannes Franz in the University of Berlin, and heard him read the first chorus of the Septem. Franz was, I presume, a Dindorfian in the matter of metres; but I had never heard dochmiacs, in fact any Greek lyric poetry, read rhythmically before, and the verses have haunted me ever since. An impressionable youth, I was captivated by the study, and when I migrated to Göttingen, I followed and enjoyed the lectures of that unique scholar, Von Leutsch. Never do I open the well-thumbed and plentifully annotated 'Grundriss' without a joyous vision of that rare man, never without recalling his quaint ways and the stories that were current about him, never without hearing him say: Der Vers wird, der Vers wird, sofort, sofort, üppig, üppig. In after days my own pupils were to pay me back in wonderment, and amused themselves with caricaturing my recitation of the choruses in the Antigone. But I persevered, and long before I became a convert to Schmidt I fashioned a number of translations of Greek choruses in the 'metres of the original' (cf. A. J. P. XXX 353); and sometimes I ask myself how these translations respond to the different theories.

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And this reminds me that I have had on my table for some months a treatise by Professor E. CÉZARD of Beaune, a name to conjure with, entitled *Métrique Sacrée des Grecs et des Romains* (Paris, E. Klincksieck). In the preface, M. CÉZARD tells us that the ancients possessed two sorts of metric—one teaching error, and composed with the full intention of concealing the knowledge of the rhythms. The other was meant for the truth, but it was kept secret and sacred. It was revealed only at the mysteries of Demeter, and was reserved for the poets and the initiated. *θύρας ἐπιθεσθε βέβηλοι*. This true metric M. CÉZARD thinks that he has rediscovered. I cannot undertake to discuss his system, but it will be a comfort to conservative metricians to know that all the feet are there, from pyrrhic to molossus, and that M. CÉZARD does not break rudely with the past. Triseme is there  $\sqcup$  and pentaseme  $\sqcup\sqcup$ , and to these accepted notations he has added symbols of his own. There is a chapter on the Anapaestic Versification, one on the Iambic Versification, a third on the Logaoedic, a fourth on the Dochmiac. The fifth chapter, which concerns me more nearly, he devotes to Pindar, and gives us the scansion of all the odes according to his system, in the order, Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian.



No Pindaric specialist could be more enthusiastic about Pindar and his metres than is M. CÉZARD. Pindar's metric repose, he says, upon principles of unshakable solidity. His Jachin and Boaz are Dimeter and Variety; and he follows the laws of versification, rediscovered by M. CÉZARD, with meticulous care. Pindar's periods have the same number of syllables; the syllables have the same quantity. The caesurae are almost always in the same place. Substitutes are extremely rare, although M. CÉZARD does not go the whole way with the author of *ANTI MIAΣ* (A. J. P. XXXI 115). Scanned as M. CÉZARD would have us scan them, Pindar's odes are models of beauty (*de toute beauté*). There exist, he says, few musical phrases so majestic as that which is formed by the last three verses of I. 5. I quite agree with him, for they are the Doric epitrites of the school which is now under the ban. Perhaps I shall be pardoned for giving the text and M. CÉZARD's scansion. There is no room for more. Vv. 23-25 run according to M. CÉZARD and Boeckh thus:

- 23 καὶ πέραν Νεῖλοιο παγᾶν καὶ δι' Ὑπερβορέους  
 24 οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτω βάρβαρος οὔτε παλίγγλωστος πόλις,  
 25 ἅτις οὐ Πηλείος αἶει κλέος ἦρωος, εὐδαίμονος γαμβροῦ θεῶν.

To me the verses seem to read themselves, if recited slowly. V. 25 might give the reader pause. Πηλείος must be read as a dissyllable, and I should prefer to hold the first syllable of ἦρωος, the first syllable of εὐδαίμονος. Others might favour Schroeder's way, which is clear enough, ἅτις οὐ Πηλείος αἶει κλέος ἦ-ρωος εὐδαίμονος γαμβροῦ θεῶν. Now here is the way these simple verses appear in M. CÉZARD's analysis: v. 23 3 trtd, 2 ptar; v. 24 2 iatd, 2 ptar, 2 spdoc; v. 25 1 cr 2 paré, 2 doc 1, 2 spdoc. These cabalistic signs mean: v. 23 trimètre tr(ochaique) t(rès) d(ense), dimètre p(eti)t ar(chiloquien); v. 24 dimètre ia(mbique) t(rès) d(ense), dimètre p(eti)t ar(chiloquien), dimètre sp(ondaïque) doc(hmiaque); v. 25 1 cr(étique) dimètre paré(miaque), dimètre doc(hmiaque) (forme)1, dimètre sp(ondaïque) doc(hmiaque). Doubtless these sigla—there are scores of them—will seem very simple when the system is once fairly mastered, but I leave the mastery to my juniors—that is, to nearly all the world of scholars. Nor will I discuss the cryptic doctrine of numbers, which M. CÉZARD has brought to light, simply noting that he has counted the bars of the 44 Pindaric odes and divided the odes accordingly into three classes. There are nine in which the bars are multiples of ten, with a sport which is a multiple of 15 viz. 75. These nine are called decimal odes. Seventeen are astronomical, seventeen are 'numeral', 66, 77, 88, 99, 111. All these numbers were intentional, and offered a double advantage. They brought to the person for whom the ode was composed the protection of certain mysterious powers, and served poets and musicians as clues, as *points de repère*—a French phrase which Matthew Arnold admired



and used—which should enable them to restore the true scansion ; and of these *points de repère* M. CÉZARD has availed himself in this work, which is a miracle of painstaking study such as unfortunately seldom finds its reward in painstaking students.

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In his edition of *Isocrates' Cyprian Orations*, viz. *Evagoras*, *ad Nicoclem* and *Nicocles* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press) Mr. FORSTER has followed the plan which I have so often commended by precept and example, and has 'given no reference to any <of the numerous Greek grammars now in use;> but, where necessary, <has> commented on and illustrated any grammatical points which arise'. Some time ago (A. J. P. XXVI 237) I called attention to some of the Isokratean characteristics that force themselves on the attention of the reader as he glances down the columns of Preuss's Index, and in like manner before reading Mr. FORSTER's notes I ran over the Greek text and asked myself what points would arise in my mind, what points I should emphasize, if I undertook to make use of these three orations as an introduction to the style of Isokrates, quite apart from the rhetorical analysis of the figures of speech, which might be out of place in so elementary a book as Mr. FORSTER's. It seems to me that I should have something to say about the *τε—καί* of the leisurely orator, about the occasional *τε—τε*, about the 'hochselig' business of *ἐκεῖνος* in the *Evagoras*, about the threefold root of the plural of abstracts, distribution, stateliness, chasmophobia. I should mention the fatiguing correlative construction of *ὅστε* in the *Evagoras*, a striking contrast to the behavior of *ὅστε* in the other speeches (A. J. P. VII 171, XIV 240). It is this use of correlatives that gives Isokrates the processional swaying of his style, so well described by the term *κατασκελῆς*, which, as I have maintained (A. J. P. XI 372), has nothing to do with 'dry' or 'thin', but refers to the deliberate 'waddling', 'kuhlatschig' movement of his sentences. I should comment on the frequent use he makes of the 'valuable periphrasis' of *φανήσομαι* (SCG 294), in which he is followed by Cicero with his *videri*. I should note the long roll of the present participle (E. 44), and his admirable use of the participle generally. Nor should I pass by the unbroken gravity of the present imperative in *Evagoras* and *Nicocles*, and the impressive asyndeton, which has more weight in Greek than it can possibly have in asyndetic English. Compare the asyndeton in curses noted by Professor Fox in the recent supplement to the *Journal* (p. 35) and the Pindaric asyndeton in prayers. The position of the article, adjective and substantive, the use of the articular infinitive (A. J. P. VIII 332)—all these things tell on the style. But none of these things have moved Mr. FORSTER to comment. Most of his grammatical notes are trivial, and the grammars which he himself uses can hardly be up



to date. To be sure, if he fails to accept the difference between the downright *iva* and the tentative *ὅπως δὲ* (N. C. 2), he has company in Stahl (A. J. P. XXIX 267); but no schoolboy should be allowed to use *νομίζω δτι* (N. C. 46), even if the construction does occur under circumstances of special temptation (A. J. P. IX 101).

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To borrow Scaliger's figure—itsself borrowed—the sauce with which Casaubon served up Persius was thick enough and slab enough; but every succeeding commentator tried to add something of his own to the mess, until Jahn came, who made the sauce so thick and so slab that there seemed to be no possibility of finding any more 'wrinkled pepper and grains of paling cumin', to lend flavour to the original. However, as I have said elsewhere (A. J. P. XXVII 104), the medley called 'satire' is as varied as the medley called life, and anything that has to do with life can be made to contribute to the illustration of the Roman satirists. Thirty-seven years ago I wrote: 'A critic with M. Taine's resources might account for the <peculiarities> of Persius by the climate of Volaterrae'; and my own words came back to me the other day as I studied D'Annunzio's vivid description of the Inferno of Volterra in his 'Forse che sì, forse che no'. No unfit environment that for the Stoic hardnesses and the youthful ebullitions of the alumnus of Volaterrae; and I could not help thinking of Persius as I read: 'una terra senza dolcezza, un paese di sterilità e di sete, una landa malvagia, un deserto di cenere . . . Soltanto quà e là qualche tamerice assetata e scolorata vi languiva . . . Sul culmine d'un poggio cretoso tre cipressi eran fitti . . . L'acqua simile a una broda viscosa e untuosa bolliva'. Or, if D'Annunzio will not serve the commentator's turn, one might look up parallels to Persius' realisms in Arnold Bennett's novels of the Five Towns. Indeed, every newspaper, every play, will furnish parallels. So, for instance, the perfect match to 'intus palleat', cited in the Journal (l. c.), was taken from the Baltimore Sun, and I have just stumbled on a companion-piece in one of Dumas fils' plays, 'Allez-vous m'apprendre à ne rougir qu'en dedans?'. However, annotations like these would not be considered sufficiently dignified, and in my day I had the vanity to read long stretches of Greek and Latin authors in order to add something to the stores of Casaubon and Jahn; but that day is long past and this new *Persius* by Professor VAN WAGENINGEN (Groningen, Nordhoff), which seems to deserve careful consideration, does not tempt me to more than a *Brief Mention*. In the first section of the Prolegomena Professor VAN WAGENINGEN expresses his dissent from those who believe in a dramatic 'satura', which Professor KNAPP discusses in the current number of the Journal. In the second he treats of Persius' obligations to his predecessors—to Lucilius, to whom,



in his judgment, the young poet was indebted for inspiration rather than for details; to Horace, who according to one investigator can be traced through one-third of the satires. This indebtedness to Horace is, of course, an old story; but the evidence is conveniently presented in the parallel column form, which carries with it the conviction of a double-barrelled gun; and in like manner we are told what Persius owes to Catullus, Vergil, and Ovid. There is a chapter—the third—after Gérard on the language of Persius, vocabulary and syntax, and another on his handling of the hexameter. The fifth section *De Persii Saturae Indole atque Natura*, and the sixth *De Persii Doctrina Stoica*, in which VAN WAGENINGEN has made use of Martha, as I did nearly forty years ago, move along familiar lines. By the way, it may be worth noting that the plebeian language of Persius, of which the third chapter treats, and his Stoic creed are closely connected. The aristocrat by creed, like the aristocrat by birth—and Persius was both—is tempted to shock the refined by using the drastic language of the people. So the Stoic shows his contempt of the petty things of earth by the free use of diminutives, which belong largely to the vulgar sphere. Marcus Aurelius has more diminutives to the square inch than have the comic poets and Seneca, the many-times millionaire, is an authority for the *sermo plebeius*. This is one of the points that VAN WAGENINGEN does not make, and it seems to me worth making. A translation into Belgian Dutch faces the text. To one not over-familiar with Hollandish Dutch the specific charm of the Belgian variety will not be at once apparent. A detailed examination of the commentary, which seems to be up-to-date in its references, is out of the question here. It has the merit of being clear and sharp and concise, though whoever edits Persius must needs expose himself to the original of Scaliger's *μοί, ὀβολοῦ τάριχος, δὺ' ὀβολῶν ἀργύματα*.

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Myself a dealer in *obiter dicta*, I am a sworn foe of other people's happy-go-lucky utterances (A. J. P. XXXI 358) which often have disastrous results. Everybody who knows Greek at all seems to consider himself qualified to pronounce judgments now on this author, now on that, judgments which are naught unless supported by a command of all the subtle variations of syntax and by an intimate knowledge of delicate shades of meaning, such as can be gained only by prolonged and thoughtful study; and even then if sympathy be lacking, everything is lacking. This is the true coin of the spirit, of which we may say, 'Deficiente pecu-, deficit omne nia'. One pernicious affectation is a certain tip-tilted sniffing at great authors whom it is our business to try to understand and not to censure. How much one loses by sniffing, I myself have experienced in the matter of the Greek of the New Testament, as I have humbly con-



fessed (A. J. P. XXX 229); and when in quite another field I think of the handsome vindication of Isokrates by Eduard Meyer, by Pöhlmann, and latterly by Mr. Grundy in his *Thucydides and the History of his Age*, I blush to recall my frivolous gibes at the old man eloquent. And yet this same Mr. Grundy has set afloat a sentence like this about Thukydides (p. 22):

Thucydides' Greek is at best good Thracian, is a remark which I once heard made by a great scholar and a very learned man.

To be sure, Mr. Grundy adds, 'Being neither, I am unable to go the whole way with him', but he evidently goes part of the way with him when he says: 'It is possible that <Thucydides> spent his earlier years in Thrace'; but on p. 51 the 'possibility' appears as a 'probability', and we read:

It is probable that the earliest Greek which he learned was that of the region of Mount Pangaeus. It would be at best something less than pure Attic—a fact which might increase his appreciation of it, but would lessen his power to realize the purest form of the dialect.

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Now, this is the same kind of stuff in which even so skilful a translator as was the late Mr. Dakyns indulged when he paralleled Xenophontean Greek with American English, the same kind of stuff in which another critic indulged when he detected the influence of a residence in Thurii on the language of Lysias (A. J. P. IV 88), faultless language according to Dionysios, a finer judge of *καθαρότης* than most moderns. As for Thukydides' early residence in Thrace, everybody knows, or ought to know, that purity of speech is often most carefully guarded in the presence of temptation. Everything depends on the discipline of the domestic circle; and those who criticize the Greek of Thukydides on the ground of his residence in Thrace are in the same condemnation with those who speak of the negroid English of the good families of the South. The dialectic differences hark back to the old English usage, as Mr. Primer, who held no brief for the South, has set forth at length in this Journal (A. J. P. IX 198 foll.), and the heads of households were made more vigilant by the dangers from without. And a similar discipline in the aristocratic families of Thrace may serve to explain the thing that puzzled Bergk when he expressed his surprise (G. L. G. I 110) at the purity of the Greek language in view of the fact that the nurture and education of the children were so largely entrusted to a lot of slaves, to a lot of Thracians, a race notoriously solecistic.

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'Thucydides' Greek is at best good Thracian' is just one of those phrases that pass easily from mouth to mouth, and recalls the dictum of a French scholar that there is no worse enemy of



the historical sense than a relish for phrase-making, though, to be sure, this sentence itself is a phrase. Many years have passed since Disraeli enlarged on the value of a 'cry' in politics, but long before Disraeli phrases ruled the world. Phrase-making begets phrase-making, and the critics of Thukydides have had Thukydides to teach them. Mr. Grundy's great scholar is a case in point. Some day I hope to make an anthology—yes, I will call it an anthology, for there are queer flowers in the Garland of Meleager—an anthology made up of choice extracts from histories of literature, in which the relish for phrase-making, the desire to be piquant, the 'manie de briller', the ambition to outdo the authors under discussion, have had the admirable result of keeping one lover of literature, who is after a fashion a lover of truth, down to his proper work of constructing syntactical phrases, which, after all, may be so many exemplifications of the fatal fascination against which M. Perrot has warned us (A. J. P. XIV 127). And when I think of the utter emptiness of the sentence in which Herodotos is represented as 'the pious historian of a pious age'; when I think of the sentence in which Justin Martyr is represented as an eloquent writer, I rejoice that I have not committed myself to more false conceptions, to more absurd misstatements, than I have done hitherto. But I am not a fair judge of Thukydides' style just now, for as I write I have just laid down the Seventh Book, which Macaulay—another phrase-maker—calls the 'ne plus ultra of human art'. 'No prose composition', he had just written 'in the world, not even the De Corona, <did he> place so high'. 'Not even the De Corona?' How much of the admiration for the De Corona is factitious, this is not the place to inquire. Why, men have been known to edit the De Corona without pointing out to the student some of the great springs of its effectiveness. Well, Thracian or no Thracian, perhaps because of his Thracian blood, Thukydides sets your nerves quivering, and you lose your critical poise unless you are as cool as was Colonel Mure.

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A trifle old-fashioned may have been the Greek spoken in the house of Oloros, but it was not Thracian; nay, rather than subscribe to the notion that Thukydides' style is due to the imperfect mastery of his instrument, I should accept the doctrine of that pedantic creature, Dionysios, and consider him perversely anti-grammatical. Conscious he was, just as Mr. Pater was conscious; but we cannot expect those who adore the *sine viro* beauty of Pater to appreciate the masculinity of Thukydides. But what of the puerile ornamentation of which Dionysios speaks? What of the Gorgianic, or, if you choose, Gorgiassic, jingles in which he indulges? There were Gorgiassic jingles before Gorgias, and a study of paronomasia in its wider ranges might check the



modern critic. The ancient critic is not expected to have so large a vision. Strong natures and strong situations generate plays on words. Samson could hardly have learned from Gorgias, nor could the Hebrew prophets—no weaklings they. Who will not recall Aias and Kassandra in their hour of doom, and *ελένας* Helen? If there is a strong man in Thukydides, it is Hermokrates, and he is a Sicilian to boot, *κομψὸς Σικελὸς ἀνὴρ*, and in his double capacity he is welcome to the *κατοικίσαι* and *ἐξοικίσαι* (7, 76, 1) to which Dennis of the Seahorn objects so vehemently. For my part I try to learn Greek from my Thracian, and when there is question as to the significance of the particles—those little things that De Quincey disposed of on the simple theory that they were all expletives—I watch Thukydides. If there is too much *λόγῳ* and *ἔργῳ*, I say to myself, *λόγῳ* and *ἔργῳ* are *μέν* and *δέ* writ large, and his rarities are as instructive as his iterations. The commentators note the fact that he uses *τοί* uncombined but thrice. What is *τοί*? It is more commonly considered a dephlogisticated second person. The theory of a vague demonstrative does not find so much favour now as it did when two scholars, who adorned two different hemispheres, waxed so enthusiastic about the demonstrative theory that they cited Pindar's *ξύνης δ' τοί λέγω* as an example of the particle in combination with the present indicative. *τοί* is an appeal for human sympathy, as *που* is a resigned submission to the merciless *rerum natura* (A. J. P. XXX 14)—submission to the *ἀνάγκη* of life, the *ἀνάγκη* of death—as in the famous Kallimachean lines: *ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν που, | ξείν' Ἀλικαρνησεῦ, τετράπαλαι σποδισή.* With the negative the resignation becomes a protest, as in the still more famous utterance of Zeus Kronion: *οὐ μὲν γάρ τί πού ἐστιν οἰζυρώτερον ἀνδρὸς | πάντων, ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἐπι πνείει τε καὶ ἔρπει.* The positive implies a 'must' (A. J. P. XXXIII 112). The negative a 'can't'. The half-question *οὐ τί που* denotes bewilderment, rebellion (Pind. P., 4, 87). Very different is *τοί*. *τοί* has been happily called the 'confidential' particle (Starkie, Ar. Vesp. 1192), and I never see the doubly confidential *τοίνυν*, which is such a favorite with Lysias, without recalling Col. Sellers in the 'Gilded Age', and his cajoling address to the jury. Now turn to the three *τοί*'s in Thukydides. One is in Perikles' funeral oration (2, 41, 2), which is an appeal to the pride of the Athenians; one in Kleon's harangue against the Lesbians, which is an appeal to the passions of the Athenians (3, 40, 4); and one in Nikias' final speech to his soldiers which is an appeal to their sympathies (7, 77, 2). A quiver in the face of Thukydides is always worth noticing.

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Walter Bagehot is credited with the climax: Lies, damned lies, statistics (A. J. P. X 471, 480, XIII 123, XXXIII 113); and if in my grammatical studies I have made large use of



statistics, I have done so in order to reduce the margin of impressionistic syntax, which is responsible for many of our rules. Impressions are valuable for originating research, but they must be controlled by actual count. Many years ago I hit upon the formula,  $\alpha\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\iota + \text{aor. inf.} = \mu\eta + \text{aor. subj.}, \delta\epsilon\iota\ \mu\eta + \text{pr. inf.} = \mu\eta + \text{pr. impv.}$  Comp. my note on Pindar O. 9, 40. Long afterwards one of my students undertook to verify it in the orators, and brought me his results. The formula seemed to need stretching. The same hasty generalization goes on everywhere. The other day I read a paragraph copied from the London Standard, in which the writer maintained the thesis: Good musicians die young. 'Painting and sculpture are conducive to long life. Yet music kills men young'. And then he went on to cite Schubert, Mozart, Bellini, Bizet, Purcell, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Weber, Schumann. Of course, he had the grace to admit that Verdi lived to a good old age; but I was not satisfied with that concession, and at random jotted down the names of ten famous composers—Haydn, Rossini, Liszt, Händel, Meyerbeer, Wagner, Berlioz, Bach, Brahms, Beethoven. The average result was 69.7. If I had added Verdi to the list, the average would have gone soaring above the accepted limit. The ashes of statistics are deceitful, I know, but they have their use.

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It will be remembered that Henri Estienne was very indignant at Scapula's abridgment of the Thesaurus, and proceeded to furnish his great work with a new title-page which bore on its face the epigram:

Quidam ἐπιτέμνων me capulo tenuis abdidit ensem;  
Aeger eram a scapulis, sanus at huc redeo.

On the part of the readers, however, there is nothing but gratitude for well-made epitomes; and thousands and thousands—among them the Editor of this Journal—have called the FOWLERS blessed for the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, based on the Philological Society's great thesaurus. It is a marvel for workmanship and cheapness, an indispensable companion to every busy scholar. A rather late acknowledgment, I grant, but I have purposely postponed the expression of my thanks until I had tested the value of the book, especially in the domain of English slang. It has seldom failed me, and it would perhaps be expecting too much to demand that Japaneseries like *netsuké* should be registered in an English dictionary. Another call for gratitude is the Teubner prospectus of an abridgment of the great *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, by Professor VOLLMER and his associates, which will bring within easy reach the main results of the vast collections that have been making for all these years, and will keep pace with the procession of the Thesaurus itself. The American agents, Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, have made the terms of subscription known in the advertising pages of the Journal.



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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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## I.—A HINDU BOOK OF TALES: THE VIKRAMA-CARITA.

This paper is intended partly to serve as a provisional preface to a work which the writer hopes to publish in time, and which will comprise critical editions of the Vikramacarita in all important Sanskrit versions, with accompanying translations and complete commentaries. The writer's intention is to treat as fully and thoroughly as in him lies all the problems that come up in connection with this story-collection,—whether literary, historical or philological in the narrow sense. Not the least interesting or important chapter, I hope, will be the part dealing with later developments of these stories, or of congeneric themes, both in and out of India. The present paper may be regarded, then, as the first part of an introduction to this work. Its aim is to tell briefly what the Vikramacarita is, what place it holds in Hindu literature, what literary, esthetic and moral ideas are dominant in it; furthermore, to give some idea of the original sources on which we are dependent for our knowledge of the work,—the manuscripts, in short,—with especial reference to the different versions which they represent, and the differences between those versions. These differences are very great; they generally amount, in fact, to a complete writing over of the whole work. To describe this matter in detail would require a book rather than an article. I hope to publish such a description some time, but for the present must largely deal in generalities. Furthermore, as to the manuscripts themselves: it would seem mere pedantry to attempt to describe them individually in a scientific way in this article. For such descriptions are of scant



value to the scholar unless accompanied by the actual texts of the manuscripts; and to the non-specialist they would be of no interest anyway. We shall therefore only speak of individual manuscripts occasionally, when one or another of them presents some peculiar feature which is interesting or important in relation to the topic under discussion at the time.

Few story-collections have enjoyed more popularity in India than the *Vikramacarita*.<sup>1</sup> It has come down to us in a number of Sanskrit versions: it is known to have been worked over into several of the modern vernaculars of India, and has been printed in at least three of them,—Hindi, Bengali and Tamil: it was translated into Persian by order of the Emperor Akbar in 1574: and it wandered northward, presumably by way of Tibet, into Mongolian territory, where it is found in a Buddhist form under the name of the Arji-Borji Chan stories. In spite of all this it has been comparatively neglected by Europeans. No European has ever attempted an edition of any Sanskrit version, nor has any Sanskrit version been translated into any European language. Translations have been made into German, French or English of the Persian version,<sup>2</sup> of one Mongolian version,<sup>3</sup> and of one or two Modern Indian versions. But these all differ considerably from the Sanskrit. Some of them—especially the Mongolian—are scarcely to be recognized as the same work. Of the Sanskrit original there are only three or four Hindu editions, most of them now out of print and seemingly difficult of access (I have so far seen only one<sup>4</sup>): they are moreover, I believe, all of one Sanskrit recension, the Southern, which differs materially from the Northern versions.

Most of the current statements about the work are based on the late Prof. Weber's long monograph, "*Ueber die Sinhāsanadvātriṅcikā*", published in the 15th vol. of his *Indische Studien*, Leipzig 1878. This article of nearly 300 pages is indeed at present practically the only printed source of reliable information about the work. Weber gives a detailed account of the

<sup>1</sup> "*Adventures of Vikrama*" is an approximate rendering of the word.

<sup>2</sup> Lescallier, "*Le trône enchanté*", New York, 1817.

<sup>3</sup> Jülg, Ardschi Bordschi Chan, in "*Mongolische Märchen*", Innsbruck, 1868. According to Jülg (p. xiii) there exists in MS an unpublished and very different offspring of the same original, in Mongolian.

<sup>4</sup> Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1881. Another appeared at Madras in 1907, but I have not been able to secure a copy.



Jainistic recension, with copious extracts from the original Sanskrit. His work appears to have been hastily done, and is not too accurate in detail. And his view of the relationship of the different versions was, as we shall see, vitiated by certain erroneous postulates. Nevertheless as a *bahnbrechende Arbeit* his work has considerably lightened my labors, and it would be ungrateful not to acknowledge my great indebtedness to it.

The alternate title of the work, *Sinhāsanadvātriṅcakā*, means "Thirty-two Throne Stories". The throne referred to is a marvellous throne supposed to have belonged originally to the god Indra, and to have been presented by him to the famous Vikrama (also called Vikramāditya or Vikramārka).<sup>1</sup> This personage was according to Hindu tradition a king of Mālava (Malwa) who ruled over an extensive part of India, and who founded an era, the so-called Vikrama era (beginning 57 B. C.), which is one of the best-known Indian eras of time-reckoning. In this paper we shall not discuss the complicated question as to what historic basis there may be for the figure of Vikrama. Certainly most of the things told of him are legends pure and simple. The important thing for our present purpose is that he has become a sort of King Arthur of India, who serves as a type of a noble and righteous emperor. The stories of our collection, which tell of the alleged deeds of Vikrama, are represented as told by thirty-two statues (*puttalikā*)<sup>2</sup> on the divine throne to a much later king of Mālava called Bhoja. Bhoja is with much plausibility identified with Bhoja Paramāra of Dhārā (1010-1053 A. D.). Weber conjectured that our work may actually have been composed at the court of this Bhoja and in his honor: and the suggestion seems by no means improbable, though it would be hard to prove it.

We know nothing as to the authorship of the work. The manuscripts name various personages, some manifestly impossible, and none at all probable. All we can assume as likely is that in some cases the names of the *redactors* of one or another recension are correctly reported by the manuscripts of the particular recension. Thus the Bengal recension is persistently

<sup>1</sup> The two latter forms are compounds, both meaning "Sun of Valor": the form Vikrama is simply a shortened form of the name. The three forms are used quite interchangeably in all texts.

<sup>2</sup> Whence the work is also called *Dvātriṅcatputtalikā*, or "Thirty-two Statue Stories"; so in Jivānanda's edition.



attributed to a Vararuci, and the Jainistic version to a Kṣemaṁkara Muni, of whom we know nothing else. But these names occur only in the colophons to manuscripts of a single version each, and there is no reason for attributing to either of them the authorship of the original work.<sup>1</sup> Of equally little weight for the work as a whole seems to me the statement also found in Jainistic manuscripts that the work was translated from the Mahārāṣṭri Prakrit into Sanskrit. Possibly the Jainistic version was really a back-rendering from a Prakrit version, now lost : or possibly the tradition is a pure fiction suggested by the fact that certain other well-known story-collections, as the Kathāsaritsāgara and other offshoots of the Brhatkathā, were reported to have been based on Prakrit originals. At any rate the question concerns only the Jainistic and dependent versions, not the work as a whole : for the tradition of the Prakrit origin is found only in MSS. of this class. It may be said that the Jainistic version is sufficiently different from the orthodox versions to make it quite likely that there was some such intermediate stage between them.

As to the date of the composition, the likely identification of our Bhoja with Bhoja Paramāra would place it not earlier than the 11th century. There is no internal evidence which in any way makes this unlikely. Quite a number of Sanskrit literary works are alluded to, but most of them considerably antedate this period.<sup>2</sup>

Before going further we shall summarize briefly the story of the book.<sup>3</sup>

#### OUTLINE OF THE STORY.

(*Introduction*). The goddess Parvatī asks her consort Śiva to narrate some interesting and edifying tale : and the god agrees to tell of the noble deeds of Vikrama.

<sup>1</sup> Weber was misled by his MSS. S and C, which as I shall show below, though not at bottom Jainistic, borrowed their conclusions from a Jainistic source, into thinking that the name of Kṣemaṁkara Muni occurred in other than Jainistic manuscripts. See p. 264 f.

<sup>2</sup> The Vetālapañcaviṁśati must have been known to the author (see p. 254). Somadeva's work, which was perhaps nearly contemporary, is not referred to : neither is Kṣemendra's. Weber's tentative suggestion that the Jainistic version's " Kṣemaṁkara Muni " may be the same as Kṣemendra seems to me scarcely worth recording.

<sup>3</sup> The following outline follows in general the Southern recension.



(*Frame Story*). In the city of Ujjayinī<sup>1</sup> there once lived a king named Bhartr̥hari. His chief queen, Anaṅgasenā by name, was very beautiful, and the king was deeply in love with her.

Now there was at that time in the city a certain very poor Brahmin, who by long devotions won the favor of the goddess Durgā. She appeared to him and offered him a wish, and he asked for exemption from old age and death. The goddess then gave him a fruit, and told him that upon eating it he should become ageless and immortal. But afterwards the Brahmin regretted his choice: for, he reflected, he could only be consigned to an eternity of poverty. So it occurred to him that he could do no better service to mankind as well as to himself than by giving the fruit to the king: for the king was noble and generous as well as rich, and would be sure to do much good to humanity if he were ageless and immortal. The Brahmin therefore took the fruit and gave it to Bhartr̥hari.

But the king reflected that if he should become immortal himself, he must outlive Anaṅgasenā: and being so deeply in love with her, he could not endure the thought. So instead of eating the fruit he gave it to the queen.

But it happened that Anaṅgasenā had an intrigue with one of the servants of the royal household; and she preferred to give the fruit to her lover. In the same way it passed through several other hands, and finally was brought again to the king. When he recognized it Bhartr̥hari summoned his consort, and swearing a great oath forced her to confess. When he had traced the whole history of the fruit, the good king was so overcome with sorrow and disgust at the faithlessness of human beings in general and women in particular that he lost all interest in worldly affairs and determined to become a forest ascetic. So he abdicated his kingdom, and his brother Vikrama reigned in his stead.<sup>2</sup>

King Vikrama soon showed himself to be a noble and mighty ruler. He reduced the whole earth under his sway, performed

<sup>1</sup> The modern Oujein, in Mālava (west-central India). In the Jainistic and dependent versions the city is called Avantī.

<sup>2</sup> According to some versions Vikrama did not at once succeed his brother, but won the throne by proving that he was the only person capable of subduing a *vetāla* or demon which had infested the royal house. This *vetāla* then became a kind of familiar for Vikrama, rendering him aid on many occasions.



many heroic deeds, and at the same time exhibited great devotion to his moral and religious duties. On one occasion he nearly lost his life through too great readiness to grant a petition. A treacherous *yogin* ascetic obtained from the king a promise to assist him in the performance of a secret magic rite. Vikrama was required to go by night to a graveyard and take down a corpse which he was to find hanging on a tree there. This he must carry, in perfect silence, to the place where the *yogin* was awaiting him. Now the corpse was inhabited by a *vetāla* ("vampire" or demon), which began to speak as the king took down the corpse. The *vetāla* told the king a story, at the end of which the king made some comment: thereupon the corpse disappeared from his shoulder and returned to the tree again. This was repeated 24 times: but the twenty-fifth time the king kept silent. The *vetāla* rewarded his steadfastness by warning him against the *yogin*, who was plotting to kill him. In this very summary form, and without relating the 25 stories told to Vikrama by the *vetāla*, our work presents the episode which is told in full by the well-known story-collection called the *Vetālapañcaviṅcati* ("Twenty-five *Vetāla*-stories").

At this time Vikrama paid a visit to the court of Indra, king of the gods, upon Indra's invitation, to decide which of the two nymphs, Rambhā and Urvaṇī, was the better dancer. He gave the palm to Urvaṇī, and defended his decision so plausibly as to win the admiration of Indra, who gave him his own throne as a reward. This throne was a very marvellous one, of divine workmanship, and the seat was supported by 32 statuettes, female figures wrought with all kinds of precious stones. Vikrama took it back to earth and set it up with due ceremony in his capital of Ujjayinī.

Towards the end of the reign of Vikrama there was born in the city of Pratiṣṭhāna a boy named Çalivāhana. His birth is said to have been miraculous, and various omens informed Vikrama that through this Çalivāhana he was destined to meet death. Vikrama gathered an army and marched against Pratiṣṭhāna, but by the miraculous aid of the serpent-god Çeṣa, who was reputed to be the father of Çalivāhana, the army was routed and Vikrama was killed by a blow from Çalivāhana's staff. After his death no one was found worthy to mount the divine throne, and the ministers buried it in the earth.



Many years after this King Bhoja reigned in the city of Dhārā, the successor of the old Ujjayinī or Avantī. The field where the throne was buried had come into the possession of a certain Brahmin, who had built a platform upon the mound in the center, for the purpose of scaring away birds from his field. Now it appeared that whenever this Brahmin mounted on the platform, he seemed to be inspired with the greatest generosity and benevolence, although at other times he was conspicuously mean and selfish. When King Bhoja's attention was drawn to this circumstance he bought the field which seemed to have such unusual qualities, and caused the mound to be opened: whereupon the wonderful throne was brought to light. The king was delighted, and gave orders to move it to the city: but it could not be moved until, on the advice of a minister, Bhoja performed sacrifices to the gods on the spot. This gives occasion for a long digression, in which the minister illustrates the value to a king of a wise counsellor by a story which is otherwise met with very frequently in India: it is perhaps most familiar from the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, where it appears as the story of the wise minister Bahuçruta, who saved the Brahmin Vararuci from the unjust jealousy of his master King Nanda.

After this King Bhoja moved the throne to his city and set it up with great pomp in a hall of a thousand columns: and in an auspicious moment he started to mount it. But as soon as he placed his foot upon the head of one of the statuettes, preparatory to ascending the throne, the statue spoke to him with a human voice and said:

King Bhoja, unless thou canst show the like of the nobility, heroism, generosity and other virtues possessed by Vikrama, thou shalt not mount upon this throne.

The king answered:<sup>1</sup> O statue, I can show all the generosity and other virtues of which thou speakest: which one is lacking? Surely I grant so far as I may all things that are asked of me.

(The statue replied): O king, this is not seemly, that with thine own lips thou dost boast of thine own gifts. He who praises his own virtues is verily a base man; but an upright man speaketh not thus. And it is said:

Only a low man speaks of his own virtues and other men's faults: for of his own virtues and other men's faults a righteous

<sup>1</sup> From this point literal translation of the southern version.



man verily will not speak. . . . Hearing the words of the statue King Bhoja was astonished and said: Thou hast spoken truly: he who praises his own virtues is no better than a fool. I made mention of my own virtues: that was indeed wrong. Do thou therefore tell of the nobility of him whose this throne was.

And the statue said: <sup>1</sup> O king, give ear!  
(Here follows the first story).

Each story is introduced in like manner by an attempt to mount the throne on the part of Bhoja: each time another statue stops him with the same challenge, and in response to his humble inquiry (he does not again attempt to praise himself) the statue tells a story intended to illustrate the nobility of Vikrama. At the end of each tale the statue again addresses the king: If thou canst show *such* nobility, etc., then mount upon this throne! To which Bhoja does not venture a reply.

At the end of the 32d story all the statues step down from their places, and saluting King Bhoja explain their origin. They were servants of Parvatī and incurred the goddess's jealous displeasure by casting coquettish glances at her consort Śiva (or as one version has it, it was Śiva who tried to make advances to them). For this reason they were cursed to become lifeless statues on the throne of Indra, until such time as this throne should have passed through the hands of Vikrama and been discovered by Bhoja. They should then tell to Bhoja the deeds of Vikrama, and thus obtain release. The statues then mount into heaven, having blessed King Bhoja and whosoever else should hear, read or repeat the tales of the Vikramacarita. And king Bhoja reigned long and prosperously.

The Jaina recensions and those that depend on them have a different explanation of the curse of the statues, which seems to me obviously secondary, by reason of its strong religious tinge: the rather unethical original account was made over by the Jainist writers into a tale having a more religious (though to be sure not at all exclusively Jainistic) point. According to this they had been servants of Indra, and were cursed for laughing irreverently at an extremely dirty and ill-kempt ascetic whom they chanced to see one day.

The introduction and frame story occupy a large part—roughly speaking, one-fifth—of the entire work. From an artistic stand-

<sup>1</sup> To this point literal translation of the southern version.



point, or at least from our artistic standpoint, this is also the best part. The stories themselves, considered simply as stories, are, I must say, rather monotonous. I presume this is the reason why Europeans have not yet devoted to the work anything like as much attention as its importance in Indian literature would seem to warrant. The best stories in the book are to a large extent found in the introduction.

This brings us to another question. From what point of view are we to look at such a work as the *Vikramacarita*? What ideas were uppermost in the mind of its composer? What effects did he desire to produce in the minds of his hearers, and by what means did he strive to produce them?

To the average Westerner such questions may sound unnecessary. Folklore, to our minds, generally means simply folklore: stories are stories: their prime purpose, we assume, is to give esthetic pleasure to the audience. We recognize, to be sure, the possibility, and even perhaps now and then the desirability, of mixing in a little sermonizing, but we demand at least that the pill be carefully sugar-coated with an irreproachable literary form. We tolerate, perhaps even admire, Tolstoi, because notwithstanding his theory of the immorality of art he remained to the end, in spite of himself, an artist. But we do not recognize Bellamy's *Looking Backward* as literature.

The Hindu theory—I am speaking now *only* of theory—was wholly different, at least as far as concerns the fable and story<sup>1</sup> literature.

The Hindus have a familiar formula which classifies all human desires and aspirations as directed towards three things: *dharma* or religion, *artha* or worldly advancement, and *kāma* or love. With obvious dependence on this classification, the Jain scholar Haribhadra says in a treatise on the subject (*Samarāicchakahā*, ed. Jacobi, p. 2), that stories are of four kinds, according as they are intended to serve and promote the fulfillment of any one of these three ends, or, fourthly, of more than one of them at the same time. After making due allowance for the Hindu passion

<sup>1</sup> Although the *Vikramacarita*, in its Sanskrit form, contains hardly a trace of beast-fable, it is impossible to make a sharp division between fable and fairy-story in India. Generally speaking the two are inextricably mingled, and the same tendencies and principles, both esthetic and moral, are found in both. Most Hindu collections also include both.



for schematization, it must after all be regarded as significant that Haribhadra does not mention at all the purpose which we should naturally think of as the main object of stories—the entertainment of the audience. He only recognizes practical ends as admissible, or indeed conceivable; for he is dealing descriptively with facts, and is not voicing a theory of his own as to how things *should* be done.

In a general way the ethical and practical character of Hindu stories has always been more or less recognized. The Hindu story collections are called in Sanskrit by the term *nītiśāstra*, which I should translate “textbook of conduct”. Hertel<sup>1</sup> gives a somewhat narrower interpretation in this connection of the word *nīti*, which I render “conduct”. He thinks it is a synonym of *artha*, “worldly advancement”, or to quote his own words, “Nutzen, Erwerb”: after setting up this equation he goes on to further describe *nīti* as “Führung, Betragen, kluge Lebensführung, daher auch List, Klugheit”. I agree in general with Hertel’s understanding of *nīti* (though on the doubtful point as to whether it may mean “List”, trickery, I do not feel like expressing an opinion). But I am not ready to agree that a *nīti*-textbook is necessarily an unmoral Machiavelli, simply a compendium of shrewd and worldly wisdom for the practical conduct of affairs, whether public or private. This may be what the Pañcatantra is: but it does not at all describe the Vikramacarita, which is also certainly a *nītiśāstra*.<sup>2</sup> In this book at least *artha* is distinctly subordinated to *dharma*, moral and religious conduct, which so completely occupies the center of the stage that the *artha* or Machiavellian side of *nīti* is at times an almost negligible quantity.

The Vikramacarita is, then, a textbook of conduct, intended to show by precept and example how to live. The example is furnished by the hero of the story, King Vikrama himself. He is held up to the world as a pattern of right living,—particularly, of course, right living for kings, since he was himself a great emperor, and some of his most marked virtues, such as his unbounded generosity and his habit of never refusing anything

<sup>1</sup> See his Tantrākhyāyika, Einleitung, pp. 6 ff. This illuminating and admirable treatise contains the latest and best resumé of the general concepts of Hindu story literature.

<sup>2</sup> It is definitely so described in the introduction to at least one MS, and is certainly regarded as such in all.



to a suppliant,<sup>1</sup> are distinctly kingly virtues. So that we find after all that the *Vikramacarita* sets out to be more than anything else a Mirror for Magistrates, just like the *Pañcatantra*, except that the *Pañcatantra* is more worldly and political, while our work is moral,—both these things, however, being different phases of the comprehensive Hindu term *nīti*, conduct. At the same time the *Vikramacarita*, again like the *Pañcatantra*, by no means limits itself to the sphere of royal activities. There is hardly a phase of every-day life that is not touched on to some extent. One very interesting little tale<sup>2</sup> points out the evils of gambling. In another<sup>3</sup> young men are admonished to devote themselves to study instead of frivolous or immoral pursuits. Sometimes a moral question is discussed from both sides, pro and con, the discussion taking the form of a debate between two characters in the story. For instance, in the 14th story, a wandering *yogin* meets the king in a distant kingdom and reproaches him for the impolitic act of leaving his kingdom in the hands of ministers, who might do—the Lord knows what with it. The king replies that all such things are in the hands of fate, against which there is no use in contending, and illustrates his point by an interjected story of a king who successively lost and won a kingdom by divine will alone, and without any effort on his own part.<sup>4</sup> This is the only instance in our work, with the exception of one case in the introduction, of that boxing in of stories within stories which is so common in the *Pañcatantra*.

Whatever the stories may begin with, they almost always end with some astonishing act of generosity or self-sacrifice on the part of Vikrama. The monotonously regular type is as follows. The king hears of some person in need or distress, usually of a supernatural character—persecution by a demon, refusal of a deity to grant a boon, or the like. The god, demon, or other supernatural agent demands a human life as condition precedent to granting immunity or whatever favor is desired. Vikrama offers his own life, usually by starting to cut his own throat, in several instances by jumping into a caldron of boiling oil, occa-

<sup>1</sup>In the 6th story he gives an enormous gift to a lying ascetic on the strength of a story which the king knows to be false, simply to avoid the sin of refusing a suppliant.

<sup>2</sup>Story 27.

<sup>3</sup>Story 9.

<sup>4</sup>Another instance of such a moral debate is found in the twelfth story, which is translated below.



sionally by other means. The deity is appeased and either checks his attempt on his own life, or gives his life back to him after he has taken it. Usually some magic amulet or other article of value is given him in addition: this he always gives away to some beggar whom he meets on his way back to the city. Occasionally he shows more heroic qualities by fighting with and killing demons who are molesting some one, generally a woman. In a few cases his nobility is only exhibited by an enormous recompense for some trifling service. The Jainistic recensions are particularly monotonous in their recital of case after case of this kind of thing: they are so wholly absorbed in the moral side of the matter that they seem as if purposely to emphasize the nobility of Vikrama by reciting the various instances of it as nearly in the same terms as possible. The best known Brahministic recension, the Southern, is probably a truer representative of the original, and is superior to the Jainistic in this respect: it shows, in fact, considerable skill in giving variety in detail to a monotonous central theme. But even here it is always evident that the principal effort is not primarily to interest the reader, but to present in Vikrama the picture of an ideal prince, a model for real princes to shape themselves after. The prime virtue of Vikrama, the one most constantly harped upon, is his *āudārya*—a term which is perhaps more closely approached by "nobility" than by any other English term. It is the abstract noun to the adjective *udāra*, which means exalted, lofty, noble. It is thus a sufficiently vague term to be made to include about all virtues which ought properly to be found in a king, including many of the distinctly chivalrous virtues, notably protection of the weak and lavish generosity. Next in frequency of occurrence come *dhāirya*, manliness, *satva*, courage, and *paropakāra*, general benevolence, doing good to others, charity. Another virtue which is occasionally mentioned is *gāmbhīrya*, which means literally depth, and might be supposed to mean dignity, composure, constancy or the like: but as used in the *Vikramacarita* it seems to mean hardly anything else than generosity.

An exception to the ordinary run is the 24th story, which is a long and compound story containing at least two originally independent themes. The second of them is another account of Vikrama's contest with his rival *Çalivāhana*, already referred to in the introduction. In this case however the account is con-



siderably altered. Vikrama himself is not injured in the battle, but his army is struck lifeless by the power of the serpent-god *Çeşa*, the father of *Çalivāhana*. Vikrama thereupon by a long and severe penance propitiates *Çeşa* and obtains from him nectar (*amṛta*) with which to revive his army. *Çalivāhana* sends a Brahmin to meet him: the Brahmin asks Vikrama to give him the nectar, and Vikrama, although he knows that the man is a messenger from his enemy, gives it to him, rather than refuse a favor asked. This *Çalivāhana*<sup>1</sup> appears in many places in Hindu legendary history, and is persistently represented as the enemy of *Vikramāditya*, and as finally overcoming him. He also, like Vikrama, is said to have founded an era, to wit, the *Çaka* era, which begins with 78 A. D. In spite of the obvious impossibility of reconciling these two statements with the tradition above alluded to, that our Vikrama founded the Vikrama era of 57 B. C., there was long supposed to be historical ground for the tradition.

#### VERSIONS.

There are known to be in existence about seventy manuscripts of the *Vikramacarita*.<sup>2</sup>

Of these, seven are in Germany, one in Denmark, two in Austria, about a dozen in England, one<sup>3</sup> is now in the writer's own possession, and the rest are in India. I collated the German and Danish manuscripts during the summer of 1911. Nearly all the others which belong in Europe have been lent to me,—the English ones through the great kindness of Dr. Thomas, librarian of the India Office, who has also helped to secure for me the loan of a number of the MSS. from India. To him my thanks are due in an unusual degree. I already have collated enough manuscripts to be in good control of the texts of the three most important versions (I, III, and IV below), besides having seen one MS. each of the other two. It is of course possible that still other versions may turn up among the manuscripts which I have not as yet seen. There is some doubt in my mind as to whether the so-called *Vararuci* version (V, see below), of which I know as yet only one manuscript, is sufficiently distinct from the Jain-

<sup>1</sup> Also called *Sālavāhana*, *Sāta*- etc., etc.; there are numerous variations of the name.

<sup>2</sup> Nearly all these can be found listed in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

<sup>3</sup> Which originally formed part of the Hiersemann Collection of Indian MSS, offered for sale in Leipzig.



istic, on which it is evidently based, to warrant its classification as a distinct version. Certainly most of its text is practically the same as that of the *recensio jainica*. I have, however, for the present followed Weber in recognizing the division.

### I. THE SOUTHERN PROSE RECENSION.<sup>1</sup>

There is little doubt, it seems to me, that this comes closer to the original Vikramacarita than any other text as yet known to me. It seems to be fairly definitely connected with the south of India, where, in fact, only this and the following (metrical) recension seem to be known. Many of its MSS. are written on palm-leaves and in alphabets characteristic of South India (Telugu, Grantha, Nandināgarī). It is this fact that makes me hesitate to believe that this *is* the original, out and out. It is contrary to our usual experience to find such works originating in the south. On the other hand, there is some reason to suppose that there once existed a full Northern Brahmanical version, now lost, which was the basis of the abbreviated version (III). This seems to be based on a version not quite the same as our Southern version, though very much closer to it than to the Jainistic version.

The Southern version is certainly the best from an artistic point of view. It is composed in a free, flowing and generally simple style, mainly in prose, but extensively interlarded with sententious verses of the sort so common in Hindu story literature—proverbial saws intended both to point a moral and, incidentally, to adorn a tale. There are a few cases in which we find a verse thrown into the midst of the story, carrying on the narrative. This usually occurs at what Prof. Bloomfield has called in another connection "summit moments" of the story. Thus at the end of the Introduction, when the first of the statuettes addresses Bhoja, she does so in verse—which emphasizes the startling solemnity of the occasion.

A high degree of skill is often shown in the working out of the details of the narrative. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that this less single devotion to the moral purpose indicates that this version is more secondary than the other versions. The same mistake was made by the scholars of former times who supposed that the Buddhist Jātakas were more primitive than the Pāñcatantra, among other reasons because they were often stronger on the moral than on the artistic

<sup>1</sup> To this belongs the Jivānanda edition.



side. We know now that Hindu story-books at their best are extremely high examples of the art of story-telling, even though at the same time their professed purpose remains just as truly a moral one. And in fact the Southern version is fully as good an example of a true *nītiçāstra* as the Jainistic: it would be possible to quote many cases in which it takes much greater pains to prove a moral point which the Jainistic version merely touches on in passing, or even omits altogether. It is, by the way, much longer than the Jainistic version (nearly twice as long).

## II. THE SOUTHERN METRICAL VERSION.

Known to Weber through his MS. T. It is written entirely in verse. The version it is based on was evidently essentially the same as the Southern prose recension just alluded to. There are however many differences of detail, some serious abbreviations of the narrative, and at least one long interpolation, the story of the Weaver as Viṣṇu (see below). This version is so obviously secondary in every way that it is of little importance for our present purpose.

## III. THE SHORT (NORTHERN) RECENSION.

Represented by Weber's C and O, and by S in its first part; also by our L (a Leipzig MS.) and by a MS. from Vienna. The version on which it is based is also essentially the same as the Southern version: but most of the book, and especially the 32 individual stories themselves (as distinguished from the introduction and frame-story), are very much shortened, so much so in fact, that only the barest skeleton of most of them is left, and they are often not even intelligible without reference to one of the fuller texts. It is indeed a very curious performance, this deliberate reducing of the book to a mere collection of bones, which fairly rattle with dryness. Weber was without doubt on the right track when he said of MS. C of this recension (p. 225 f.): "diese Abkürzung trifft speziell den je ersten Theil jeder Erzählung, der von den Abenteuern Vikrama's berichtet, während der jedesmalige Schluss, der von seiner Grossmuth . . . handelt, hier und da sogar ziemlich breit getreten wird". In other words, it is an extreme instance of utter devotion to the moral purpose, resulting in an almost ascetic mortifi-



cation of the story. The way the introduction is treated bears this out. For though, as I have said, it occupies proportionately much more space than the stories themselves, this space is only to a slight extent occupied with the telling of the events which happened. It is mostly composed of an enormous quantity of sententious and moral verses, taken from no one knows where (they mostly do not appear in the other versions), or perhaps to some extent original. (It is a curious fact, in contrast to this, that the 32 stories in this recension contain almost no verses.) Let it be particularly noted that this *reductio ad absurdum* of morality as the purpose of Hindu story-telling is patently the work, not of a Jaina or a Buddhist, but of an orthodox Hindu.

As a matter of fact, the MSS. of this recension themselves give evidence that the copyists were sometimes offended by the threadbareness of the work. In fact, they did not hesitate to try their hand at improving the text at times. Weber's MS. O seems to have been quite arbitrary in some of its changes, to judge by Weber's account of its contents (I have not been able to see it: its custodians, I am informed, are not willing to lend MSS). Our MS. L and the fragmentary Berlin MS. C (which only contains the last part, from Story 15 to the end) appear to be freest from such secondary influences: yet L contains passages seemingly written over from some MS. of the Jainistic recension, with considerable verbal modifications: and C is peculiar in that at the end of its text proper its writer, evidently being conscious of the fact that the story of the end was quite differently told by the Jainas, goes straight ahead and tells the conclusion over again in the exact language of the Jainistic recension. This MS. therefore has two complete conclusions, one that belonging to its own version, the other that of the Jainistic version. The course of events here is so superficially obvious that it is hard to understand how Weber could have been blind to what took place. Yet he (p. 188) tries to argue from the appearance of the verse naming Kṣemaṅkara as author, found at the end of the *second* (Jainistic) conclusion of C, that this verse was *not* peculiar to the Jainistic version, because C "nicht zur Jaina-Recension gehört"! The fact is, of course, that this section of C *is* Jainistic.

Weber makes the same mistake, and in the same connection, about the conclusion of his MS. S, speaking of it as non-Jainistic. The facts here are somewhat more complicated, but after all perfectly evident; one need hardly do more than study care-



fully Weber's own data about S, and observe the fact that all through Weber's critical apparatus for the Jainistic version, after the end of the first story, he quotes the variants from S as well as those from the pure Jainistic MSS.—which are as a rule hardly better representatives of their own text than S is, in this part of the book! It is obvious that S is a composite MS. The introduction goes according to the short recension, though with here and there (as in L, see above) an interpolation from a Jainistic MS. But after the end of the first story this cut-and-dried version was abandoned for the more literary Jainistic version,—although not entirely, for there are spots at which the writer inserts into the Jainistic text fragments from the version he started with. He also now and then modifies specifically Jainist passages to suit his own (Brahministic) prejudices. The fact that he was not a Jaina probably prevented him from throwing over altogether the threadbare Brahministic version with which he started. At any rate, from the end of the first story on to the end of the work, as well as in some places in the introduction, S is for practical purposes a Jainistic MS. Its readings are as close to the Jainist text, in these sections, as are those of several MSS. which Weber rightly classifies as Jainistic out-and-out. It is therefore wholly wrong to speak of the verse at its conclusion as coming from a non-Jainistic recension, as Weber does (*vide supra*).<sup>1</sup>

#### IV. THE JAINISTIC RECENSION.

Of this some incidental information has been given while dealing with the other recensions. Thus we have seen that it is much shorter than the Southern. Its method of telling the stories is, in fact, largely determined by the concentration of the interest on the noble and self-sacrificing acts of Vikrama himself, somewhat to the neglect of other details in the story. The first part of each story, though not so neglected as in the Short Version, which almost leaves it out, is told seemingly as a necessary prelude, more or less, and is not enlarged upon in the free and natural way which characterizes the Southern text. The number of

<sup>1</sup> Still more to say (p. 221) that the 32 stories in their Jain. form (because borrowed verbally from a Jain. source into S) "form the ancient kernel of the original work"!



verses<sup>1</sup> in these parts is much smaller, and the whole style gives the impression of being somewhat cramped and consciously restricted.

Another peculiarity of this version is that nearly every one of the 32 stories is either begun or ended with an apparently original verse, or sometimes two, in which the chief points of the story from the narrator's point of view (especially the noble deeds of Vikrama) are briefly summed up. As Weber says, this is somewhat analogous to the *argumenta* often placed at the beginning of Latin comedies. As a rather imperfect Hindu analogon I would call attention to the verses with which the Pañcatantra fables are generally introduced, and which are then repeated at the end to emphasize the "moral". The parallel is imperfect, as I say: the Pañcatantra verses are skillful artistic devices for weaving each story into its setting. Of this there is nothing in the Vikramacarita: the stories all stand baldly by themselves, and are not, like the Pañcatantra fables, even *supposed* each to fit and illustrate a certain definite occasion or emergency. For this reason there is no occasion for the "*argumenta*": and in fact, I am not of the opinion that they belonged to the original. They only appear in the Jain. and dependent versions (Vararuci, MS. S), and have every appearance of being secondary. It seems not unlikely that they were meant to imitate the catch-verses of the Pañcatantra<sup>2</sup> fables, and were made up and inserted for that purpose by the redactor of the Jain. archetype.—The first half of our stories have the "*argumentum*" at the beginning, the last half at the end, and a few lack it altogether. There is no apparent reason for this variation.

I have already mentioned the fact that the Jain. conclusion is different from that of the other texts. The general run of the 32 stories is, however, the same. The differences are for the most part purely verbal (in this regard very marked, however, amounting to a complete rewriting of the story). The main themes are the same, and the incidents and motives, though now and

<sup>1</sup> The Jainistic version contains many verses in the Jaina Prakrit, although most of its verses, and all those which also appear in the other versions, are in the Sanskrit language. The Prakrit verses are probably for the most part quotations from sacred or semi-sacred Jaina texts. In some cases this is definitely stated. The narrative (prose) portion of the work is wholly in Sanskrit.

<sup>2</sup> I use the term Pañcatantra in a loose sense, as typifying the Hindu beast-fable literature. Similar verses are of course found in connection with fables wherever they are found in India, e. g. in the Jātakas.



then different, are seldom radically so. The 1st, 29th, 31st and 32d stories of the Jain. are, however, wholly different: the last three are quite new stories, and very poor ones at that,—almost certainly secondary additions,<sup>1</sup> and by no means improvements. The first story in the orthodox versions is really not a story, but merely a brief introductory eulogy of Vikrama. This evidently did not please the Jain redactor: he felt that there ought to be a story, and accordingly transferred to this place the story of the jealous king Nanda, his wise minister, and his Brahmin "*guru*". The story is manifestly out of place here, and belongs where it is found in the Southern version, in the introduction, where it is told to King Bhoja by his minister to illustrate the value of a minister's advice. In that position it has point: in the Jain. version, however, it is dragged in by the heels, apropos of nothing, and evidently only for the purpose of filling what the redactor felt as a gap in the first story.

It is the introduction to the Jain. version, however, which shows the most marked variation from the orthodox ones. In the first place, a large section is devoted to an entirely new insertion. In this Vikrama is represented as being converted to Jainism by the Jain. saint and teacher Siddhasena Divākara, who performs various miracles which first astonish and finally persuade the king. Siddhasena then lives at the court for a long time under the patronage of the king. There are other sources of Jainistic tradition which also bring Vikrama into relations with this Siddhasena,<sup>2</sup> and in such a way as to indicate a probable genetic relation between them and this section of the Vikramacarita. The Jainas and Buddhists were fond of thus adopting and "converting" the famous heroes of Brahministic history and legend:

<sup>1</sup> The reasons for the substitution of these for the original stories are not hard to discover, but it would take too long to go into them here.

<sup>2</sup> One, which I have discovered, may be mentioned as being among the less familiar sources; it is the *Prabhāvakacarita*, a book of lives of Jainistic saints, ed. H. M. Sharmā, Bombay 1909: p. 95. (Chapter 8, verses 61-66 and 75-77.) Two incidents of the Siddhasena chapter of the Vikr. are here told in very summary form, but of two *different* kings, one called *Vikramārka*, the other *Vikrama*! It is clear from the narrative that they are not supposed to be the same. At first sight it would seem that this must be a secondary confusion, due to the various names under which King Vikrama goes. I shall not discuss the matter now, but will content myself with mentioning the interesting fact that one verse from the Jain. Rec. of the Vikr. (Weber 30) appears also in the Prabhāv. (8: 64), with only one single variant (*udbhṛta-* for *ucchrīta-*).



Rama, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, was treated in like manner by the Buddhists, see Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaṇa, p. 86. I would not attempt to read any deeper meaning into the circumstance.

There are other parts of the Introduction in which the Jain. Rec. differs from the others. For instance, the scene in Indra's heaven, in which Vikrama decides the dancing contest between Rambhā and Urvaṇī, is omitted altogether, evidently because dancing was disapproved of by the Jainas (as by the Buddhists). This removes the original motivation of the presentation of the throne to Vikrama by Indra (as a reward for his wisdom as shown in that decision). The Jain. Rec. is compelled to patch this up in what seems to the reader a very lame manner: Indra, it is said, observed the virtues and noble acts of Vikrama, and presented him with his throne in token of his admiration. Evidently the orthodox version is here the original.

The most striking difference of all, however, is the following. The *order of events* in the Introduction is wholly changed. Instead of beginning in chronological order with Bhartṛhari, Vikrama, and then Bhoja, we find ourselves at the very outset in Dhārā, the capital of Bhoja. The king discovers the magic throne, essentially in the same way as in the other versions, and the story of what had gone before (Bhartṛhari and Anaṅgasenā, the reign of Vikrama, etc.) is put into the mouth of the first statue, who tells it to King Bhoja when he first attempts to mount the throne! This gives the first statue an entirely disproportionate amount of talking: for she also has a long story to tell (the Nanda story, referred to above), which is clearly recognized, moreover, as *her* "number", her share of the 32 stories: the introduction does not take the place thereof. The change is not successful as an artistic device, although I am inclined to think it was introduced for artistic reasons.

Namely: it was a habit with the Hindus to produce a certain external unity in their works of fiction by putting them into a sort of dramatically unified form. The Mahābhārata, the Pañcatantra, the Kathāsaritsāgara, and so on—all the great works in this department of literature are supposed to have been *told* by somebody to somebody else. The Vikramacarita itself, in all the orthodox versions, is told by Ćiva to his consort. In the Jain version this of course had to be dropped. That left the work without any such uniform "binding-together". But the major part of the work was already unified by another bond of the same



sort: the 32 stories themselves, comprising perhaps four-fifths of the book, were all told to Bhoja—if not by the same person, at least by the same group of individuals. It seems to me not unlikely that it was the desire to throw the matter contained in the introduction into this same binding that prompted the change above alluded to. As a result of it, practically the whole book, after the opening scene, is told to Bhoja by one or another of the 32 statues. At least, I throw out this suggestion for what it is worth. If it cannot stand on its own inherent probability, I admit I have no further support for it. But I am unable to conceive any other reason for the change: and the matter is not helped, moreover, by assuming with Weber that the Jain. Rec. is the original, and the orthodox order secondary. There is still no apparent reason for such a change being made.<sup>1</sup>

Not all the MSS. classed as Jainistic are simply reproductions of the standard Jain. text. Thus Weber's MS. H is an abbreviated text, like the Short Brahministic Recension, only based on the Jain. Rec. Its abbreviation is, however, not so drastic as that of the other. In fact the narrative portions of the text are on the whole quite well preserved: it is the verses which suffer the most.—The case is different with MS. K. This is clearly a Brahminized version of the Jain. text. Although speaking generally it follows its original literally, with only verbal variants and no more of them than most of the Jain. MSS. show, it deliberately changes all specifically Jainistic references, making them Brahministic: or sometimes, as in the Siddhasena chapter of the introduction, it omits whole passages which are characteristically Jainistic and do not lend themselves well to this sort of proselyting. The good Brahmin who did the job was more pious than clever: the changes made are at times very labored, and often the original shows through clearly.—The same thing, more or less, was attempted by the author of the Vararuci re-

<sup>1</sup> Weber rightly discards his own tentative suggestion that the Jainistic order, beginning with Bhoja, may be a form of flattery of Bhoja himself (the version where it appears being assumed to be the work of a writer at his court). In the first place, the Rec. Jain. refers to Bhoja as belonging to the past (and is the only version which does so). In the second place, the orthodox versions contain more fulsome flattery of Bhoja than does the Jainistic.—In passing it may be noted that a number of the secondary (non-Sanskrit) versions have the same transposition of the introduction. To discuss the meaning of this would involve us in the whole complicated problem of the interrelation of the versions, which I must postpone for the present.



cension, and by the writer of S in those parts which he took from the Jain. text. They, however, do not otherwise keep so closely to the Jain. original as does K.

#### V. THE VARARUCI OR BENGAL VERSION.

This is evidently an adaptation either of the Jainistic version as we now have it, or of its archetype. It agrees almost verbally with it in most parts, and shows clear traces of its original Jainistic character. The good Brahministic redactor modified or omitted most of the specifically Jainistic passages, trying to adapt them to Brahministic prejudices. His art, however, was not the equal of his religious zeal, and he left many evidences of the original. This seems to me to show the improbability of Weber's and Hertel's assumption that all the other versions were based on Jainistic sources. To change a Jainistic into an orthodox work so completely as to leave no traces of its origin was not so easy a task as these scholars seem to have supposed, and certainly it required much more care and precision than the average Hindu redactor possessed. If the orthodox recensions had originated in this way, they would be almost sure to show it in superficially obvious ways, as does the Var. version, and as does even the remote French translation of the Bengali rendering (see below). Some name of a Jainistic saint or the like would have stuck in the text, somewhere.—This recension might also be called the Eastern or Bengal recension, since it was evidently connected with that part of India. Several of its MSS are written in the Bengali alphabet, and it was obviously from this Sanskrit version that the Bengali version was translated, to judge from Féer's French rendering of the Bengali, which in many parts might pass for a translation of the Sanskrit text of the Var. version. (The changes are mainly artistic embellishments: there is one new story added.) In one or two cases it still retains in the text the names of Jainistic saints, although the context shows that neither the pious Bengali Hindu nor his French translator had any idea who these personages really were. Féer, who professes himself quite ignorant of the Skt. *Vikramacarita*, gives us no information about the origin of the book he translated except that it was worked over from the Skt., and that its "author" (i. e. the Bengali redactor) was named Mrtyumjaya.



## RELATIONSHIP OF THE VERSIONS TO EACH OTHER.

I have already had occasion to say that it seems to me that the Brahministic versions are more closely related to the original text than the Jainistic version and texts dependent on it. Owing to the large amount of space required, and to the highly technical character of the evidence, it has not seemed feasible to do more in this preliminary paper than to hint at the reasons which I think I have found for this belief. They will be presented in full at some future time. Inasmuch, however, as both Weber and Hertel, two eminent scholars, and the only two who have publicly expressed opinions on the subject so far as I know, have taken the opposite view, it seems to be my duty to consider now the reasons they have advanced and show why, in my opinion, there is at least no sound reason for holding, with them, that the original *Vikramacarita* was written by a Jaina. This is, I fully realize, quite a different matter from proving that the contrary is true: and all I can at present ask of scholars is that they will consider the question undecided until such time as I shall be able to publish my reasons for holding the position I take.

As for Weber, the main reason he has for giving priority to the Jainistic recension is expressed by him I. St. XV: 186, where he says: "The devout ethical character which pervades the work seems to me to point directly to a Buddhistic, or rather to a Jainistic, origin". This sentence implies two propositions which were current in Weber's time, but which are now usually admitted to be radical errors, to wit:

a) that the Jainas were a Buddhist sect. It is now commonplace knowledge that they were a quite independent body, though founded about the same time (probably somewhat earlier), and holding similar doctrines in many ways (these doctrines, however, can mostly be paralleled nearly as well from Brahministic as from Buddhistic sources).

b) that there was a sharp division between the Jainas and Buddhists as writers on the one hand and the orthodox Hindus on the other, the former being characterized by a much greater preoccupation with moral questions: and that the Hindu story literature, because of the preponderance of such questions in it, was largely if not wholly Buddhistic or Jainistic in origin.

On this the venerable French scholar Barth said in 1889 (*Mélusine*, IV, 558): "People have thus become accustomed more and more to admit as an axiom that all this literature (*viz.* Hindu



stories and fables) is of Buddhistic origin. *In my opinion it would hardly be a more serious error to maintain the opposite thesis of a çivaitic or tantric origin.*<sup>1</sup> The past of India does not offer such clearcut divisions. To introduce them here is to judge of this past with our occidental habits of mind, and it is furthermore markedly to exaggerate the rôle and the originality of communities (i. e. the Buddhists and Jainas) which after all were only Hindu sects".

This expresses so concisely and admirably the position which I believe is now generally held by scholars, in theory at least, that to add to it would be to detract from it—*sit venia verbis*. If the truth of it be granted, the bottom drops out of Weber's argument at once. In other words, the ethical character of the *Vikramacarita* is no more characteristic of Jainistic than of orthodox story literature.

Weber was also misled by his failure to see the true nature of some of his manuscripts, notably S (see above, p. 264 f.). Assuming this to be a fair representative of a non-Jainistic version, and finding traces of Jainism in it, he argued that the original work must have been Jainistic. Since the greater part of the composite manuscript S was copied from a Jainistic archetype (a fact which seems to me superficially obvious, and which I shall have occasion to show at a later time), no such argument is allowable. The real Brahministic recensions (Nos. I-III) show no such traces of Jainism, in my opinion. I shall now try to show that Hertel<sup>2</sup> was wrong in holding a contrary opinion.

<sup>1</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>2</sup> In his article "Ueber die Jaina-Recensionen des Pañcatantra", in *Ber. u. Verh. d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., ph-hist. Kl.*, 54: 23ff., especially 115ff.—It is only fair to call attention to the fact that Hertel's remarks on this subject were not only made some time ago, but did not constitute, perhaps, an important part of the subject he had under consideration, and were moreover based principally on second-hand knowledge gained from Weber, as a result of which he was sometimes seriously misled as to facts. It is with regret that I find it necessary to differ so radically with a scholar whose work on the *Pañcatantra* has given me so much valuable information and inspiration. Let me in this connection say that to a large extent the work which I am attempting to do on the *Vikramacarita* was suggested by the very fruitful results which Hertel produced out of his intensive and comparative study of the *Pañcatantra*. I am also in receipt of a very kind personal letter from Professor Hertel, and of some other materials which he was good enough to send me, which contain valuable suggestions as to methods of work in this field, and for which I take this opportunity to publicly thank him.



Hertel's occasion for bringing in the *Vikramacarita* is this: he desires to show that the *Pañcatantra* story of the Weaver as Viṣṇu<sup>1</sup> was inserted in the two recensions of that work wherein it appears by a Jaina, as a satire on the god Viṣṇu. This would jump with his theory that these two recensions were of Jainistic origin. Hertel found from Weber that a metrical version of this fable was inserted in the single MS. known to him of the Metrical version of the *Vikramacarita* (II, see above, p. 263). Now unfortunately for Hertel's theory, this MS. belongs, as Weber shows, to an indubitably Brahministic recension. In all the other MSS, including all those of the Jainistic recension, this supposedly Jainistic "satire on Viṣṇu" is not found: it remained for the compiler of a Brahministic version to insert it; or else, on the perhaps still more improbable assumption which Hertel seems inclined to make that this single, metrical, obviously late and secondary recension preserves an episode of the original that has disappeared from every other version—on this assumption, I say, we must suppose that the only recension to preserve this attack on Viṣṇu was a Brahministic version, while the anti-Brahministic *recensio jainica* expunged it. There is no third alternative, if Hertel is right in thinking that the story of the Weaver as Viṣṇu is Jainistic. And it would be hard to say which is the less likely.

As I have said, Hertel seems to prefer to impale himself on the second horn of this dilemma, viz. the assumption that the metrical MS. T preserves the story from the original. He thinks he finds support for this in the fact that nearly all manuscripts of all recensions have, in fact, at this spot in the story the opening verse, which is at the same time the catch-word for the whole fable. This verse says in effect that the gods come to the aid of a man who proceeds confidently and with firm resolve, as Viṣṇu helped the Weaver. It seems to me clear that it was brought in simply as a proverbial allusion to a well-known story, illustrating the moral which the speaker wished at the moment to enforce, viz.: "God helps those who help themselves". The verse fits perfectly the place where it is inserted, and doubtless belonged

<sup>1</sup> A famous jocular story in which an impostor of low birth (a weaver) rigs himself up as Viṣṇu, and works the trick so well that he marries the king's daughter: attacked by a powerful force of enemies, he impudently takes the field alone in his garb of Viṣṇu, and the real Viṣṇu comes to his defense, in order to save his own credit before the people, who believed in the weaver as the true Viṣṇu.



to the original *Vikramacarita*, since it occurs in most versions. Assuming the evident fact that the Weaver as *Viṣṇu* was a popular and well-known story, nothing could be more natural than an allusion to it in such a connection. The writer of the late poetic recension then took advantage of the allusion to the story which he already found there, and gave an exhibition of his art and his learning by writing out the whole thing in full—a process which occurs repeatedly in the history of Sanskrit story redactions, as no one has shown more clearly than Prof. Hertel. But the simple explanation does not appeal to him in this case. Instead he tries to prove the Jainistic character of the original *Vikramacarita*, from which he supposes that T has preserved the story in full. He does so partly (1) on the ground of false ideas of the contents of the Tübingen MS. V, which he had never seen, and Weber's statements about which he misunderstood: and partly (2) on the ground of what seem to me distorted notions of the attitude one should expect to find displayed towards the orthodox Hindu gods, and of the distinctions that it is safe to make between Jainas and orthodox Hindus. (Cf. Barth, l. c.)

1) In the nineteenth story Vikrama pays a visit to Bali, a sort of Hindu Hades, reigning in *Pātala* (the under-world). The two kings exchange graceful compliments, and Vikrama is entertained by Bali. Among other courteous speeches, Vikrama says to Bali that it is an especial honor to see one to whom *Nārāyaṇa* (the god *Viṣṇu*) once came "with a request" (*arthitvena*). This is the only reference to *Viṣṇu* in this story in the Southern version, and surely there is no insult to the god contained in it. It is a very delicate allusion on the part of Vikrama to a well-known episode in which Bali, who was at one time a demon and an enemy of the gods, was outwitted by *Viṣṇu*. Bali was once king over the universe: but *Viṣṇu* appeared before him in the guise of a dwarf and asked of him as much land as he could cover in three strides. The wish being granted, the god assumed his true form and deprived Bali of heaven and earth in two strides, vouchsafing to leave him the under-world. Since Bali is his host, Vikrama on this occasion politely ignores everything except the fact that Bali once received the honor of a visit from the great god *Viṣṇu*, who asked a favor of him. The myth of Bali and *Viṣṇu*, by the way, is one whose orthodox character is unquestioned and unquestionable.

In the short recension (III) no allusion to *Viṣṇu* of any sort is



found. But in the Jainistic version (IV) we find a new addition. Here Viṣṇu is found acting as doorkeeper (*dvārapālaka*) in the palace of Bali! So far as I have been able to discover there is no authority for such a statement anywhere else, among all the numerous allusions to Viṣṇu and Bali in Hindu literature. Apparently it was invented by the author of the Jainistic version—perhaps, as Hertel thinks, as an insult to Viṣṇu, though even here, be it noted, he is called “*śrī Kṛṣṇa*” and spoken of not without respect. At any rate there is every reason to suppose that the Southern version, whose allusion to the myth is consistent with the other accounts of it known to us, was original, and that the Jainistic touch which makes Viṣṇu Bali’s door-keeper is a somewhat bizarre Jainistic addition.<sup>1</sup>

2) In a more general way I am compelled to take issue with Prof. Hertel’s methods—with the means by which he undertakes to distinguish between that which is Jainistic and that which is Brahministic. It seems to me that he draws much too sharp and clear-cut distinctions between the two spheres. So in the matter of terminology: there are certain terms, epithets and phrases which are used very commonly by the Jainas. But that does not mean that wherever they occur, in any text, they must refer to things Jainistic. Hertel says (p. 86) that the word *digambara* and certain other words “*können*<sup>2</sup> nur auf Jaina bezogen werden”. Perhaps he means to say only when they are used all together: but on p. 89 n. 1 he follows Weber in making the word *digambara* (here without the support of any other similar words!) a proof

<sup>1</sup> Hertel bases his whole argument at this point on the mistaken assumption that the Tübingen MS, Weber’s V, a MS of the Southern recension, agrees with the Jainistic version in this. He is misled by a rather careless statement of Weber’s (p. 380 n. 1, seventh line), where for “in allen Textformen” read “in allen von der Rec. Jain. abhängigen Textformen”. “Alle” in Weber’s notes to his extracts from the Jainistic version always has this meaning, and never includes, unless specifically so stated, his manuscripts of other recensions, namely O, C, V and T. (The Vararuci MSS R and U, as well as K and S, are for the most part really Jainistic MSS.) The only allusion to Viṣṇu at this point in Weber’s V is that translated above, in which it agrees with all the MSS. of the Southern Rec. known to me. The text of the sentence (disregarding a few orthographic variants) is: *tavāiva janma ślāghyaṁ, sākṣād Vāikuṇṭhakaṇṭhīravo Nārāyaṇas tava mandiraṁ samāyāto ’rthitvena*. So, essentially, all my MSS: Jīvānanda’s edition reads, I know not on what authority, *sadā virājati* for *samāyāto ’rthitvena*. As has been said, the MSS of the short recension (incl. Weber’s C) have no reference to Viṣṇu at all.

<sup>2</sup> Italics mine.



that the person designated was a Jaina monk of the *digambara* sect, and (since the person is depicted as a faithless traitor) concludes that the passage where it occurs is an attack upon that sect, though there is otherwise not a shred of evidence to support this view.—Now the word *digambara* is first an adjective meaning “naked”, and second a noun, meaning “a naked ascetic”. The standard dictionaries allow its use of any naked ascetic in India (and would Hertel maintain that all naked Indian ascetics are Jainas?), and according to Monier-Williams (*Brahminism and Hinduism*, p. 83) the word is used as an epithet of the god *Çiva*, in his aspect as naked ascetic. In other words, the word simply means *any* naked ascetic, and when there is otherwise no evidence that a text is speaking of Jainists, there is no reason for assuming that this word necessarily refers to a Jaina. The same is true, I believe, of most of the other words regarded by Hertel as necessarily Jainistic.

Equally unsound seems to me the tendency of Hertel to declare of heterodox origin every incident which treats the Hindu gods with less than what he considers a due amount of respect. For instance, as to the story of the Weaver as *Viṣṇu* above mentioned, Hertel uses the same sweeping language as in the passage just referred to: (p. 115 f.) “Es ist mir undenkbar, das der Anhänger irgend einer brahmanischen Sekte, sei es selbst ein *Çaiva* oder ein *Çakta*, diese Satire geschrieben haben . . . . sollte”. The “satire” consists in the fact that *Viṣṇu*, when informed of the weaver’s prank, is moved to come to the rogue’s rescue, lest he be killed, and the people therefore (thinking “*Viṣṇu* is dead”!) should offer no more sacrifices! But was this, to a Hindu mind of that day, such a serious insult to *Viṣṇu*? Is it not rather an example of the way popular deities are usually treated by their worshippers, especially among semi-primitive peoples? It seems to me a basic mistake to philosophize the matter as Hertel does. The writer of the story did not stop to ask himself whether or not the action of *Viṣṇu* was consistent with the god’s character and dignity. The purpose of the story, the whole point of the narrative (“God helps those who help themselves”), required that *Viṣṇu* should save the bold, though tricky, weaver. That is all there is to it. Even in our own day are not jocose stories told in which Christian saints appear in humorously undignified positions? And are not the tellers of these stories generally perfectly pious Christians? I am sure it would not be hard to find, at least in some of the more outlying



Christian countries of Europe, anecdotes in which the persons of the Trinity would be treated equally freely—and with no real disrespect intended. Even in serious texts it would not be hard to find in India stories where the gods are treated, by writers of unquestionable orthodoxy, in ways that would seem to us blasphemous. From the earliest Vedic times onward this is characteristic of many Indra legends (e. g. his affair with Namuci). In the Mahābhārata too the persons of the Hindu trinity come off with scant dignity on numerous occasions (though to be sure it is fashionable to explain the most glaring cases as due to “sectarian differences”).

In short, the fact that a Hindu god appears in what seems to us an unfavorable light in a given text does not furnish much, if any, reason for affirming that the text was written by a disbeliever in that god.

Moreover all this does not really concern the Vikramacarita. For there is no reason to suppose that the original Vikramacarita contained any situation which even by Hertel's criteria could be regarded as insulting to the orthodox Hindu gods. Of the two cases he cites one is limited to the Jainistic versions, and the other to the late and clearly secondary metrical version.

As a concrete illustration of the way the versions differ we append translations of a typical story, the twelfth, in the three principal recensions. The variations in plot are obvious and interesting, but this is not the time to discuss them. The verses of the original are printed with an indentation and numbered in the translation. Only two of the verses of the Southern, Nos. 2 and 3, appear also in the Jainistic,<sup>1</sup> as Nos. 5 and 6. The Short Recension has no verses in this story. The first two Jainistic verses comprise the “argumentum” or summary of the story (see above), and are therefore essentially unlike the other verses.

Words enclosed in parentheses, but printed in ordinary type, are necessary parts of the English translation, which are however not expressed in the Sanskrit, but understood from the context. *Italicized* words without parentheses are simply foreign (non-English) words:<sup>2</sup> but *in* parentheses they indicate either 1) alternative translations, intended to make the meaning clearer, or 2) explanatory notes added for the same purpose.

<sup>1</sup> With a few verbal variants of little importance.

<sup>2</sup> Barring a few cases where English words are italicized for emphasis, generally translating a Sanskrit particle of emphasis, *eva* or *api*.



## TWELFTH STORY.

A. *Southern Recension.*

When the king again approached the throne to mount upon it, another statue said: O king, this is Vikrama's throne. Whoever is possessed of the nobility and other virtues of Vikrama, let him mount upon this throne.

And Bhoja said: Tell me a tale of his nobility and other virtues.

And the statue said: Hearken, O King!

In the reign of Vikramārka there was in his city a merchant named Bhadrāsena, who had a son Purandara. And there was no end to the wealth of this Bhadrāsena: yet was he not a squanderer. Now in the course of time Bhadrāsena died, and his son Purandara inherited all his father's property, and began to waste it extravagantly.

B. *Short Recension.*<sup>1</sup>

Hearken, O king!

In the city of Vikramārka there was a certain merchant who had unlimited wealth. And he in time came to the end of his life. Then his son threw away his wealth in evil courses.

C. *Jainistic Recension.*

Again on another occasion when King Bhoja had performed all the coronation rites and was mounting the throne, the twelfth statue said: O king, (only) he mounts (*may mount*) upon this throne who has nobility like (that of) Vikramāditya.

And when the king asked: Of what sort was that nobility? the statue said: O king, hearken!

(*"Argumentum", here in two verses:*)

(1) Having obtained great wealth by trade, and being rich as the Lord of Wealth (*the god Kubera*), a certain merchant died. His evil-minded son paid no heed to the timely warnings of his father's people and his other friends, who said: 'Look now, do not destroy this fortune by wicked wastefulness'. Bearing the stamp of his poverty (thus) brought about, he wandered forth into another country and came to a certain grove, rich in fair fruits.

(2) There he heard a woman crying by night.—Having heard all this from his lips, the noble Vikramārka went forth by night, taking his sword with sharp-gleaming-blade, and slew in conflict a demon that was tormenting the woman. The woman, freed from torment caused by her husband, gave him nine jars of gold, but he gave them to the merchant's son.

In the city of Avantī, the noble king Vikrama.

(There was) a merchant Bhadrāsena, whose son (was) Purandara. After his father's death he became (truly) a '*purandara*' ('*lavish dispenser*') of his father's wealth, enjoying himself in riotous living.

<sup>1</sup> *Eleventh* in this version, owing to a shift in the numbering. The Leipzig manuscript, owing to the accidental omission of an earlier tale, makes it the *tenth*.



*(Southern Recension.)*

Once upon a time his close friend Dhanada said to him: Purandara, although thou art of a mercantile family, thou dost waste thy money like a scion of nobility. This is not a mark of one sprung from a merchant's house. A merchant's son even though quite alone (*without a family*), should amass wealth, and should not waste so much as a cowry (*a very small coin*). The goods a man acquires will some day be of service to him, when some calamity occurs. So a prudent man should save up wealth against the coming of calamity. And it is said:

(1) A man shall defend his possessions for the event of misfortune, but shall defend his wife (if necessary) even with his possessions: himself however he shall always defend, even with (*at the sacrifice of*) both his wife and his possessions.

Hearing these words Purandara said: Dhanada, he who says that 'goods acquired will sometime be beneficial, when calamity occurs' is lacking in good judgment. When calamities come, then the riches that have been laid up are lost also. Therefore the wise man is not grieved for the past nor distressed about the future, but he should rather attend only to the present. And thus it is said:

*(Short Recension.)*

And he obeyed not the voice of his friends who warned him.

*(Jainistic Recension.)*

And his relations would have restrained him, saying: Look now, do not waste wickedly: wealth, if preserved, will be (surely) of some use or other. Wealth is the source of man's greatness,—since:

(3) This mass of waters (*the ocean, from which sprang Lakṣmī, goddess of Wealth and wife of Viṣṇu*) in producing your ladyship, O Lakṣmī! became a mine of jewels: the slayer of (the demon) Mura (*i. e. Viṣṇu*) by becoming thy husband became the lord of the three worlds: Kandarpa (*god of love*) through being thy son (*nandana*) became also the rejoicer (*nandana: a pun*) of the hearts of men: everywhere, I ween, high position has (*is due to*) the favor of thy grace.

By (the power of) wealth even faults become virtues: for:

(4) Sluggishness is changed into conservatism; restlessness takes the appearance of vigorous activity; taciturnity appears as reserve; stupidity becomes simple honesty; inability to distinguish (in giving alms) between the good and the worthless is changed into high-spirited generosity. O mother Lakṣmī! By the power of thy favor even vices shall become virtues!

When he heard these words of his relations he said:



*(Southern Recension.)*

(2) One should not grieve for the past, nor be distressed about the future: the wise occupy themselves with the things of the present.

What is to be, that will be, without any (outside) exertion: and what is (destined) to pass away, even thus will it pass away. And it is said:

(3) That which is destined to be—*is*, (maturing) like the milk of a cocoanut. That which is destined to pass away—it is already gone, they say, as a *kapittha*-fruit eaten by an elephant.

(4) For what is not to be surely is not, and what is to be, is, without any effort: and that which is not destined to belong to a man is lost to him, though he hold it in the palm of his hand.

To these words of Purandara Dhanada, having no reply, remained silent.

Then Purandara proceeded to waste all his father's goods. And then, when Purandara had no more money, his friends and relatives esteemed him no more, and would not even associate with him. And Purandara reflected in his heart: As long as there was money in my hands, so long these friends of mine were attentive unto me. But now they have no dealings with me. This is a true (observation on human) behavior: he who has money, he also has friends and the like. And it is said:

(5) He who has money has friends: he who has money has relatives: he who has money is a (great) man in the world: he who has money is also a scholar!

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*(Short Recension.)*

Thus when his wealth had been dissipated, being poor—

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*(Jainistic Recension.)*

(5) One should not grieve for the past, nor be distressed about the future: the wise occupy themselves with the present time.

(6) That which is destined to be—*is*, (maturing) like the milk of a cocoanut. That which is destined to pass away—it is already gone, they say, as a *kapittha*-fruit eaten by an elephant.

Then he spent and consumed all the wealth that his father had acquired. And when in the course of time he became poor, he was despised by his relations. For:

(7) Better is a forest infested by tigers and elephants, a shelter of trees, a diet of leaves, fruits and water, a bed of grass—better worn-out bark (garments), than life among relations for a man who has lost his wealth.



*(Southern Recension.)*

Furthermore:

(6) When a man is bereft of his money his relations do not crowd around him as before: being attached to his station alone, his parasites quickly go their own ways, his friends scatter, and—why make of it a long story? Even a man's wife is certain to have not so much regard for him when he has lost his wealth.

(7) Whatsoever man has wealth, that man is noble, learned, pious and virtuous: he verily is eloquent also, and handsome: all virtues rest upon gold.

Moreover:

(8) A thousand relations will attend a rich man, as long as he stands upon his feet, unscathed: but when he has lost his wealth no relative will so much as show his face.

And so:

(9) The wind is a friend of the fire that devours the forest, but he destroys the fire of a lamp: who has friendship for a poor man?

Therefore death is better than poverty. And it is said:

(10) 'Arise, my friend, and carry for just a moment the burden of my poverty, that poor weary I may at last enjoy the happiness that death has brought thee!' Hearing this cry of a poverty-stricken wretch, the corpse in the graveyard held its peace, knowing that death is much better than poverty.

And so:

(11) Hail to thee, Poverty! By thy grace I am become a magician! For though I can see everybody, no man can see me at all!

And likewise:

(12) Dead is a poor man: dead is conjugal intercourse that leads not to children: dead is a funeral-rite performed without a scripture-learned priest: dead is a sacrifice without a sacrificial fee.

Thus reflecting he went away into a far country.

*(Short Recension.)*

He went into a far country.

*(Jainistic Recension.)*

Thus reflecting he went into a far country.



*(Southern Recension.)*

And as he wandered he came to a certain city located near the Himālaya. And not far from this city there was a grove of bamboo. And he himself came to the outskirts of the town, and slept at night in the porch of some one's house. And at midnight he heard the shrieks of some woman crying in the bamboo grove: 'Good people, save me, save me, some *Rākṣasa* (*demon*) here is killing me'!

Having heard these cries, early in the morning he asked the people of the town: Good people, what is this in the bamboo grove here? Who is the woman that cries (there)?

And they said: Every night the sound of these cries is heard there in the grove. But every one is afraid to go and find what it is.

Then Purandara returned to his own city, and went to see the king.

And the king asked him: Purandara, what noteworthy thing hast thou seen while traveling in foreign parts?

Then Purandara told the king the story of the bamboo grove. And hearing of this strange occurrence the king set out with him for that city. And hearing at night the sound of the woman's wailing in the bamboo grove he went into the grove, and saw a *rākṣasa* in the act of murdering a helpless woman, who was screaming in extreme terror.

*(Short Recension.)*

Then going along the road he came to a certain town. There was a certain grove. In it a lone woman cried by night: Let some one save me!

Hearing this he asked the people of the place. Then the people replied: There a certain *rākṣasa* is devouring a woman. Her cries are constantly heard. But no one knows what it is (! *Reading uncertain and corrupt*).

Having seen this the merchant's son went back again to his own city, and told the king the occurrence.

Then the king took his shield and his sword and went forth with him. And he came to that city. Then at night, hearing the woman's cries in that grove, he took his sword (? *corrupt*) and went forth. There a *rākṣasa* was causing the woman to cry out (!).

*(Jainistic Recension.)*

And as he wandered he came to a city near Mount Malaya (! *a confusion between this mountain, in Malabar, and the Himālaya (Himācala) of the Southern version has occurred. Which was the original?*). And there he heard at night the call of some woman crying in distress with a piteous cry. And in the morning he asked the people.

And they said: We know not: every night some woman cries there: and therefore our city is greatly afraid, fearing some disaster. Having heard these things Purandara told the king. And the king out of curiosity went to that city.



## II.—THE DATIVE WITH PREPOSITIONAL COMPOUNDS.

The question of the advisability of retaining in the Latin Grammar the rule for a dative with verbs compounded with prepositions is one that must now be faced by every student of Latin syntax. This question was recently answered with a very vigorous negative by Professor E. W. Fay, who, in the *Class. Quart.*, Vol. V, July, 1911, p. 104, characterizes it as "a lazy-bed for grammarians, for pupils a very opiate and narcotic to reflection". That it is both an opiate and a narcotic to reflection few teachers who have watched its workings in the class-room, would venture to deny, tho some might consider it advisable to add the terms *Circe*, *Siren*, *Delilah*, a delusion and a snare, with the addition that it was "a mocker, and whoso is deceived thereby is not wise", as more descriptive of its treacherous allurements. Be that as it may, it is the writer's firm conviction that the rule has caused more trouble than it is worth. In fact, as early as 1878 a note of warning was sounded by *Draeger*, H. S., I., p. 377 and repeated on p. 419, who said in effect that there was only one trouble with this rule and that was that it wouldn't work. It had long been the intention of the writer to try and determine the exact value of this rule, when the above remarks of Professor Fay precipitated it. To attempt to solve all of the problems presented by prepositional compounds is not the province of this paper. The chief object in view is merely to show how often the rule works, how often it does not work, and to render it thereby possible to substitute for a more or less vague impression a more precise and exact statement of its actual value. Then, if the rule is still retained, much of its disastrous results will be prevented. The field that the writer has taken for investigation will, it is hoped, be considered sufficiently representative in its character and sufficiently broad in its extent to answer the question for the student in the High School and College.<sup>1</sup> It is believed that an examination of a more ex-

<sup>1</sup> In the High School, the usual amount covered, *Caesar* I-IV, *Cicero*, *Cat.*, *Arch.*, *Pomp.*, *Vergil* I-VI; in College, a course of reading ample in amount



tended field would not materially affect the results reached by this investigation and that the value of the rule in general is practically the same as that expressed here. To settle questions of valuation, it is evident that the most decisive course of procedure is to count both the number of times the rule *works*, to use the vigorous Anglo-Saxon, and, especially in this case, to count the number of times it *does not work*. The latter is a phase of the question that has hitherto not received the attention it deserves. For the sake of clearness in presentation and in order that one may see at a glance the exact usage of each of the prepositional compounds, the results have been tabulated.<sup>1</sup>

## I. BY WRITERS.

| Writers.                 | Acc. | Dat. | Acc.<br>c. Dat. | Pass.<br>c. Dat. | Without<br>Dat. | With<br>Dat. | %<br>Dat. |
|--------------------------|------|------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|
| Cato.....                | 298  | 6    | 5               | 2                | 488             | 13           | 2.6       |
| Plautus.....             | 110  | 19   | 8               | 1                | 149             | 28           | 15.8      |
| Terence.....             | 107  | 12   | 12              | 5                | 145             | 29           | 16.7      |
| Sallust.....             | 456  | 73   | 32              | 8                | 863             | 113          | 11.6      |
| Caesar.....              | 319  | 51   | 50              | 8                | 838             | 109          | 11.4      |
| Cicero H. S.....         | 213  | 45   | 41              | 35               | 641             | 121          | 15.8      |
| Vergil.....              | 379  | 74   | 93              | 13               | 717             | 180          | 20        |
| Horace.....              | 98   | 16   | 30              | 5                | 156             | 51           | 24.6      |
| Nepos.....               | 483  | 93   | 54              | 11               | 874             | 158          | 15.3      |
| Cicero, C. M., Lael..... | 157  | 35   | 13              | 8                | 358             | 56           | 13.5      |
| Livy I.....              | 209  | 34   | 38              | 22               | 469             | 94           | 16.7      |
| Livy XXI, XXII.....      | 390  | 53   | 57              | 34               | 846             | 144          | 14.5      |
| Juvenal.....             | 87   | 21   | 18              | 3                | 117             | 42           | 26.4      |
| Tacitus.....             | 173  | 28   | 19              | 9                | 362             | 56           | 13.4      |
| Suetonius.....           | 384  | 41   | 41              | 25               | 759             | 107          | 12.4      |
| Total.....               | 3863 | 601  | 511             | 189              | 7782            | 1301         | 14.3      |

## NOTES.

- In Caesar the value of the rule is 11.4%, in Cicero 15.1%.
- The value of the rule in High School Latin<sup>2</sup> is 15.7%.
- The value of the rule as judged by the usage of all the above writers is 14.3%.

to satisfy most demands, Cato Agr., Plautus Capt., Terence Phormio, Sall. Cat., Jug., Nepos, Cicero Cato M., Lael., Livy I, XXI, XXII, Horace Carm. I-IV, Tac. Ann. I, Iuv. I, VI, X, and Suet., Caes., Aug.

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this investigation such compounds as *proficiscor*, *progredior*, etc., which never take an accus. or dative, as well as those with a clause as an object, or with the object unexpressed, were all excluded.

<sup>2</sup> For particulars see the writer's treatment of this subject in the Classical Journal (1912), Oct. and B. M. Allen, in the Classical Weekly, V (1912), p. 170 f.



d) The value in poetry as contrasted with that in prose is shown by the table:

|              | Without Dat. | With Dative. | % Dative. |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|
| Prose .....  | 6500         | 971          | 12.9      |
| Poetry ..... | 1284         | 330          | 20.4      |

In early Latin poetry the value of the rule, as shown by the fragments, for Livius Andr. is 19% (17-4), for Naevius, 10% (36-4), and for Ennius (V.) 10.5% (111-13). With this contrast that for Plautus, 15.8% and Cato 2.6%.

e) A glance at individual usage shows that in Caesar and Cicero combined a dative is used 286 times, but is not used 1837 times. Its value, therefore, for standard prose is 13.5%. In point of fact, in no prose writer is its value more than 16.7% and this is in the poetical prose of Livy I. In poetry, however, the rule is in more honor, having a value of 26.4% in Juvenal, of 24.6% in Horace, and of 20% in Vergil. In strong contrast to this stands the usage of Cato, where the rule has a value of only 2.6%.

f) If, in order to determine the value of the rule, we take into consideration only the case that is used with the *active*, we find that the acc. is used 3863 times, the dat. 601 times, and, hence, from this point of view the rule is worth only 13.4%. In Caesar and Cicero, the acc. is used 689 times, the dat. 131, and the value is 15.9%. In prose the value is 12.3%, in poetry 15.3%, being greatest in Juvenal, 19.4%.

## II. BY PREPOSITIONS.

| Preps.       | Acc. | Dat. | Acc.<br>c. Dat. | Pass.<br>c. Dat. | Without<br>Dat. | With<br>Dat. | %<br>Dat. |
|--------------|------|------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|
| Ad .....     | 947  | 95   | 111             | 38               | 1667            | 244          | 12.8      |
| Ante .....   | 27   | 5    | 14              | 9                | 31              | 28           | 48.2      |
| Circum ..... | 85   | 0    | 5               | 4                | 178             | 9            | 4.9       |
| Con .....    | 1062 | 78   | 68              | 25               | 2408            | 171          | 6.6       |
| In .....     | 671  | 136  | 146             | 50               | 1414            | 332          | 19        |
| Inter .....  | 89   | 24   | 2               | 3                | 281             | 29           | 9.2       |
| Ob .....     | 408  | 98   | 55              | 17               | 745             | 170          | 18.6      |
| Prae .....   | 138  | 75   | 67              | 19               | 240             | 161          | 40        |
| Pro .....    | 189  | 25   | 15              | 6                | 375             | 46           | 10.9      |
| Sub .....    | 242  | 56   | 27              | 18               | 434             | 101          | 18.9      |
| Super .....  | 5    | 9    | 1               | 0                | 9               | 10           | 52.6      |
| Total .....  | 3863 | 601  | 511             | 189              | 7782            | 1301         | 14.3      |



## NOTES.

a) Prepositions vary from the point of view of the frequency with which they enter into composition. Those found most often are *con* 2579, *ad* 1911, *in* 1746, those found least often *super* 19, *ante* 59, *circum* 187.

b) Prepositional compounds vary also from the point of view of their value in the rule. *Super* heads the list with 52.6%, followed by *ante* with 48.2% and *prae* 40%, and at the other extreme are found *circum* with 4.9%, *con*, 6.6%, *inter*, 9.2%, and *pro* 10.9%.

c) From the point of view of the acc. and dat., *super* stands at one extreme with a value of 63.6% and *circum* at the other with 0%, *prae* standing midway with 35.2%.

d) With four prepositions the acc. c. dat. is used more frequently than the simple dat., *ad*, *ante*, *circum*, *in*. In contrast to these stand *inter* and *super*, with whom the acc. c. dat. is very rare.

e) *Super* is the only one of the prepositions not found in the passive with a dative.

## DETAILED USAGE.

a) AD: with dat. 244 times, without, 1667, value 12.8%; greatest value in Horace 62.5% (12-20)<sup>1</sup> and in Juvenal 25% (18-6). It may be noted that in Vergil (187-39) and in Livy I (124-27) the value is practically the same, 17 + %, but in Livy XXI, XXII (191-21) only 9 + %. The value is least in Cato 1.4% (69-1) and in Plautus 5.3% (36-2) (Cato 14.5 *accedo*; Pl. 708 *addo* and 1028 *adimo*, acc. c. dat.). In Caesar (125-22) and Cicero (227-29) the value is 12.6%. With the active alone, comparing the acc. and dat., the value of the rule is 9.1%, in Cic. and Caes. above, 14.6%.

b) ANTE: with dat. 28, without, 31, value 48.2%. In two writers Livy, Juvenal, *ante-* was not used at all; in four only once each; in four only with dat., Cato (156.1 *antisto*), Nepos (3. 1. 2 *-sto*), Plautus (840 *-verto*, acc. c. dat.) Vergil (4,371, *-fero*, acc. c. dat.); in one only with acc., Hor. (1.35. 17, *-eo*). In the entire period there were only 11 verbs used, *ante(i)sto*, *-capio* (6), *cedo* (10), *cello* (2), *eo* (6), *fero* (11) *figo*, *habeo*, *pono* (14), *venio* (6), *verto*, in all 59 occur-

<sup>1</sup> The first number in parenthesis shows the times the dat. is not used, the second, the times it is used.



rences. With the accusative are found *cipio* 6 (Sall.), *cedo* 8 (Caes. 2, Nep. 5, Suet.), *eo* 5 (Ter., Sall., Nep. 2, Hor.), *fero* 1 (Tac. 47), *pono* 1 (Tac. 58), *venio* 6 (Sall. 5, Tac.), in all 27 times (pass. abs., *fero* Nep. 2, Tac. 1, *pono* 1, Tac.). In Terence the acc. is used once (247 *eo*), the dat. once (*cedo* 525). In Cicero the dative only is used (4. 3, Pomp. 14 *cello*, and *pono* pass. 3, acc. c. dat. 3). Nepos with 17 (9-8) and Sallust with 15 (12-3) use compounds of *ante* most frequently. Next to these is Cicero with 8 (all with dat.) and Tacitus with 7 (5-2, the dat. being *habeo* 58, acc. c. dat. and *figo* 61, pass. c. dat.). Of the total 28 times the dative is used, half are in the acc. c. dat. and of this, 12 are of two verbs, *fero* 7, *pono* 5.<sup>1</sup> In the active the acc. is found 27 times, the dat. 5 times, and the value of *ante* is 15.6%.

c) CIRCUM: with dat. 9, without 178, value 4.9%. Its value in seven writers is 0, Cato (18),<sup>2</sup> Plaut. (1), Sall. (29), Cic. (9), Nepos (11), Tac. (15), Suet. (11). Terence and Horace do not use any compounds of *circum*, and in Caesar and Cicero they were used 28 times without a dat. and once with (Caes. 2. 6. 2 *-icio*, pass.). Vergil (8) and Juvenal (4) have the dat. once each, and with one verb, *-do* 2. 510, Juv. 6. 458). Livy I (12) does not have a dat., but XXI, XXII (43) have 6 (acc. c. dat. *do* 3, *fundo*, 1 and pass. 2). The dative alone is never used with *circum*-.

d) CON: with dat. 171, without 2408, value 6.6%. In Cato (179) its value is 0, and in no writer does it reach higher than in Ter. 17.1% (32-7), followed by Juv. with 13.2% (39-6). In Caesar its value is 5.2% (329-18), in Cic. H. S. 5.4% (280-16) and Cic. Coll. 9.8% (111-12), Sall. 8% (273-26), Nepos 6.1% (306-20), Livy I, 11.8% (105-14) but XXI, XXII, 6.3% (183-13), in Tac. 8.3% (66.6), and Suet. 5.8% (245-15). In the active (acc. and dat.) its value is 6.8%. Of the total of 78 times that the dat. is used, four verbs constitute 55 (*fido* 14, *sulo*, 20, *-tingo* 12, *venio* 9).

e) IN: with dat. 332, without 1414, value 19%. Its highest value is in Juvenal, 34.5% (19-11) and Vergil 33% (144-71), its lowest value in Cato .08% (127-1: *imperari*, 142) and Terence

<sup>1</sup> With the compounds of *ante* given in the Thesaurus the dat. is used 331 times (70 being of *-fero*, 168 of *pono*, with acc. c. dat.), but not used 392 times, and the value for this prefix is 45.8% in Latin literature. So also of *circum*: without dat. 3692+times, with dat. 338 (147 verbs used only with the acc.), with a value for *circum* of 8.4%. The Thesaurus shows 19 verbs compounded with *ante* and 163 with *circum*.

<sup>2</sup> The number of times a dative is not used is placed in parenthesis.



2.5% (39-1: *inici* 692). In Caesar its value is 15.6% (141-26), Cic. 22.2% (121-36). In prose its value is 16.8% (1131-228), but in poetry, 27.8% (284-108). In the active, in contrast to the acc., its value is 19.2% (671-136). The most common verbs with a dat. are *immineo* 10, *indulgeo* 17, *invideo* 10, *impendeo* 8.

f) INTER: with dat. 29, without 281, value 9.2%. In seven writers the value is 0, Cato (3), Plaut. (1), Ter. (1), Sall. (29), Cic. H. S. (32), Verg. (5), Juv. (1). In the others, Caesar 6% (47-3), Hor. 25% (3-1), Nepos 5.7 (66-4), Cic. Coll. 11.2 (16-2), Livy I, 26.1 (17-6), XXI, XXII, 26.3 (14-5). Tac. 5.6 (17-1), Suet. 17.1 (29-6). In the active the acc. is used 89 times, the dat. 24, or 21.2%, but of the 24 *intersum* is 14, *-venio* 4 (Livy 1. 36. 1; 48. 1; 9; Suet. A. 20), *-dico* 3 (Caes. 1. 46. 4, Nep. 22. 2. 3, Suet. A. 66. 2).

g) OB: with dat. 170, without 745, value 18.6%. The highest value is in Plaut. 40% (12-8, *obsto* 3, *obsum* 2), Juv. 33.3% (10-5), Verg. 29.5% (55-23), Ter. 29.4% (12-5), the lowest in Cato 9.4% (29-3), Suet. 10.3 (78-9). In the active, acc. = 408, dat. 94, value, 18.7%. In Caesar and Cicero the value is 20.6% (143-37). The most common verbs used are *occurro* 21, *-sto* 14, *-sisto* 11, *-tingo* 7.

h) PRAE: with dat. 161, without 240, value 40%. The greatest value is in Nepos 66.7% (26-48), due to the fact that out of 33 times the dat. is used in the active *praesum* constitutes 27 times. It is to be further noted that of the 74 times the dat. is used by all with an active, *praesum* constitutes 46, *praecipio* 11, *praesto* 7. In the active the acc. is used 138 times, hence the value is 34.9%. In Caes. and Cic. the value is 47.3% (48-43). In four writers the value is 50% or more, Ter. 50 (1-1) Sall. 53.1 (15-17), Caes. 52.5 (19-21), Livy I, 50 (7-7), and of the least value in Cato 11.1% (16-2).

i) PRO: with dat. 46, without 375, value 10.9%. The greatest value is in Plautus 27.3% (8-3), the least in Livy I, where it is 0 (11-0), in XXI, XXII 4% (48-2), Suet. 4.9% (58-3) Caes. 5.1% (37-2). In Cicero the value is 21.8% (43-12), in Sall. 9.8% (37-4), in Vergil 6.7% (42-3), in Hor. 11.8% (16-2). In the active the dative is used 23 times, the acc. 189, the value 10.9%. The most common verbs are *prosum* 7, *-spicio* 5.

j) SUB: with dat. 101, without 434, value 18.9%. The greatest value is in Terence 44.4% (5-4) and Juvenal 38.9% (11-7), in two writers of no value at all, Horace (15), Livy I (22). In no prose



writer is the value higher than in Sallust, 28% (18-7) and Livy XXI, XXII, 21.4% (33-9), while in Caesar it is worth only 5.1% (57-3) and in Cicero 16.9% (49-10). Here, also, there is a decided contrast between the usage of prose and of poetry: in prose with dat. 50, without 288, value 14.8%, but in poetry with dat. 41, without 107, value 27.7%. In the active the acc. is used 242 times, the dat. 56, the value 18.8%. The most common verbs with a dative are *succedo* 15, *-curro* 8, *-venio* 8.

k) SUPER: compounds with *super* were late in developing. They are found 10 times with the dat., 9 times without, with a value of 52.6%. Six writers did not use compounds of *super* at all, Cato, Plaut., Ter., Cic., Juv., Tac., and three but one each, and without a dative, Sall., Caes., Hor. In two the value of the rule is 100%, Nepos 1 (*supersum* 25. 22. 2), Suet. 2 (*-sedeo* A. 96. 1, *-pono* with acc. and dat., A. 31. 5). There were in all but 8 compounds of *super* and these were used but 19 times, as follows: *-icio* 2 (pass. abs. Hor. 2. 2. 11, Livy 21. 51. 9), *-emineo* 2 (Verg. 1. 501; 6. 856), *-impono* 1 (Verg. 4. 497), *-pono* 3 (pass. abs. Livy 21. 27. 5; with dat. 1. 34. 9, with acc. c. dat. Suet. A. 31. 5) *-scando* 1 (Livy 1. 52. 8) *-sedeo* 2 (abl. Caes. 2. 8. 1, dat. Suet. A. 96. 1), *-sum* 7 (Verg., Nep., Livy), and *-vado* 1 (acc. Sall. J. 75. 2).

#### I. DATIVE NOT USED.

##### A. Verbs with the Accusative Only.<sup>1</sup>

a) AD: *aggero*<sup>2</sup> (Cato), *amo*, *celero* (Tac.), *cendo*, *cereso*, *cesso*, *cingo* (V.), *cio*, *cipio*, *clamo* (Tac.), *colo* (Tac.) *cumulo* (V.), *cuso*, *disco*, *flecto* (Sall.), *ficieo*, *firmiter*, *flicto*, *fligo*, *for*, *gnosco*, *grego* (V.), *hortor*, *iaceo* (Nep.), *indo* (Cato) *ipiscor*, *iuto*, *iuvo*, *ligo*, *loquor*, *metior* (Cato, Juv.), *miror*, *moneo*, *ministro*, *oleo* (V.), *operio* (Livy I), *opto*, *orior*, *oro*, *orno*, *paro*, *pellare*, *peto*, *precor*, *prehendo* (Juv.), *porto*, *probo*, *ripio*, *rogo*, *scisco*, *sector*, *sequor*, *servo*, *sido*, *signo*, *simulo*, *specto*, *sperno*, *spicio*, *stringo*, *sulto* (Tac.), *sumo*, *tendo*, *tenuo*, *tero*, *tingo*, *trecto* (V.), *urgeo* (Hor.), *veho*, *vello* (V.) [70 verbs].

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Draeger, H. S., I, p. 377 f. and C. F. W. Mueller. Der Akkusativ, p. 132 f., the latter treating intrans. verbs.

<sup>2</sup> *Adaequo*, acc., except with *cum* Cic. Arch. 29 and acc. c. dat. Livy 1. 29. 6; 56. 1 and with dat. Suet. Aug. A. 46 and *appellere*, acc., exc. Verg. 1. 377; 3. 338; 715 acc. c. dat., are here excluded.



b) ANTE: *antecapio* (Sall. c. 13. 4; 32. 1; 42. 1; 55. 1; J. 21. 3; 50. 1) and *antevenio* (Sall. J. 4. 7; 48. 2; 56. 2; 88. 2; 96. 3, Tac. 63)<sup>1</sup> [2 verbs].

c) CIRCUM: *eo* (Cato, Sall.), *fero*, *flecto* (V.), *frio* (Cato), *fodio*, *ligo* (Cato), *lino* (Cato), *saepio* (Livy I), *seco* (Cato), *sideo*, *sisto*, *sileo* (Juv.), *scribo*, *spicio*, *sto*, *venio*, *verto* (Cato) [17 verbs].

d) CON: *addo* (Cato), *aequo* (Cato), *arguo*, *arto* (Suet.), *bibo*, *buro*, *calfacio*, *cīdo*, *cieo*, *cinno*, *cio*, *cipio*, *cito*, *clamo* (V.), *cludo*, *(co)emo*, *epto* (Tac.), *coquo*, *cremo*, *cupio*, *cupisco*, *decero*, *demno*, *depso* (Cato), *disco*, *do*, *dono*, *duco*, *edo*, *erceo*, *ficio*, *firmo*, *flo*, *fodio*, *formo*, *fringo*, *fundo*, *futo*, *gemo*, *gero*, *globo*, *gnosco*, *glutino*, *hibeo*, *hortor*, *iecto*, *labor* (Suet.), *laudo*, *lego*, *libro* (Cato), *luco* (Cato), *luo*, *lusto* (V.), *maculo*, *memero*, *mereo*, *mercor*, *meto*, *miniscor*, *minuo*, *misero*, *modo*, *moveo*, *munio*, *muniscor*, *muto*, *pellare*, *perio*, *pesco*, *plano*, *pleo*, *porto*, *prehendo*, *primo*, *probo*, *puto* (Juv.), *quasso* (Cato), *queror*, *quiro*, *rigo*, *ripio*, *roboro*, *rumpo*, *saluto*, *scendo*, *scribo*, *seco*, *secto*, *sector*, *sequor*, *servo*, *socior* (Hor.), *solor*, *spargo*, *spicio*, *spicor*, *sterno*, *struo*, *sumo*, *tamino*, *tego*, *temno*, *templor*, *tero*, *terreo*, *texo*, *tineo*, *tinuo*, *traho*, *trucido*, *tueor*, *tundo*, *turbo*, *vado* (Ter.), *vecto* (V.), *vello*, *voco*, *volvo*<sup>2</sup> [118 verbs].

e) IN: *auguro* (Livy), *buo*, *cendo*, *cerno*, *cīdo*, *clamo*, *coho* (Suet.), *colo*, *como* (Hor.), *conrumpo*, *crepito* (Caes.), *crepo* (Sall., Livy), *cudo* (Juv.), *curo* (V.), *cuso*, *decoro* (Hor.), *dignor* (V.), *duo* (Tac., Suet.), *fervefacio* (Cato), *findo* (V.), *finio* (Sall.), *fitior*, *flecto*, *fodio*, *gnoro*, *habeo*, *laqueo* (Hor.), *ligo*, *ludo*, *luo*, *lusto*, *mergo*, *minuo* (Sall.), *moveo*, *no*, *noto*, *opinor*, *pedio*, *pendeo* (Ter.), *petro*, *pingo*, *ploro*, *porto*, *precor* (V.), *probo*, *pugno*, *quieto* (Suet.), *quino*, (Pl., Hor.), *quiro*, *rado*, *retio*, *rigo*, *rito*, *rogo*, *secto*, *sector*, *sequor*, *sero*, *simulo*, *sinuo*, *spicio*, *spiro* (V.), *stipo*, *stituo*, *struo*, *tamino*, *testor* (Juv.), *texo* (V.), *tingo* (Suet.), *tro*, *tueor*, *venio*, *viso*, *voco*, *volo* (Tac.), *volvo*<sup>3</sup> (Juv.) [77 verbs].

<sup>1</sup> C. F. W. Mueller, *Der Akkusativ*, p. 133, omits Tac. Ann. 1. 63, *anteverto*, Plaut. 840 with acc. and dat.

<sup>2</sup> *Colloco*: acc. c. dat. Suet. A. 64. 1, elsewhere with acc.; so *commendo*, Suet. and *concutio*, Verg. 6. 101, *consero*, pass. with dat. Verg. 5. 259, and *confiteor*, dat. Cic. Arch. 28, are also debarred from the above list.

<sup>3</sup> The following are excluded owing to their using a dative also: *incutio* Livy 22. 42. 9, *ingero* Tac. 65, *inmitto* Verg. 4. 448; 6. 1; 232; 312, *inplico* Verg. 1. 660, 2. 724; pass. c. dat.: *inicio* Nepos 7. 3. 3, *imprimo* Verg. 4. 659.



f) INTER: cipio, cludo (V., Livy I), ficio, icio, imo, luo, mitto, pellare, pono, pretor, puto (Cato), rogo, saepio (Livy) scindo, sero, telligo, viso [17 verbs].

g) OB: armo (Hor.), cido, cipio, co (Cato), culco (Cato), culo (V., Tac.), culto, cupo, duco, eo, fendo, fero, figo (Cato), gannio (Ter.), iecto, iurgo (Ter.), lecto, ligo, lino (Suet.), littero (Tac.), loquor, mitto, nubo (Livy), nuntio, (o)stento, perior, peto, pico (Cato), pono, primo, pugno, ruo, saepio (Livy), scuro, secro, servo, sideo, sido, stringo, struo, tego, tero, testor, tineo, trunco, turbo, turo, volvo (Suet.) [48 verbs].<sup>1</sup>

h) PRAE: cedo, cīdo, cipio, cuo (Cato), curro (Cic. Cato M. 62; cf. Nep. 8. 1. 3), damno (Suet.), dicare, dicere, fero, fluo (Hor.), gravo (Suet.), gusto (Juv.), metuo (V.), nato (V.), occupo, opto, paro, pedio, pono, sagio (Livy), stringo, tempto, texo (V.), trunco, video (V.) [27 verbs].

Note, however, *obire* with the abl. in Vell. 2, 87. 3, Suet. Galba 3. 4, Eutrop. 7. 17; 8. 15; 10, 17 and Ambros. Epp. 53. 3 (M.).

i) PRO: bo, creo (Nep.) curo, do, duco, (e)mo, fero, ficio, fiteor, fligo, fundo, gigno (Hor.), habeo, loquor, luo (V.), mereo (Ter.), mitto, moveo, nuntio, pello, pulso, ripio, rumpo, ruo (Hor.), scindo, scribo, seco, sequor, specto (Sall.), sterno, tego, telo (Ter.), tendo (V.), tero (Hor.), traho, voco [37 verbs].

j) SUB: cendo, cido, cingo (Juv.), cipio, duco, fero, igo, lino (Plaut.), levo, mitto, moveo, orno, pecto, pleo, porto, primo, rigo (V.), ripio, ruo, scribo, sequor, sisto, spicio, spicor, spiro, stituo, stringo, tento (Plaut.), tero (Cato), tineo, traho, uro (Suet.), veho, verto [35 verbs].

k) SUPER: emineo (V.), impono (V.), scando (Livy I), vado (Sall.) [4 verbs].

#### *Summary with Accusative.*

Ad 70, ante 2, circum 17, con 118, in 77, inter 17, ob 48, prae 27, pro 37, sub 35, super 4. Total: 452 compounds, only with accusative.

#### B. FOUND IN THE PASSIVE ABSOLUTE ONLY.

AD: edo (Livy), figo, fundo, levo, scio (Nep.), scisco, tono (V), umbro, rigo (V.), verso, voco [11 verbs].

<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that Riemann et Goelzer, Gram. Comp. du Grec. et Lat., p. 48 say that 'of the compounds of *ob* only two *obire*, *obsidere* in all periods take the accusative'.



**CIRCUM:** ago (Cato), duco, figo (Cato), icio, munio (Pl.), plumbo (Cato), tondeo (Suet.) [7 verbs].

**CON:** celebros (V.), ceno (Cato), (co)acervo, fercio (Livy), fisco, frio, gnomino (Suet.), monstro, ploro, prendo, rado, saepio, scisco, sentio, stringo, sulto, vinco (17 verbs).

**IN:** cognosco, condo, compono, defetiscor (Tac.), doceo, domino, domo, doto (Ter.), exercito, experior, famo, ficio, freno, fringo (Tac.) meto, munio, muto, ordino, paro, pendo, permitto, punio, retorqueo, sepelio, spuo (Pl.), sterno, tempto, tolero, tondeo, torqueo, tracto, ulciscor (Sall.), verto, vinco, violo [35 verbs].

**INTER:** calo, fundo, iungo, iuvo, misceo, nosco, rumpo [7 verbs].

**OB:** caeco, cludo, freno, fundo, pleo, sero, signo, stino [8 verbs].

**PRAE:** caveo, figo (V.), fringo, ligo, nuntio, rumpo, texto, uro [8 verbs].

**PRO:** pono, pugno, rogo [3 verbs].

**SUB:** cerno (Cato), fodio, icio, pono, puto (Cato), tendo, texo (V.) [7 verbs].

**SUPER:** icio (Hor.), pono (Livy) [2 verbs].

**Total:** Pass. Absol. 105 verbs.

### C. ONLY WITH PREPOSITIONS.

**AD:** curo *ad* (Ter. Caes.), curro *ad*, haeresco *in* (Cato 152), licio *ad* (Cic.), misceo, *ad* (Cic.), *cum* Cato, nitor *ad* (Cic.), plico *ad* (Nep., Cic.), sideo *in* (Tac.), venio *ad*, vento *sub* (V. 5, 328), verto *ad* (Sall.) [11 verbs].

**CON:** certo *cum* (V.), cido *in* (V.), colo *cum* (Nep.), cordo *cum* (Ter.), cresco *ad* (Suet.), curso *circum* (Cic.), flicto *cum* (Ter.), fligo *adversus* Nep., Cic., *cum*, *inter*, fluo *ad* (Nep.), fugio *ad* (Nep., V.), gregor *cum*, haereo *cum* (Cic.), iuro *contra*, *inter*, loquor *cum*, *inter*, meo *ad* (Suet.), *cum* (Cic.), *in* (Tac.), moror *apud* (Cic.), pono *cum* (Ter.), ruo *in*, sentio *ad*, *cum*, sideo *in*, sisto *in* (Cic.), *propius* Livy 1. 27. 5, spiro *cum*, surgo *ad* (Suet.), torqueo *ad*, *in* [24 verbs].

**IN:** aro *in* (Cato), curso *in* (Livy), fluo *in*, formo *ad*, migro *in* (Livy), repo *in* (Cic.), ripio *in* (Cato), rumpo *in* (Caes., Livy), silio *in* (Caes.), siruo *inter* (Caes.), sipio *in* (Cato), stillo *in* (Cato), veterasco *in* (Cic.), vivo *in* (Suet.) [14 verbs].

**INTER:** interluceo *inter* (Livy 1. 42. 4) [1 verb].



OB: cido *in*, *super* (Livy), liquo *in* (V.), trecto *inter* (Nep. 3. 1. 1), tendo *ad* (Tac.) [4 verbs].

PRAE: praeluceo *in* (Cic. Lael. 27) [1 verb].

PRO: cedo *ad*, *in*, cumbo *ad*, *super* (V.), *secundum* (Caes.), deo *in* (Nep. 2. 1. 3), icio *in* (Tac. 3; 31), mereor *de* (Plaut.) [5 verbs].

SUB: puro *ad* (Cato 157. 3), urgeo *ad* (V.) [2 verbs].

Total: Only with prepositions 62 verbs.

#### D. WITH PREPOSITIONS, OR ACCUSATIVE, BUT WITHOUT DATIVE.

AD: cesso *in* (arcesso), cio *in* (Suet.), duco, eo, gredior *ad* (Livy 1. 42. 4), habeo *ad* (Livy), igo *ad* (Caes., Suet.), licio *ad*, mitto, plico *ad*, pono *ad* (Cato), quiro *ad* (Cic.), rigo *in* (Tac.), scendo *in* (V.), scisco *ad* (Cic.) *in* (Tac.), sero *in* (Suet.), tineo *ad* (Ter.), verto *sub* (V.), tollo *ab*, *in* (V.), voco *ad* (Livy) [20 verbs].

CIRCUM: pono *circum* (Cato 115. 2) [1 verb].

CON: (a)go, cito *ad* (Suet.), duco, figo *in* (Nep.), fero, fundo, gero *in* (Ter., Cic.), (co)gito, gredior *in*, *per*, icio, misceo *cum* (Cato 76. 3; 93; 109; 114. 2), *inter* 96, acc. (39. 2; 84); pass. abs. 162. 6, *cum* 103, abl. (V), 3. 633; 4. 120; 161; 6. 762), pel-  
lere, plector *inter* (Nep.), queror *de* (Suet.) sidero *sub* (Sall.), sisto, socio, *inter* (Livy I), tendo, tero, traho, vesto [21 verbs].

IN: cito *ad*, clino *ad*, *in*, cludo *in*, do, duco, flammo *ad*, frio, fundo, gredior *in*, *intra*, licio *ad* (Sall.), pello *in*, ripio *ad* (Suet.), scendo *supra* (Cato), scribo *in*, tendo, tinguo (Cato), vehor, vado *in* (Sall., Tac.), vito *ad*. [19 verbs].

PRAE: cipito, mitto, sentio *in* (Cic.), sumo *in* (Tac.) [4 verbs].

PRO: lato *ad* (Livy I), mulgo *ad* (Sall.) [2 verbs].

SUB: Cito *in* (V. 2. 618), do (Cato), gero *in* (Suet.), pendo (Cato), pono [5 verbs].

Total: 72 verbs.

#### E. WITH NEITHER ACCUSATIVE NOR DATIVE.

*Adpetens*, gen. Cic. P. 7, *circumfluo*. abl., Cic. Lael. 52, *com-*  
*missor*, abl. Hor. 4. 1. 1, *conitor*, abl. V. 5. 264. *indigeo*, gen.,  
Nep. 5. 4. 2; 8. 2. 6; 23. 1. 3; Cic. L. 51, abl., Nep. 17. 7. 2;  
25. 9. 3; 21. 2, Suet. A. 29. 1; 89. 2, *infrendo*, abl. V. 3. 664,  
*inhorreo*, abl. Hor. 1. 23. 5, *innitor*, abl. Caes. 2. 27. 1, Suet. C.  
57 (*in* Nep. 25. 21. 5), *oberro*, abl. Tac. 65, *occido*, abl. V. 2. 581,



*occubo*, abl. V. 1. 547, *obstipesco*, abl. V. 1. 613; 5. 90, *supersedeo*, abl. Caes. 2. 8. 1<sup>1</sup> [13 verbs].

### SUMMARY OF A-E (Without Dative).

It is to noted that in the above lists there are 704 verbs with which the dative is never used (452 only with the acc., 105 only in the Pass. abs., 62 only with preps., 72 only with preps. or acc. and 13 with other cases).

## II. DATIVE IS USED.

### A. Only with the Dative.

AD: *cresco* (Tac. 19), *cumbo*<sup>1</sup> (V. 1. 79), *fulgeo* (Hor. 4. 5. 7) *glomero* (V. 2. 341), *iaceo* (Tac. 65) *no* (V. 1. 358; 4. 613; 6. 358), *labor* (V., Hor.), *pareo*, *rideo* (Juv. 6. 606), *repio* (Tac. 74), *sentio*, *sentior* (Sall.), *sideo* (Livy 21. 25. 6; 53. 6), *versor* (Nep., V., Tac.) [14 verbs].

ANTE: *cello* (Cic. P. 14, A. 4), (*i*)*sto* (Cato. 156. 1, Nep. 3. 1. 2) [2 verbs].

CON: *dico*, *fido*, *moror* (Ter. 572), *peto* (Suet. C. 40. 1), *seneseo* (Sall. C. 20. 10) [5 verbs].

IN: *cubo*<sup>2</sup> (V. 1. 89; 4. 83; 6. 610; Livy 21. 27. 5), *gnosco*, *haereo* (Livy 1. 28. 10), *labor* (V. 2. 240; 3. 89), *mineo*, *servio* (Nep.), *sidior*, *sulto* (Hor. 3. 3. 41; Livy 1. 48. 2), *surgo* (V., 3. 207, 560, 5. 189) [9 verbs].

INTER: *iaceo* (Livy 21. 30. 11), *venio* (Livy, Suet.) [2 verbs].

OB: *cumbo* (V.), *equito*, *ficieo*, *irascor*, *luctor* (V.), *oedio*, *repo*, *secundo*, *sisto*, *oto*, *strepo*, *sum*, *tempero*, *tingo* (Pl., Ter.), *obvenio*,<sup>3</sup> *versor* [16 verbs].

PRAE: *curro* (Cic. 4. 19), *stolor* (Cic. 1. 24), *sum* [3 verbs].

PRO: *sum* [1 verb].

SUB: *censeo*, *cumbo*, *curro*, *ficieo*, *plico* (Cato, Pl.), *plicor* (Sall.), *rideo* (V.) *sido* [8 verbs].

<sup>1</sup> But contrast *accubo* in Cic. 2. 10, Nep. 16. 3. 2; 17. 8. 2 and *incumbo* ad Cic. 4. 4; P. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Impleo* is used with the acc. and gen. or abl., *obliviscor* with gen., except acc. V. 2. 148 and Livy 22. 58. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Note that in the authors examined *obeo* always takes the acc.; but *obvenio* always takes the dative, due to the use of *obeo* in a technical sense, with *mortem* or *diem*, to 'die'. See also footnote, p. 293. Note, however, *Obeo Acherontem*, Enn. Sc. 245 (V<sup>2</sup>), and *obeo bella*, Ov., Trist. 22. 30.



TOTAL: Only with Dative 6 verbs,<sup>1</sup> only six being compounds of transitive verbs, *dico*, (g)*nosco*, *peto*, *sentio*, *sisto*, *tingo*, and nine compounded of verbs which take a dative in the simple form, *fido*, *haereo*, *irascor*, *luctor*, *pareo*, *rideo*, *sumo*, *servio*, *tempero*.

#### B. WITH EITHER ACCUSATIVE OR DATIVE.<sup>2</sup>

*Antecedo*, dat. Ter. 525, *anteo* dat. Suet. A. 64. 3; *circumfundo*, pass. c. dat. Livy 21. 27. 4; 22. 7. 11; 12; *confileor*, dat. Cic. A. 28, *consulo*, acc. Ter., Cic., Verg., Nep., *contingo*, acc. Verg. 8, Juv. 2, Suet. 2, *incipio*, dat. V., 2. 269, *ineo*, pass. c. dat. Livy 1. 23. 10, *inludo*, acc. (Ter. 915, Tac. 71), pass. abs. (Cic. Cato 65., Lael. 99), dat. (V. 2. 64: 4. 591, Tac. 61) *imprimo*, pass. c. dat. V. 4. 659, *impendeo*, acc. Ter. 180, *inrideo*, acc. (Pl. 657, pass. 785, Ter. 669, Cic. Cato 85, Suet. C. 81. 4, A. 86. 2), dat. Pl. 657, *insisto* acc. V. 6. 563, *insto*, acc. (Nep. 15. 9. 1; 18. 4. 2), dat. (V. 1. 504; 5. 168, Juv. 6. 407), *obsequor*, acc. Ter. 79, dat. Cato 5. 6, Pl. 306, Cic. L. 35, Nep. 25. 2. 2, Juv. 10. 393), *occurro*, acc. V. 5. 36, (Cic. 3. 16 with *obeo*, etc.), *praevertor*, pass. c. dat. Pl. 460, *prospicio*, acc. 16, dat. 6, *provideo*, acc. 19, dat. 5 (Sall. J. 62. 1; 90. 1, Cic. 2. 19; 3. 4, L. 6) [19 verbs].

#### C. WITH A DATIVE OR A PREPOSITION.

*Accido ad*, Suet. C. 20. 4; *adequito*, dat. Livy 1. 14. 7; 22. 42. 4, *ad* Caes. 1. 46. 1; *adpropinquo ad*, Nep. 3. 3. 3; *adsto*, dat. 2 (Pl. 664, with *contra*, V. 1. 301), preps. 10; *adsum*, dat. 12, preps. 14 (*ad* Ter. 313, Sall. J. 96. 3, V. 2. 732; 5. 57, Livy 1. 52. 5, Suet. C. 84. 3, *apud* Sall. J. 100. 3, *cum* Cic. P. 16, 69, *in* Cic. P. 69, L. 9, 25, Livy, 1. 44. 1; 21. 63. 1); *congruo*, dat. 2 (Nep. 6. 3. 5, Suet. C. 40. 2), preps. 3 (*ad* Livy 1. 5. 5; 19. 6, *cum* Cic. L. 27); *concurro* dat. 1 (V. 1. 493), preps. 4 (*cum* Sall. 60. 2; Nep. 18. 3. 4, *ad* Caes. 3. 22. 4, *in* V. 2. 315); *incido*, dat. Livy 21. 10. 10, preps. 16 (*in* 15, *super* V. 2. 467); *incumbo* dat. 9, *ad* Cic. 4. 4, P. 19; *incurro*, dat. 4 (Sall. J. 101. 8, Livy 22. 17. 6, pass. Juv. 6. 331, V. 2. 409 ?), *in* (Sall. C. 60. 7; J. 97. 4, Cic. Cato 25); *insum* dat. 6, preps. 2 (*in* Sall. C. 15. 5, Cic. L. 84); *intercedo* dat. 2 (Caes. 1. 43. 6; Tac. 13), preps. 4 (*pro* Suet. C. 30. 1, *in* Nep. 10. 1. 3, Cic. Cato 77, *inter* Caes. 2. 17. 2); *praesideo in*

<sup>1</sup> Excluded are: *accido* with *ad*, Suet. C. 20. 4, *annuo*, acc. c. dat. V. 1. 250, *impendeo* with acc. Ter. 180, *indulgeo*, acc. c. dat. Suet. A. 41. 1, *subvenio*, acc. c. dat. Sall. J. 85, 48; 99. 3. See C. *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> The unusual construction is given in the following list.



Sall. J. 85. 48; 99. 3, *pro* Suet. A 26. 3; *procedo* dat. 2 (Cato 148. 1, Pl. 467), preps. frequent.<sup>1</sup>

Total: 14 verbs.

It is to be noted that there are 704 verbs with which a dative is never used, only 61 with which a dative is always used, and that from this point of view the value of the rule is only 7.9%.

### III. NOTEWORTHY COMPOUNDS.<sup>2</sup>

*Accedo*, acc. 16, dat. 8, preps. 37. (Note *propius* Caes. 1. 46. 1, Nepos 1. 7. 2, Livy 21. 24. 3).

*Accommodo*, acc. 3, acc. c. dat. 4, acc. c. *ad* 4.

*Addo*, acc. 75, acc. c. dat. 34, c. *ad*. 4, c. *in* 3.

*Adiungo*, acc. 8, acc. c. dat. 12, c. *ad* 5.

*Adsuefacio*, acc. c. dat., Livy 21. 3. 4, pass. c. abl. Caes. 4. 1. 9; 4. 3. 4 (?), Livy 1. 46. 7, Suet. A. 64. 2.

*Comparo*, acc. 26. acc. c. dat. 1 (Cic. Cato., 14) c. *cum* 3; pass. abs. 25, with *cum* 3, with *ad* (Cic. Cato. 64).

*Concedo*, acc. 12, acc. c. *cum*, 9, acc. c. dat. 2 (Cato 138, Sall. J. 7. 7); pass. c. dat. 2 (Sall. J. 14. 14, Cic. Cato 59), c. *cum* 7, c. *inter* 1 (V. 1. 412).

*Incedo*:<sup>3</sup> acc. 6 (Livy 1. 17. 4; 56. 10; 22. 12. 5, Tac. 16, 40, 61), dat. 2 (Sall. C. 31. 3, Tac. 51), preps. 3 (*in* Sall. J. 10. 17, *ad* V. 1. 497, *per* V. 1. 188).

*Indulgeo*: dat. 17, acc. c. dat. 2 (Juv. 6. 384, Suet. A. 41. 1), acc. 1 (Tac. 52<sup>4</sup>).

*Impono*: acc. 26, dat. 1 (Nep. 18. 5. 7), acc. c. dat. 28, preps. 8 (*in* 5, *ad* Cato 157. 3, Livy 22. 19. 4, pass., *insuper* Cato 18. 5).

*Praesto*: acc. 25,<sup>5</sup> dat. 7, acc. c. dat. 5, abl. 1 (Sall. C. 37. 5).

*Subeo*, acc. 25, dat. 6, all in Vergil (3. 292; 5. 176; 203; 346; 6. 812), abl. 2 (V. 2. 708; 4. 599), *ad* 1 (Livy 1. 28. 5).

*Succedo*, dat. 15, acc. 2 (Caes. 2. 6. 2,<sup>6</sup> Livy 22. 28. 12), *ad* 2 (Caes. 4. 3. 2, Livy 1. 27. 5), *sub* 1 (Caes. 1. 24. 4), *in* 3 (Caes. 4. 32. 2, Nep. 15. 7. 3, Livy 21. 3. 2).

<sup>1</sup> Excluded: *obnitor*, dat. Tac. 21, *in* V. 5. 206, abl. V. 4. 406.

<sup>2</sup> For complete particulars regarding the usage of verbs from A-C cf. Thesaurus Ling. Lat. Cf. also p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Arch. f. Lat. Lex. IX, p. 113, Schmalz Antib. I<sup>1</sup>, p. 706 f., C. F. W. Mueller, Der Akkusativ p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Add to Mueller, *ibid.* p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> Add to Draeger, H. S. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 380 for Nepos, with acc.: 1. 2. 3: 24. 2. 3; 25. 15. 1, and with dat. 19. 2. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Omitted by C. F. W. Mueller, *l. c.* p. 141, as also Suet. A. 96. 1.



*Supersedeo*: abl. Caes. 2. 8. 1, dat. Suet. A. 96. 1<sup>1</sup> (cf. also Nero, 11. 2).

## CONCLUSION.

1) In view of the fact that the value of this rule is only 14.3%, that in the standard prose of Cicero and Caesar its value is only 13.5%, that in the active these compounds take the accusative 3863 times, the dative only 601 times, with a resulting value of 13.4%, one conclusion inevitably follows, that the rule must either be abolished entirely, or so modified as to be in harmony with the above facts.

2) The fact that there are 704 compounds with which the dative is never used and only 61 with which the dative is always used, the value, therefore, being only 7.9%, also points to the same conclusion.

3) In view of the fact that there are 19 compounds that are used with either an accus. or a dat., that there are 14 that have only the dative or a preposition, that there are a number of verbs like *accedo* that take either an accus. or a dat., or a preposition, it follows that regard must be had not so much to the group of letters found at the beginning of the verb, as to the *meaning* of the verb in its totality. We follow this method of procedure with other verbs, whether compounds or not, and thus determine which one of the six cases is to be used.

4) As the object of language is to convey meaning, it is obvious that the only rational basis for a rule is the *meaning* of the word. It, therefore, follows that if the rules in the grammar do not include the particular meaning that will account for the dative, the rules must be modified so as to include the desired meaning. Several grammars recognize this fact, and add a note to the effect that, if the dative is used it may be caused by the compound having the meaning "favor, help, please, trust," etc. This is certainly a move in the right direction. Does not the student *feel* the force and the reason for the dative being used with the common *bellum inferre*, when he is told that the accusative *bellum* makes a close compound with the verb and is therefore called the direct object, whereas, the dative, by contrast, makes a less close connection with the verb and is therefore called the indirect object, or even that it is a dative of disadvantage? Is this not better than the

<sup>1</sup> Draeger, H. S. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 419 cites for the dative only Bell. Afr. 75. Cf. also Apul. Mag., p. 285, 19.



usual mechanical answer "dative with a compound of *in*"?<sup>1</sup> The dative is used instead of a preposition to introduce the element of feeling, emotion, interest, whereas the preposition merely expresses a place relation,—the one is warm, the other cold. Furthermore, it is to be noticed that the 61 compounds always used with a dative may be reduced to 51 by the fact that in 10 instances the simple verb is used with a dative (*fido*, *haereo*, *irascor*, *luctor*, *pareo*, *rideo*, *sum* (ob. pro), *tempero*, *servio*), and thus the remainder may be explained as due either to the acquired meaning of the compound being "favor, help, please, trust", etc., or by their use as indirect objects, or as datives of personal interest, or where a preposition would be used in classical prose. It is significant that as early as 1845, Zumpt, *Lat. Gr.*, p. 412, explained the use of a dative with *adpropinquo* and similar verbs as being due to their meaning "approach", and that certainly as early as 1803, and probably in his first edition 1787, Chr. Gottlob Bröder, *Pract. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.*<sup>6</sup> (1803) remarked: "man muss auf den Sprachgebrauch Acht haben".

In reply to a query regarding the originator of the rule in its present form, Professor J. Golling wrote, March 11th, 1912: "Es ist wohl sicher, dass die Regel in der vorliegenden Fassung in den Jahren zwischen 1848–1855 entstanden ist und zwar dürfte F. Schultz der Autor sein".

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<sup>1</sup> In such an answer, it is hardly necessary to say, there lies an absurdity, inasmuch as, if the dative is used, it is not because of the preposition, but in spite of it, there being no prepositions used with the dative in Latin.



### III.—SUBMERGED TABELLAE DEFIXIONUM.

Many tabellae defixionum have been found in ancient wells and springs, and still others bear evidences of having been originally thrown into water.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, directions are given in several passages of the Magic Papyri that defixiones (κάτοχοι, κατάδεσμοι) are to be cast either into a grave or into some body of water, natural or artificial.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this custom was, according to Wünsch, "*ut per quam (i. e. aquam) via pateret ad manes eorum, qui naufragio perierunt*".<sup>3</sup> This explanation is accepted by Audollent<sup>4</sup> and is in line with that advanced by Hubert.<sup>5</sup> We, too, regard it as true—as far as it goes—but can hardly grant that it is adequate, for it leaves the origin of the custom still in its primitive obscurity.

The leading social anthropologists are agreed that the association of demons, spirits, or divinities with magic rites is a secondary and comparatively late development.<sup>6</sup> The earliest magic was

<sup>1</sup> Audollent, Auguste, *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris, 1904, nos. 22-37; 104; 105; 109; 110; 114-120; 129; 262; Wünsch, Richard, *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*, I. G. III 3, nos. 27; 28; 52.

<sup>2</sup> Wessely, C., *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London*, *Denkschrift d. kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse*, XXXVI, 1888, 2te Abt., 27 ff.; *Pap. Anast.* 351; id., *Neue Gr. Zauberpapyri*, *Denk. d. k. Akad. d. W. zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.*, XLII, 1893, 96 ff., 443 ff., 456 ff.

<sup>3</sup> D. T. A., pr. iv.

<sup>4</sup> D. T., pr. cxvii.

<sup>5</sup> See under *Magia*, p. 1511, *Daremberg et Saglio, Dict. des Ant. grec. et rom.*

<sup>6</sup> " . . . . Though magic was thus found to fuse and amalgamate with religion in many ages and in many lands, there are some grounds for thinking that this fusion is not primitive, and that there was a time when man trusted to magic alone for the satisfaction of such wants as transcended his immediate animal cravings." J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (1911) I, p. 233; cf., pp. 234-235 and p. 235, n.; "*La magie sympathique se suffit à elle-même et la magie démoniaque lui est postérieure . . . .*" Edmond Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1908, p. 308; cf. p. 307. Years ago Hegel reached the same conclusion by a very different process; see his *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*, I, pp. 220 ff. (vol. XI of the first collected edition of Hegel's works, Berlin, 1832); and Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 423, app.



based solely on the unshaken belief in the efficacy of symbolism. And this is everywhere and at all times the very heart of magic.<sup>1</sup> An act producing a result analogous to a certain desired result, would of itself, according to this belief, under certain prescribed conditions, produce this desired result. This made primitive man a veritable potentate. Moreover, he was scientific so far as he believed in the control of these processes by immutable laws; but he was unscientific so far as he equated analogy and identity. Each man was his own magician for good or evil. But in time he became sensitive to his own limitations and slowly acquired the habit of reinforcing his symbolism by appeals to his deities or by binding them to his service. This addition of one of the elements of religion banished from magic its primitive simplicity and implanted in its place a complex system which finally was elaborated into a ritual.<sup>2</sup> In the mystic haze of this "Götterdämmerung" the primal meaning of many an ancient symbol was, little by little, lost to view and finally forgotten.

Now any one who accepts this theory must admit that Wünsch's explanation of the custom of throwing defixiones into the water relates only to advanced stages of magic. What, then, is the primary stage which this explanation fails to touch? It is the purpose of this paper to determine, if possible, what it is; and if in the process of determination we frequently go outside the narrow field of defixiones into the broader ranges of general magic, it is because in the last analysis all magic rests on the same principles.<sup>3</sup> Defixiones were, in reality, only a highly specialized form of magic confined largely to the Greco-Roman world.

But there are other grounds for believing that Wünsch's explanation is not fundamental. The defixiones which he uses in its support belong without exception to a late period where a contamination of magic and religion was the rule. Nos. 104<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Tout acte magique a pour but, soit de mettre des êtres vivants ou des choses dans un état tel que certains gestes, certains accidents, ou certains phénomènes doivent s'ensuivre infailliblement, soit de les faire sortir d'un état analogue." Hubert, *op. cit.*, p. 1518; cf. Morris Jastrow, *Religion in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1911, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup>This does not commit me to the theory of the magical origin of religion.

<sup>3</sup>"Il n'est pas possible de séparer les gestes et les actes symboliques des rites verbaux, oraux ou écrits, quels que soient leurs noms, incantations ou prières." Hubert, *op. cit.*, p. 1518.

<sup>4</sup>=Eph. Epig. VII, p. 278, no. 827; Hübner, *Exempla*, 947.



and 129<sup>1</sup> of Audollent's collection are assigned to the second century A. D.; likewise the famous tablet from Salernum,<sup>2</sup> which, while not consigned to the water itself, embodies in its formula the submersion of a hair belonging to the intended victim. The remaining tablets of this class give no hint as to the mental processes of the defigentes. With only one exception, all the other references cited by Wünsch<sup>3</sup> and Hubert<sup>4</sup> are drawn from sources ranging from the first century to the eleventh century of our era. The exception is found in the ancient Hylas-legend, which is probably one of the many forms of the cult of the dead.<sup>5</sup> This shows that Wünsch's explanation might possibly apply to pre-Christian magical operations, yet it is altogether too indirect in its bearing and of too uncertain an antiquity to allow one to deduce from it alone their initial signification.

We shall now consider a number of magic practices, ancient, medieval, and modern. For very obvious reasons they will be presented as far as possible in chronological order.

Among the Assyrians a man was regarded as possessing a very effective counter-charm if he placed little images in the model of a ship floating in a basin, and then broke the model to pieces to the accompaniment of the following formula :

" She who hath bewitched me, hath laid me under a spell,  
Hath cast me into the river flood,  
Hath cast me into the river depth,  
Unto the witch hath said ' Bewitch ',  
Unto the enchantress hath said ' Enchant ',  
May this be as her ship,  
Like this ship may she be wrecked,  
May her spell be wrecked, and upon her  
And upon her image may it recoil,  
May her cause fail, but let mine succeed."<sup>6</sup>

Of the same character is an operation described in the Old Testament (Jer. li, 60-64): " So Jeremiah wrote in a book all

<sup>1</sup> = CIL XI 1823.

<sup>2</sup> Aud. 210 = CIL X 511; cf. Wünsch, D. T. A., pr. xxix, col. i.

<sup>3</sup> Viz.: Kaibel, Epigr., 571 (D. T. A. pr. xxix); Diog. Laer. VIII, § 31; Lyd. de mens. IV, 52; Paus. II 37, 5; Magic Pap., see p. 301, n. 2 (D. T. A., pr. iv).

<sup>4</sup> Eunap. in Porph., p. 10; Greg. Nyss. V, Greg. Thaum., 308; Psellus *περί ἐνερπυ. δαμ.*, ed. Boissonade, p. 21, n. 2 (op. cit., p. 1511, n. 5).

<sup>5</sup> G. Türk, De Hyla, Diss., Breslau, 1895; E. Maass, Deut. Litt.-Zeit., XVII (1896), 7 ff. (Wünsch, D. T. A. pr. iv).

<sup>6</sup> J. C. Thompson, Semitic Magic, p. 154.



the evil that should come upon Babylon, *even* all these words that are written against Babylon. And Jeremiah said to Seraiah, When thou comest to Babylon, and shalt see, and shalt read all these words; Then shalt thou say, O Lord, thou hast spoken against this place, to cut it off, that none shall remain in it, neither man nor beast, but that it shall be desolate for ever. And it shall be, when thou hast made an end of reading this book, *that* thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of the Euphrates: and thou shalt say, Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her. . . . .<sup>1</sup>

To the same class virtually belongs the famous oath of the Phocaeans, for, says Wellhausen, "Der Eid ist ein eventueller Fluch, sei es dass man sich selbst verflucht, oder, wie bei der Beschwörung, Andere".<sup>2</sup> These loyal Hellenes cast into the sea a mass of molten iron and said: "μη πριν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν, πριν ἢ τὸν μύδρον (i. e. σιδῆρεον) τοῦτον ἀναφῆναι".<sup>3</sup> When Xerxes cast the fetters into the Hellespont<sup>4</sup> he was restraining it with a twofold bond; first, through the significance of the fetters themselves, and in the second place through the symbolic power of the fact that they would sink too deep in the water for the angry waves of the surface to control them. We shall later on consider a modern instance analogous to this.<sup>5</sup>

It is related by the Pseudo-Callisthenes<sup>6</sup> that the last native king of Egypt, Nectanebus (358 B. C.), whenever his country was threatened with invasion, would fill a bronze vessel with water to resemble the sea. In it he floated tiny ships of wax that represented the fleet of the enemy, and in the ships he placed small waxen figures of men; then . . . . ἐπεκαλεῖτο ὡσανεὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν ἐπφδῶν, καὶ τὰ ἀέρια πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους δαίμονας. Καὶ τῇ ἐπφδῇ ἔμπνοα ἐγίνοντο τὰ ἀνθρωπάκια ἐν τῇ λεκάνῃ, καὶ οὕτως ἐβαπτίζοντο. Εὐθέως δὲ, βαπτιζομένων αὐτῶν, τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀληθῇ πλοῖα τῶν ἐπερχομένων πολεμίων διεφθείροντο . . . . . Whether the author here records the magician's express purpose in invoking the spirits, or only a current explanation of the purpose, it is clear that the spirits

<sup>1</sup> A. V.<sup>2</sup> Reste Arabischen Heidentums, p. 192.<sup>3</sup> Herod. I 165; cf. Hor. Epodes, XVI, 17-21.<sup>4</sup> ἐκέλευε . . . . . κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεύγος (Herod. VII 35).<sup>5</sup> Cf. note 1, p. 307.<sup>6</sup> Hist. Fab., I, 1; see E. A. W. Budge, Egyptian Magic, pp. 91 ff.; Thompson, op. cit., pp. 155-156.



served only to infuse life into the waxen figures, which were then regarded as possessed of the personality of the enemy. The destruction of the one was therefore *ipso facto* the destruction of the other and in precisely the same manner.

We must now consider the defixiones once more, but at greater length.<sup>1</sup> The significant part of Aud. 104 reads: Q(ui) mihi ma(n)teliu(m) in[u]olauit, | sic liqu(e)at <c> com-(odo) aqua | ell[a] m[u?]ta, ni q(ui) eam [sa]luauit | Annius etc. The statement that the *defigens* invoked the deities of the spring in which the tablet was flung, rests solely on a conjecture suggested by the next tablet to be considered.<sup>2</sup> This tablet (Aud. 129) in symbol consigns a certain Q. Letinius Lupus to the waters of the spring "uti uos A|quae feruentes, | siu[e u]os Nimfas [si]ue quo alio no|mine uoltis adpe|[l]lari, uti uos eu|m interemates | interficiates | intra ann|um itusm (=istum)". The meaning of this is beyond dispute. But the *defixio* from Salernum (Aud. 210) requires close scrutiny before its import becomes clear. The best editors read it—Locus capillo| ribus (=rius) | expect|at cap|ut su|um,<sup>3</sup> a satisfactory English equivalent of which is—"The stream in which the hair now lies awaits the head whence it came". Now to the magician of all periods the hair is identical with the man.<sup>4</sup> To submerge a hair is therefore tantamount to drowning the man. This tablet is then merely a leaden record deposited in a tomb to remind the lower deities that the victim was already magically drowned and to bind them to making this manner of death a reality.

The Magic Papyri, too, require a more detailed consideration than was given them earlier in this paper.<sup>5</sup> One of the recipes tells how to overcome an opposing charioteer. The operator is to write his wish on a leaden plaque, perform certain ceremonies, and " . . . . παρὰ ποταμὸν ὅψεῖ ἡ μέσης νυκτὸς ὅπου ῥοὺς ἐστὶν ἡ παραρίον βαλανίου ἢ εἰς θάλασσαν δῆσας αὐτῷ (=αὐτὸ) σπάρτῃ βάλε . . . ." <sup>6</sup> The clause, ὅπου ῥοὺς ἐστὶν, is noteworthy. A little farther along the same formula offers a choice of depositories for the plaque:

<sup>1</sup> See p. 302, n. 4; p. 303, nn. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> See Aud., p. 158, ad loc.

<sup>3</sup> Aud., p. 281, ad loc.; Wünsch D. T. A., pr. xxix; Mommsen, CIL, X 511.

<sup>4</sup> Doutté, op. cit., p. 445; Thompson, op. cit., pp. 148; 153; Frazer, op. cit., I 65-66; id., Adonis, Attis, Osiris, pp. 33-34; 184; Godfrey Leland, Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition, pp. 327-329.

<sup>5</sup> P. 301, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Wessely, Neue Gr. Zaub. Pap. CXXI, 443 ff.



" . . . . ἢ ποταμόν ἢ γῆν ἢ θάλασσαν) ἤγουν ἢ θήκην εἰς φρέαρ. . . . " <sup>1</sup> Still another formula allows only the alternatives, a river or the sea.<sup>2</sup> A certain form of love-tablet in order to be effective had to be thrown into the sea, and its effectiveness could be greatly augmented if in the same operation magical characters were engraved on a copper nail taken from a wreck.<sup>3</sup> Water from a wreck was stated to be potent in the performance of a certain exorcism; failing that, water from a sunken skiff is prescribed.<sup>4</sup> Water from the former source is also useful as an ἀγωγή ἀσχέτου; he who employs it rightly can secure absolute control over the most ungovernable friend or foe.<sup>5</sup> In the prosecution of a certain evil spell the head of a cock is to be severed and thrown into the river; the person officiating must then lay aside all his garments and immerse himself in the water.<sup>6</sup>

The Romagnola, also, furnishes material for this study. One of the recipes cited by Leland runs on this wise: "Go to a running river, and cast in the stone as violently and as spitefully as you can, saying:

' Non butto questa pietra,  
Ma butto il bene e la fortuna  
Della persona (name appears here) che il bene  
Gli vada nell' acqua corrente  
E così non abbia più bene '." <sup>7</sup>

Another recipe directs that to remove a certain bewitchment the apparatus causing it be cast into running water.<sup>8</sup> This requirement calls to mind the *ρούς* of the Magic Papyri.

In his valuable book on modern Greek folklore Lawson tells of a device for injuring an enemy in which the operator may either scrape away the representative image with a knife or throw it into a stream to be disintegrated by degrees; either process causes the victim slowly to pine away.<sup>9</sup> Lawson remarks significantly that the sea is considered more satisfactory magically than any stream.<sup>10</sup> He records another significant incident of the same order which we shall recite in full because of its patent symbolism.

<sup>1</sup> Ib. 456 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 425 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. 470 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Wessely, Gr. Zaub. Pap., Anast., 65 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. 656 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. 40 ff. That it is an evil spell is clear from the directions for a φυλακτήριον against it, which follow (78 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit. p. 339.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. p. 354.

<sup>9</sup> Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion, p. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Ib. p. 20.



It concerns the wife of a priest "who from her wedding-day onward was a prey to various pains and ills. The priest tried in vain to relieve them by prayer, and finally called in a witch to aid him. After performing certain occult rites of divination, she informed him that he must dig in the middle of his court-yard. There he found a tin which on being opened revealed an assortment of pernicious charms—one of his wife's bridal shoes with a large nail through it, a dried-up piece of soap (presumably from the bridal-bath) stuck full of pins, a wisp of hair . . . . all in a tangle, and lastly a padlock. The nail and pins were at once pulled out and the hair carefully disentangled, with the result that the woman was freed from her pains and her complicated ailments. But the padlock could not be undone, and was thrown away into the sea, with the result that the woman remained childless".<sup>1</sup>

Similar practices are found among the Celts. As late as 1815 witches have made use of the so-called cursing-wells by casting into them leaden tablets, or suitable substitutes, inscribed with the name of a victim and a curse against him. The spirit dwelling in the well was supposed to put such imprecations into effect.<sup>2</sup> The Scotch Highlanders are said even yet to seek the death of an enemy by fashioning a rude clay image of him, sticking it full of pins, nails, or glass, and then tossing it into a stream to decompose in the running water. In this case the symbol is effective singly.<sup>3</sup>

Besides the body of the foregoing material, which is of the order of execration, there are many half-religious, half-magic rites performed to secure rain and fertility. Reference can be made to these *en bloc*.<sup>4</sup> Most of these find their climax in the submersion of effigies of Death or of old men, or in some cases in the submersion of living men. While there is without doubt some connection between the water expected from heaven and the water of the streams used in the rites, yet the uppermost idea is that the drenching sympathetically puts an end to the old and

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 196-197.

<sup>3</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 68; F. B. Jevons, *Anthropology and the Classics*, Lecture IV, p. 110, quoting from *The Albany Review*, iii, 17, p. 532.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, 276; 277; III, pp. 234-240; 246-248; 253; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 111-121; *id.*, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 54-56.



undesirable condition whether it be drought or sterility, or both. These practices have a vogue ranging from the borders of India to the centres of European civilization.

In reviewing the preceding *materia magica* one observes that certain of the rites manifestly favor Wünsch's explanation. Defixio no. 129 of Audollent's compilation and the tablet of the Celtic cursing-well are in this class and can probably be associated inferentially with the Hylas-legend. Some passages of the Magic Papyri, too, are apparently corroborative, but scrutiny shows them to be by no means definite and convergent in their testimony. For example, while Papyrus CXXI, 425 ff., 456 ff., 470 ff., and Papyrus Anastasy, 65 ff., might at first sight seem to support Wünsch, yet on the other hand the *poûs* of Papyrus CXXI, 443 ff. would logically be linked with the running stream which overwhelms and gradually wears away the tokens of the Assyrian, the Tuscan, the Greek and the Scotch Highlander. But even these supports are of doubtful strength, for in the use of water from a sunken skiff in lieu of water from a wreck the symbolism outweighs the suggestion of the intermediacy of water-spirits. In fact, one might safely make the same assertion in regard to the water from an actual wreck, for a wreck does not of necessity imply loss of life, and if the implication is at all present it must have been driven into it through the pressure of analogy, which in magic is identical with symbolism. But all the ceremonies of this order detailed by the compilers of the Magic Papyri are uniformly and satisfactorily explained, if we regard the submersion of the symbols of the victim as the submersion of the victim himself.

When we turn to the residue of the ceremonies we perceive that this explanation is the only one possible. The wording of the Assyrian charm is brimming over with symbolism—"she . . . . . hath cast *me* into the river flood"; "may this be *as* her ship"; "*like* her ship"; "may her spell be wrecked". The enchantress and the enchanter are parrying one another with the same sort of weapon—the false equation of analogy and identity. This, too, was the weapon which Jeremiah put into the hands of Seraiah to wield against Babylon, for the austere monotheist would never have tried to carry out God's behest through the agency of demons. "*Thus* shall Babylon sink", he directs Seraiah to say as the stone-laden scroll disappears in the Euphrates. It was the "thus" that was to over-



throw Babylon. The Phocaeans followed this same line of thought; for, as the sea would possess and control the iron to all eternity, so would their oath possess and control them. By the exercise of this same principle Nectanebus defended his country, for his invocation of the gods is plainly secondary in importance. So, too, the peasant of the Romagnola removes a bewitchment from his own life and reduces his enemy to misery, and the modern Greek and the Scotch Highlander bring their enemies to the grave. This symbolism is seen, perhaps, most clearly in the last feature of the Greek charm described at length by Lawson: the padlock was thrown into the sea and the woman remained childless. Just as the deep water was virtually an irrefragable seal on the unopened lock, so an unfathomable ocean of destiny raised itself against the woman's chances of bearing offspring. Further, two of the defixiones themselves add strength to our theory. In Audollent, D. T., No. 104, is registered the desire that the thief may languish just as the water of the fountain ebbs away—*sic liqueat comodo aqua*. This is nothing else than pure symbolism. According to the current interpretation of the Salernitan tablet (Aud. 210), the drowning of the hair is the drowning of the man, an equation possible only to the literal symbolist. Finally, to these conclusions we must add the evident wish behind the water-burial of the effigy or proxy of Death, namely, that just as the waters encompass and overwhelm the tokens, so may the conditions for which the tokens stand be restrained and rendered inoperative.

We are now in a position to sketch the primitive psychology of submerged defixiones, a psychology which was in all probability always present, though in varying degrees of prominence. The symbol, whatever it was, was inscribed with the victim's name. Now to the worker in magic the name is the man himself.<sup>1</sup> The submersion of the symbol is, therefore, the submersion of the man, and the longer the symbol can be kept under water the more permanent will be the victim's plight. Hence it was desirable to hurl the symbol far out into the current of a stream where it would be safely hidden and subject to rapid cor-

<sup>1</sup> Audollent, op. cit., p. xlix; Thompson, op. cit., p. 148; Budge, op. cit., 157; 160-161; Franz Cumont, *Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, p. 143; W. Sherwood Fox, *The American Journal of Philology*, XXXIII, 1, Supplement, p. 35.



rosion. But it was still more desirable to cast it into the deep waters of the sea where the eye and hand of man would not reach until the day when the sea will give up its magically as well as its literally dead. Looked at from this point of view this magic practice had everything to commend it to the superstitious and vindictive. It was at once an inexpensive, ready, rapid, secret, and withal self-explanatory process for visiting one's wrath on an enemy.<sup>1</sup> But frequent observation of the fact that the process often failed to bring about the results expected, gradually undermined popular faith in the efficacy of these and other forms of simple symbolism. Men then turned to their gods for aid, arguing that though the gods controlled nature, they in their turn controlled the gods, as their religion clearly demonstrated. At this stage began a very curious blending of magic and religion.<sup>2</sup> In spite of their weakened faith in symbolism as an isolated principle, men were too conservative to make a clean break with their former modes of thought, and consciously retained a certain measure of symbolism in conjunction with the devices which they from time to time borrowed from religion. If we regard the class of defixiones under discussion as products of various periods of this stage of magic, they will all be uniformly and satisfactorily explained.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the true reason why so few defixiones are extant is that this form of magic vengeance was the most popular of all. I share this view with F. B. Jevons, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 238 ff.



#### IV.—LUCILIUS ON *i* AND *ei*.

1. In the interest of his definition of Lat. *miles* as 'the smiter, smith' (TAPA., 41, 5 sq.)<sup>1</sup> R. G. Kent has worked over the rules given by Lucilius (358–370, Marx) for the differentiation of *i* and *ei* in Latin spelling (A. J. P., 32, 272–293). Some time before, Anderson had come to perfectly sound conclusions regarding our inability to settle any etymological question as between *i* and *ei* by the spelling of Plautine MSS (TAPA., 37, 85).

2. We all know how the changes are wont to be rung on the confusion of *i* and *ei* in inscriptions, a confusion that emerged substantially at 150 B. C., and there are scholars who talk as if the convergence of *ei* to a phonetic identity with *i* was accomplished over night. Niedermann, I am glad to say, in his Latin Phonetics, cautiously dates the confusion as after 200 B. C., and Bennett (Latin Language, § 82) says "about 200 B. C." These are but different statements of Sommer's conclusions in his Grammatik, § 64. If we ever get copious inscriptional material prior to 175 B. C. we may have to say before 200 B. C. Because a Plautine quip turns on the statement that *eira* had a letter more than *era* we cannot infer that original *ei* was still widely different from *i*. Nor am I losing sight of cases like *deicerent* in S. C. de Bacch. (186 B. C.), but I remember that the same inscription preserves ablative final *-d*, without exception, and we know that this *-d* was, in the spoken dialect of Plautus, if not dead as a door-nail, at least in an advanced stage of decomposition. The conclusion may have to be that the orthography of S. C. de Bacch. was as far from exact contemporaneity in regard to its *ei*'s as in regard to its *-d*'s. Now we have on the Spoletium inscription (CIL. 11, 4766), certainly prior to 200 B. C., and of a sacral character, fluctuating

<sup>1</sup> The definition is unsatisfactory because it fails to account for the soldier as a unit in a collective group. All Kent's substantial objections to the comparison with *δμιλος* (with distinct military usages) disappear before the *λλ* of Aeolic *δμιλλος* (see Fay, Mod. Lang. Notes, 22, 37). His special objections to my own analysis of *mil-et-* are not here involved, and I reserve my answer for another connection.



final *-d*, and *-ei-* fluctuating with *ī* in *res deina: reidinaī*. The same inscription has *cedito* for *eaedito* (or rather *caidito*), but this is pronounced dialetic. Let us call *ī* for *ei* dialectic, too, if we admit that our instance shows that the dialects were already getting mixed. We may go further and surmise that the mixture was not due to confusion of locality dialects, but was a thing of class dialects in the same locality. Accordingly, so far as the Plautine quip turning on *eira* : *era* goes, the reasonable interpretation is that *ei* was pronounced *ē* (closed *ē*), as in COMPROMESISE (S. C. de Bacch., ap. Sommer, l. s. c.). But in high Roman, or what afterwards became high Roman, the word may already have been pronounced *īra*, and Plautus' choice of the (Umbrian-like) variety *ēra* (spelt *eira*) to put in the actor's mouth will have been made by way of preparation for the punning quip with *ēra*.

3. It must be insisted again and again that the answer to the question when *ei* became *ī* in spelling, in the orthography of chiselled records, is not an answer to the question when the pronunciation of *ei* and *ī* converged. Not only Lucilius, but even Plautus before him, may have written *ei* consistently in words that they pronounced with *ī*, with a consistency at least as great as ours has been in differentiating *sleight* from *slight*.

4. What shall we suppose to be the import of Accius's (b. 170 B. C.) proposal to spell *ī* by *ei*? First, of course, that there was no longer in speech a true diphthong *ei*. Next, as we find *faxseis* with *ei* for *ī* on a Mummius (?) inscription (ca. 146 B. C.), we must infer that Accius, taken representatively, was either responsible for this orthography, or followed its lead. It can't make much difference which. The phenomenon is a change of orthographic practise attended by a discussion of spelling reformers. Lucilius, ten years the senior of Accius, but later to emerge in literature, presented rules for differentiating *ī* and *ei*, in opposition to the proposed rules of Accius. I think it will appear when we look into his rules that he never once alludes to any phonetic difference between *ei* and *ī*, that he uses no phonetic term whatsoever, that he never thought of any but the conventional (and mnemonic) aspects of the differentiation, and that not even in his boyhood had he ever heard of a phonetic difference. Marx dates the composition (i. e. publication) of his rules as late as 116-110 B. C.



5. In all brevity, let us state the Lucilian rules as found in Marx's text, vv. 358–371. They are:

1° Spell *puerei* with *ei* "ut puerei plures fiant"; if you spell *pueri* "hoc unius fiet" (vv. 364–366).

2° In *illi* (dat. sg.) "tenue hoc facies  $\bar{i}$ ", but to *illei* (nom. plur.) "addes e ut pinguius fiat" (vv. 369–370).

6. Granting the etymological correctness of rule 1°, though I shall elsewhere challenge the absolute originality of  $\bar{i}$  as the second declension genitive, it is probable that the dative sg. type of *illi* had an original diphthong (v. Brugmann, Gr<sup>2</sup>, 2. 2, § 361) *-ei* (locatival) which moved toward  $\bar{i}$  faster than *-oi* in the nom. plural. But so far as the Lucilian rules go he seems to me to be saying what he was taught in his boyhood: when identical singular and plural forms end in  $\bar{i}$  spell the plurals with *ei* "ut plures vel pinguiores fiant", the singulars with  $\bar{i}$  "ut tenuiores fiant".

7.3° Spell the dative of *fur*, etc., with *-ei* <but the ablv., cf. e. g., *hoc luci*,<sup>1</sup> with  $\bar{i}$ > (vv. 367–8); cf. Quintilian, I. 7. 15, ea <ratio e et  $\bar{i}$  iungendorum> casibus numerisque discreta est.

The reason for this mnemonic seems to me quite transparent: <dativo> "addes e" is the way Lucilius put it. Sorry accident has destroyed the counter rule *ablativo auferes e*. This etymological toying made a perfect mnemonic.

8. So far nothing could be clearer than the motivation lying behind Lucilius's rules, and the grammarians who passed them on—as Quintilian, quoted above—continue to recognize here and there the same motivation. Our difficulties begin with the two last rules, to wit:

5° mille hominum, duo milia, item huc e utroque opus, miles (358)  
militem.

4° tenues  $\bar{i}$ : 'pilam'<sup>2</sup> in qua lusimus, 'pilum',  
quo piso, tenues. si plura haec feceris pila  
quae iacimus, addes e pila ut plenius fiat. (361)

<sup>1</sup> The case of *luci* vs. *luce* had not been finally adjudicated in Varro's time, cf. Lucii <qui> prima luce <nati sunt> (de ling. Lat. 6, 5) with qui luci <natus est> Lucius (ibid. 9. 60). Of course, *luci* is a locatival, like *humi*, and had an original final diphthong *-ai*.

<sup>2</sup> I fancy that Lucilius wrote *militiā* and *pilā*, nominatives, and not these ungrammatical accusatives. The *-m* of *pilam* will be a dittography of the succeeding *in*. From this <*m*>, marginally queried, will have come the *m* of *militem*.



After quoting this quatrain Ter. Scaurus (ap. Keil, Gram. Lat., 7, 19. 16) goes on: *quam inconstantiam Varro arguens . . .* (dicit) in plurali quidem numero debere <e> litterae <i> praeponi, in singulari vero minime. This looks as though Varro rejecting rule 3° accepted rules 1° and 2° and found an application of one of them in 4°. What can be clearer than that Varro understood<sup>1</sup>—what critical examination of them can fail to understand—the words addes e ‘peila’ ut plenius fiat to mean that e is to be added to make ‘peila’ plural? Does not the text of Varro (cf. p. 137, 20 of Goetz and Schoell’s de ling. Lat.), when speaking of the indefinite pronouns, preserve the spelling *infeineiteis* (ablv. plur.)?—wherein the two first *ei*’s are perhaps to be attributed to the “plurality” of the “infinite” (cf. on *meille*, § 11), rather than to the Accian orthography.

9. What then does the second part of the quatrain, designated by 4°, mean? Beginning in 359 with *tenuēs i*<sup>2</sup> [for which I should as soon read *tenuēs*<*t*>, and so in 360 *tenuēs*<*t*> *i*, which leaves *plura* to make good sense and grammar] Lucilius says <use> plain <short>*i* in spelling *pila*[m] at which I played [<of yore> = no longer play, for this is the force of the perfect, *lusimus*], but for *pilum*, wherewith I still pound [cf. *hasta* as used in the Priapea and the obscene sense of *permolere*?] use plain <long> *i*. He continues: If you make the latter (*haec*) plural (i. e. the *pila* which we hurl) you must add *e* so that *p*<*e*>*ila* will become <a> fuller <word>. This rendering assumes that *pila* ‘javelins’ is the plural of *pilum* ‘pestle’. Suppose that, by definition, *pilum* meant to Lucilius neither expressly ‘pestle’ nor ‘javelin’ but ‘pounder’, why not admit that its plural meant <‘far’> pounders’ connoting ‘javelins’? We know *habena* as a ‘strap’ (of a javelin, in Lucan, 6, 221), as a ‘lash’ or ‘whip’, but in the plural as ‘reins’ (cf. canting *ribbons*), whereas to Lucilius it may always and only have meant ‘holder’. Do we regard *pestle* (‘pounder’ in a mortar) as a different word from *pestle* (an officer’s *bâton*), or *mortar* (and pestle) as a different word from *mortar* (a piece

<sup>1</sup> Lindsay’s treatment of these lines in his Lat. Lang., p. 27, is quite perfunctory.

<sup>2</sup> If *tenuēs* is a technical verb = *tenuē facias* (cf. v. 369, ‘hoc illi factum est uni’, *tenuē hoc facies i*), it is perfectly admissible (pace Kent) in a censure of Accius’s new proposal for spelling *i*, and nobody going on to 369 would have found difficulty in understanding the verb *tenuare*.



of artillery)? The two senses we give to *pilum* have already been properly rubricated (in Lewis and Short, e. g.) as different aspects of one word?<sup>1</sup>

10. The rule—or examples—given in 4° continued to live in the grammarians. Thus Ter. Scaurus (ap. Keil, 7. 32, 21 sq.). after allocating *i* to the sg. and *ei* to the plural, goes on (as emended by Göetz and Schoell in their Varro, de ling. Lat., p. 208): si autem cum eadem [i] littera aliud breve aliud longum est, ut illa [et] pila, apices ibi poni debent . . . super I tamen litteram apex non ponitur: melius enim I <in> pila in longum producet. Now the example *pila* here chosen can only mean that, following Lucilius, Varro includes in his rule both *pila*<sup>2</sup> 'ball' and *pila* 'pounders'.

11. If Varro's objection (cf. § 8) to the inconsistency of Lucilius does not lie against rule 3°—but the quotation fails to prove that it does—it would lie against the examples in rule 5°, viz.: *meille* in contrast with the plural *meillia*, and against *ei* in the singulars *meiles* and *meilitia*, all of which, if we punctuate with Marx, we must spell with *ei*. Now in spite of its being a grammatical singular, *meille* falls well within the rule for plurals and Lucilius or his teacher, any promoter of a mnemonic system, may have spelt *mille* with *ei* 'ut sive pinguius sive plenius fieret'. But why *meiles* and *meilitia*? Perhaps also because, and in Lucilius, too (cf. 405, 490 M.), they were often collectives = soldiery.

12. But Lucilius may have spelt *meiles* as he spelt *meilia* in the belief that *meiles* was derived from *mille*, cf. Varro, de ling. Lat., 5, 89, milites quod trium milium primo legio fiebant ac singulae tribus Titiensium, Ramnium, Lucerum milia militum<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By a very simple emendation we could add *ut* or *et* (with the sense of 'like' or 'as well as') to the end of 360, giving si plura haec feceris, pila <*ut* or *et*> | quae iacimus, which would allow of taking *pilum* 'pestle' as a different word from *pilum* 'javelin'. Postpositive *ut* is thoroughly Lucilian (Marx cites in his index delphinus ut olim, 284; pauper uti, 445; canes ut, 1221, a line end—all, to be sure, without a sequent relative clause), and *et* at the line end, whether after vowels or consonants, occurs a dozen or more times in Horace's hexameter poetry.

<sup>2</sup> Kent would read in Lucilius *pilam* ('mortar') in qua pinsimus because Vel. Longus (ap. Keil, 7. 56. 13) has itemque peila quibus milites utuntur per e et i scribenda existimat at pilam qua pinsitur per i—as though this were not easily and quite certainly a textual mistake for pilam quo pinsitur, replacing in Longus' text Lucilius' pilum quo piso.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. milia militum octo, Ennius, Ann. 332.



mittebant. This derivation is so natural that we need not suppose Varro imagined it on the basis of *χίλι-άρχης* (Herodotus), *χιλίαρχος* (Aeschylus), *χίλιοι λογάδες* "The Thousand" (Argos), all implying a levy or classification by thousands. All such designations, however, may have arisen before the word for 'thousand' had become preciser than 'troop, squadron, force'.

13. There remains to quote a curious grammatical comment on our Lucilius quatrain (rules 5° and 4°) from Mar. Victorinus (ap. Keil, 6. 17. 25): *denique omnes qui de orthographia scripserunt de nulla scriptura tam diu quam diu de hac quaerunt, quae per i litteram singularem genetivum et [quae] per ei litteras nominativum pluralem faciat, locuti partim acute <partim>, ut mihi quidem videtur, inepte, illud etiam ridicule (nam mihi quaedam succurrunt): pilum aiunt militare et vineam, si sit subter quam milites aggerem instituunt, et sicam et sicilem [quae secet]<sup>1</sup> per e et i scribenda; at si pilum sit quo pinsitores utuntur, et vinea quae ruri colitur et fistula<sup>2</sup> per i. Absurd enough all this seems regarded logically, i. e., with our present logic, but not so bad as a mnemonic, approximately this: "*meiles* and *meilitia* and things 'meilitary' with *ei* not *i*", and the rule grew up so naturally from the mistaken notion that Lucilius' '*peila* (quae iacimus)' differed in its singular from his '*pilum* (quo piso)'.*

14. To restate rules 4° and 5°, as I understand them:

4° Spell *pila* (ball) and *pilum* (pestle) <spite of their quantity difference> with plain i; the plural of *pilum* <when it commonly shifts its sense to> 'javelins' with *ei*, to make it fuller.

5° Because of its intrinsic plurality *meille*, as well as *meilia*, should be spelt with *ei*. Similarly also the <cognate?> words *meiles* and *meilitia* <? because, as generally used, they are collectives>.

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<sup>1</sup> Emendavi (mss. silicem) et seclusi. For the *sicilis* as a military tool or weapon see Ennius ap. Fest. 500, 18, incedit veles vulgo sicilibus latis, the definition of Festus being *sicules* 'hastorum spicula alta' [? *lata*].

<sup>2</sup> In the sense of hand-mill. The mnemonics suggest that in this sense the spelling of *fistula* was dictated by the spelling of *pila* 'mortar' or *pilum* 'pestle'. In this sense *fistula* will belong with the root *bhēy* 'ferire'; cf. A. J. P., 32, 403 sq.



## V.—A CAMPAIGN OF EPIGRAM AGAINST MARCUS ANTONIUS IN THE CATALEPTON.

The arrangement of poems in the Catalepton disguises the existence of two distinct groups, the one friendly and the other polemical. The former group throws light upon the membership of the Augustan Circle revealing the intimacy of Vergil and Tucca (i), the preceptual leadership of Varius (vii), and the affectionate character of Octavius Musa (iv and xi); the more distant connection of Messalla may be inferred from the ninth, while the last (xiv) shows due regard for Augustus; Vergil's eager anticipations of pleasure from the instruction of Siro the Epicurean, and perhaps his grief at his death, may be seen in the fifth and the eighth.

Touching the remaining poems, which are sharply satirical in the rougher manner of Catullus and rendered enigmatic by the use of pseudonyms, it is not self-evident that they constitute a group nor that Marcus Antonius and men of his set are the targets of the poet's shafts. Yet the undoubted recognition in Nos. ii and x of attacks upon T. Annius Cimber and P. Ventidius Bassus, notorious henchmen of Antony, and that too in the year 43 when animosity was at its height and Cicero was delivering the Philippics, suggests the interpretation of other poems as a part of the campaign against Antony, an assumption that is strengthened by a number of known facts and is not contradicted by a demonstrable inconsistency or rival hypothesis. Besides this, we might well expect the ambitious son of a thrifty landed citizen to join in the outcry against the anarchistic conduct of Caesar's lieutenant.

Firm ground for a beginning is afforded by the second epigram, which, although nameless itself, is positively stated by Quintilian (8, 3, 28) to refer to a certain Cimber who is well known for the grilling he receives in the Philippic xi 14. Since both epigram and oration make capital of Cimber's murder of his own brother, the two must belong to the same campaign of vituperation and may be placed in the early part of 43 B. C. I offer a text, translation, and brief explanation of the epigram because



it is elliptical in style and commonly regarded as corrupt and almost uninterpretable.

Corinthiorum amator iste verborum,  
iste iste rhetor! namque quatenus totus  
Thucydides, Brittannus! Attice febris!  
Tau Gallicum, min et spin, ut male illisit,  
ita omnia ista verba miscuit fratri.

'It's Corinthian words he's enamoured of, yon ass of a rhetorician! For he's no more a sheer Thucydides than he is a Briton! Attic delusion! As he jumbled his stupid *tau Gallicum*, his *min* and his *spin*, so he compounded a dose of all that kind of words for his brother'.

He probably poisoned his brother. Cicero makes two puns on the man's name and his crime in Phil. xi 14. *Corinthian* means archaic, transferred from bronzes; *Brittannus*: type of the outlandish; *tau Gallicum*: explained by Kaibel (Rhein. Mus. 44 p. 316) as a cross for crucifixions, but I cannot connect this with the poem; I suggest that the question is one of aspiration as in Catullus lxxxiv, and that the Gallic pronunciation of *th* may have something to do with it. The Gallic *θ* occurs in inscriptions (C. I. L. xii index under *Litterarum formae*). Cimber, whose father had a Greek servile name (Phil. xi 14), was probably a Graecized Gaul and may have spoken with a Gallic accent. The absurdity of his style is suggested by a letter of Augustus quoted by Suetonius (86).

Hardly less certain is the identification of Sabinus in No. x with P. Ventidius Bassus who, as praetor in 43, was declared a public enemy along with Antony, but afterwards had brilliant success as his lieutenant in the East and triumphed over the Parthians. Unless this Ventidius be the same as Vergil's Sabinus, we are confronted, not with two portents alone, as Buecheler has it (Rhein. Mus. 38 p. 519), but with three: first and second, that two muleteers should have reached a curule chair, and third, that they should have done so simultaneously. Had such an unnatural event transpired, surely the elder Pliny would have noted it in his Natural History when he told the story of Ventidius (vii 43 135). It is a slight objection that Ventidius was originally from Picenum while our satire says, speaking of Gaul,

tua stetisse ultima ex origine dicit in voragine.

He was carried as an infant, Aulus Gellius tells us (xv 4), in the



triumphal procession of Pompeius Strabo after the subjugation of his native land and there is nothing to show that the rest of his childhood and youth were not spent in muddy Gaul. One must remember the straits of the parody and refrain from pressing the *ultima ex origine* of Catullus to mean that Ventidius was born in Gaul instead of being carried there as an infant. The other difficulty, arising from the three cognomina, may be diminished to a minimum: if Ventidius chose to call himself Sabinus *licentia candidatorum*, he may have had some right to do so since the Sabines had occupied Picenum before the Romans, and if he be the Sabinus of Cicero's *ad fam.* xv 20 1, we have evidence there that he possessed the features of the race he claimed. The earlier cognomen, *Quintio*, a servile name (C. I. L. x 6269, and index), may well have been hurled at any muleteer by passengers or humorous neighbors; names, like vessels, are made for honor and for dishonor, and many fail to get recorded in the census. These explanations may fall short of certainty but we prefer them to the three portents mentioned above.

Nos. vi, xii, and xiii we believe to be aimed at Antony himself. It is possible that xii and xiii are placed in juxtaposition because they explain each other. The former is a kind of charivari on the occasion of Antony's marriage to his cousin Antonia, whose only sister, it is here insinuated, is not herself averse to receiving Antony's attentions; in consequence, this sister may well be the *prostituta soror* of xiii 7-9, whose intimacy is there cast up to whoever is the subject of the satire. Antony is called *Noctuius*, a fictitious cognomen from *noctua* like *Corvinus* from *corvus*, because of his orgies by night and lethargy by day, to which Plutarch gives express testimony (*Vita ix*). *Atilius*, which must be a pseudonym since *Noctuius* is coined for the occasion, is a scornful way of denoting the exiled and reprobate uncle, C. Antonius, by enigmatic reference to the famous patriot, M. Atilius Regulus. This uncle and father-in-law of Antony, if he be Atilius, seems to have preferred the vulgar *hirnea* as a drinking vessel: hence the explanation of

Adeste nunc, adeste: ducit ut decet  
Superbus ecce Noctuius *hirneam*,

in xii, and also the *hirneosus patruus* in xiii 39, both of which Scaliger had spoiled by reading *herniam* and *herniosi* against the best MS. Nos. xii and xiii are also linked together by the use of



*thalassio*, which in the former is a mocking echo of Antony's shameless use of this exclamation as witnessed in xiii 16.

No. xiii expresses the jubilation of Vergil at the imminent downfall of some notorious person, which is instantly anticipated because of his crimes, debauchery, and bankruptcy, a combination that, in this period especially, points strongly to Antony. The threatened rebuke of Caesar, suggested in the *improbande Caesari*, l. 7, points in the same direction and reminds us of the indignation caused among the citizens by Antony's conduct during Caesar's absences (Plutarch, ix). The date of the poem can be readily fixed in 45 B. C. before the reconciliation with Caesar on his return from Munda and while yet the Romans were rejoicing at Antony's embarrassment over the demand of payment for Pompey's house and the threat of distraint. The occasion is aptly described in the following words of the Second Philippic, 74: *Haerebat nebulo: quo se verteret non habebat*. The reconciliation that disappointed Rome is mentioned *ibid.* 78.

The first six lines of xiii are autobiographical, seeming to describe the winter campaign of Dyrrachium and the midsummer conflict of Pharsalus, to which the poet may have owed his loss of health. We read next of *furta* and *stupra*, about which we have more particular information from Cicero: Phil. ii 41 and 62; 44 and 45 entire. Next comes an illustration of his enjoyment of vulgar feasts and amusements; Antony was a capital "mixer" (Plut. Vita iv, ix, and xliii). The last eight lines speak of imminent bankruptcy and worthless brothers, of whom we know enough from the Philippics. The text of the poem is still in need of careful editing, but the parallelism of the whole work with the Second Philippic is as manifest as it ever will be. To deny the connection is to lead us nowhere.

Four poems of the group remain. No. vi I have discussed already (A. J. P. XXXII, p. 451) but it may be added that the *stupor* of Noctuius, here ridiculed, reminds us of many passages in the Second Philippic such as: *Sed stuporem hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite* (Phil. ii 30); recall also the *βραδεία αἰσθησις* ascribed to Antony in Plutarch (xxiv). It might also be suggested that the girl whose character is so neatly slurred in this epigram may be Cytheris, the *mima* of the Philippic, whose wit is contrasted to Antony's stupidity, Phil. ii 20: *Aliquid enim salis a mima uxore trahere potuisti*. Moreover the refusal of the lady to go to the country, mentioned in the epigram, may have been



the occasion of the separation which Cicero scornfully calls a divorce (Phil. ii 69). It is regrettable that we know so little of the uncle C. Antonius, but Cicero was true to his worthless colleague all his life long and for this reason much of the truth is concealed. However, what we do know gives us no justification for not believing worse.

In No. v the poet bids farewell to the rhetoricians and the unchaste muse, but he must take a final fling at one Sextus Sabinus, who may well be Sextus Clodius, the rhetorician who received 2000 jugera of Leontine land for teaching Antony how to make an ass of himself (Phil. ii 63). The *Sabinus* will be but mockery of his Sicilian origin (Suetonius, De Rhet. 5).

After an interval of a couple of years we find the Vergil family anticipating with resignation the loss of their lands in Transpadane Gaul. The reference occurs in the address to the Villa of Siro, No. viii: *si quid de patria tristius audiero*. Its interest in this connection is the key it affords to the poet's hatred of Antony. The Vergil family were typical of that thrifty, moral, landed class which cared more for peace and prosperity than for political ideals. They loved the name of Caesar who had bestowed upon Gaul the liberty the Republic had denied, but when the preservation of their acres depended upon the success of Decimus Brutus, one of the assassins, they forgot their grief in detestation of that *bête noire* of people with property, Marcus Antonius.

Our group of invectives, after an interval of more than a decade, is followed by an epigram upon the death of Antony (No. iii), which, exhibiting as it does the sad reflectiveness common to the Greek Anthology with the Aeneid, possesses a unique significance for our knowledge of Vergil's reading and the affinities of his thought and feeling. The confident statement of Buecheler (Rhein. Mus. 38 p. 511), which has not met with marked dissent, that no Roman whatever can be thought of as the subject of this poem, serves to remind us forcibly how extremely difficult it is to realize the high preëminence of Antony's name in the whole Roman world from the time of Caesar's assassination until the flight from Actium, and the fearful anxiety of Italy until the future of the government was finally decided. Nettleship was a victim of the same prepossession, or rather forgetfulness, in referring the poem to Phraates IV, king of Parthia, a theory we admit having entertained for a time (A. J. P. XXXII, p. 451). Buecheler's view, that Alexander is the subject, not only reduces



the poem to a cold, scholastic or juvenile exercise and renders it a strange exception among intimate, autobiographical pieces, but meets an obstinate block of stumbling in the mention of 'exile' (line 8). Those who stand for Alexander interpret this as a euphemism for Orcus (Christensen), or as the deprivation of burial in his native land (Buecheler), or refer it to the wanderings of his corpse (Birt). I leave men to judge for themselves whether any of these is convincing, but the puzzlement of the doctors, it must be observed, tells strongly against the Alexander hypothesis. Neither are we prepared to believe that the invasion of Italy by Alexander was ever so much feared as to justify the trepidation of line 5, while no one is ignorant of the terror inspired at Rome by the approach of Cleopatra's paramour. On the other hand, if we assume that Antony is meant, there is nothing that will not fit when once we reconceive the nature of Rome's outlook while yet Octavianus was distrusted and almost despised, and his rival was the master of the East and the darling of the legions. We add a translation and some references to support our view.

'Behold a man, whom, by a powerful kingdom's strength supported, Glory had raised on high, to heaven's very thrones. This man the whole wide world with war had shaken, the might of Asia's princes and her peoples he had shattered. Yet but a little while and he had brought to thee, O Rome, the bitterness of slavery, for by the prowess of his spear all else had fallen, when on a sudden, the issue of decisive struggle pending, downward headlong he fell from fatherland to exile driven. Thus does the goddess will; at such behest without a moment's warning the faithless hour deals the mortal's doom'.

First couplet: *regno*: Egypt; the man is not called a king yet he has a kingdom at his back. *Subnixum*: a prose word affected by Vergil; cf. Aen. i 462 *solioque alte subnixa resedit* (*Dido*). Personification of Gloria: Aen. x 144 *sublimen Gloria tollit*. *Sedibus*: Aen. vi 152 *sedibus hunc ante refer suis*. Antony paraded as Hercules (Plutarch, Vita iv); he was called the new Dionysus (ibid. lx); in Cilicia the people referred to Cleopatra as Aphrodite and to Antony as Dionysus (ibid. xxxvi); and at a later time he and the queen were represented together in painting and sculpture as Osiris and Isis (Dio Cass. L 5). Apart from this Oriental nonsense, which was nevertheless offensive enough at Rome, his actual fame was second only to Caesar's from the



time of the battle of Pharsalus to the Ides of March and, from that time until Actium, unrivalled. See Plutarch's tributes, Vita viii and xliii.

Second couplet: cf. Aen. viii 685-688:

hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,  
victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,  
Aegyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum  
Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia conjunx.

To this may be added the muster of kings in Plutarch, Vita lxi.

Third couplet: Rome feared Antony at Actium more than she had feared Hannibal at her gates. The report was current that Alexandria would be the capital and Italy be made a present to Cleopatra (Dio Cass. I 4). It was Cleopatra's dearest wish to sit in judgment on the Capitol (ibid. L 5).

Fourth couplet: This describes the sudden collapse of Antony's campaign and the flight from Actium. Antony thereafter considered himself an exile and pleaded for permission to spend the balance of his life as a private citizen at Athens (Plutarch, Vita lxxii).

Last couplet: Most difficult of interpretation but, once the sense is perceived, truly Vergilian. *mortalia* = *ea quae mortalibus fato debentur*; cf. Aen. i 462 *mentem mortalia tangunt*. *Fallax . . . . hora*: Georg. i 426 *numquam te crastina fallit / hora*. *Dedit*, which the editors emend to *adedit*, *premit*, *ferit*, and *terit*, is "customary" perfect and nothing but '*dare*' in its commonest sense. Cf. Horace, Odes iii 8 28 *Dona praesentis cape laetus horae*; also ibid. ii 16 31-32 *Et mihi fors quod negarit / porriget hora*. The hour is more often the bringer of good gifts, which adds a grimness to the Vergilian passage.

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## VI.—ΓΥΜΝΟΣ AND NUDUS.

According to our Greek and Latin dictionaries, most of the handbooks on antiquities,<sup>1</sup> and innumerable editors, *γυμνός* and *nudus* "in common language meant 'lightly clad', i. e., 'in the tunic or undergarment only', without the mantle" (L. and S.). The interpretation was originally suggested by the Dutch scholar Gisbert Cuyper in his *Observationes* 1. 7.<sup>2</sup> Adopted at once, and, so far as I know, never questioned since, it has saved modern prudery many a serious shock. For example, how many teachers have been helped over a troublesome spot by having the fair Milesian in *Xen. An.* 1. 10. 3 "lightly clad"!

But in several ways the theory seems improbable. In the first place, the use of the same word to describe one clad in a tunic and one who was completely naked must have been inconvenient for men who spent a considerable part of their time in each condition. They could, of course, make their meaning clear by such a phrase as (*Ps.-Mosch.* 4. 98):

*γυμνός ἄτερ χλαίνης τε καὶ εὐμίτροιο χιτῶνος,*

but everyday speech will not long tolerate a periphrasis for so familiar an idea. It is furthermore inherently improbable that a man clad in the tunic should commonly be called "naked" in communities where under certain circumstances the tunic was a complete costume. Our suspicions are further strengthened by the fact that *γυμνός* and *nudus* are sometimes used where the contrasting idea is not "fully clad" but "scantily clad"; e. g., *Dem. Meid.* 583; *μικροῦ γυμνὸν ἐν τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ*, *Herond.* 5. 46: *δώσεις τι . . . ῥάκος . . . ὥς μὴ δι' ἀγορῆς γυμνὸς ὦν θεωρῆται*, *Amm. Marc.* 31. 16. 6: *nudus omnia praeter pubem*. Oddly enough the first of these and several similar passages have been cited as evidence that *γυμνός* may mean "scantily clad". Thus *Hippolochus ap. Ath.* 129 A, which clearly involves a contrast

<sup>1</sup> Becker's *Gallus* and Johnston's *The Private Life of the Romans* are among the exceptions.

<sup>2</sup> The book is inaccessible to me. It is referred to by numerous editors as authority for the interpretation which we are discussing.



between γυμνός and ἔχων χιτῶνα, has nevertheless misled some on account of the hyperbolic use of γυμνός (cf. below). The passage runs: . . . σαμβυκίστριαί τινες Ῥόδιαι, ἐμοὶ μὲν γυμναὶ δοκῶ, πλὴν ἔλεγόν τινες αὐτὰς ἔχειν χιτῶνας . . .

It has therefore seemed worth while to examine the usage of the two words as far as it can be traced with the help of available indexes and lexicons. Probably some passages which have been interpreted according to Cuypert's theory have been overlooked, but it is hoped that enough material is presented below to form a basis for the argument.

It will be convenient to treat the Greek and the Latin word together, and there seems to be no objection to doing so since I can detect no difference in their meaning, and their equivalence is assumed by the current theory also.

In addition to their literal meaning and the obvious metaphorical uses, γυμνός and *nudus* often occur in the familiar military sense "without protective armor". They also refer to partial nudity when the limitation is stated, as in Plat. Legg. 11. 925 A : γυμνὰς δὲ ὀμφαλοῦ μέχρι, or Verg. Aen. 1. 320: nuda genu.

Somewhat nearer to Cuypert's interpretation is the hyperbolic use analogous to the modern woman's frequent remark that she "hasn't a stitch to wear", or the complaints of certain critics about "nudity on the stage". Thus, according to Pollux 6. 197, some people called a beggar γυμνός, and Xenophon, Hell. 2. 1. 1, says that in the winter 406-405 the soldiers of Eteonicus γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι. Aristophanes, Eccl. 409, says that a certain poverty-stricken fellow addressed the ecclesia

γυμνός, ὥς ἐδόκει τοῖς πλείοσιν.  
αὐτὸς γε μέντοφασκεν ἱμάτιον ἔχειν.

Similarly Cicero, Phil. 2. 86, 3. 12, 13. 31, taunts Antony with having been *nudus* at the time when he addressed the people in the costume of the *luperci*. An Ar. Lys. 151, Lysistrata says to the women:

εἰ γὰρ καθήμεθ' ἐνδον ἐντετριμμέναι  
κἂν τοῖς χιτωνίοισι τοῖς ἀμοργινοῖς  
γυμναὶ παρίοιμεν, δέλτα παρατετιλμέναι,  
στύοιντο δ' ἄνδρες . . . ,

where γυμναί is added παρὰ προσδοκίαν to indicate that χιτῶνια ἀμόργινα are scarcely clothes at all. Similar passages are Philem. 4. 59 Mein., Eubul. 3. 237 = 246 Mein., Publilius Syrus (?) ap. Petron. 56, N. T. 1 Cor. 4. 11, Lucan 6. 794 (cf. Hor. A. P. 50).



There remain a number of passages where modern feeling would lead us to expect the person mentioned to wear more or less clothing. But that the ancients felt far otherwise about such matters is well known (cf. especially Plat. Rep. 5. 452 C).<sup>1</sup> Complete nudity was common with them under circumstances where it is quite unknown in the modern world. The evidence, both literary and archeological, is so abundant and so familiar that it need not be cited here.

Greek and Roman workmen sometimes wore the tunic or one of its variations, as the *ἔξωμίς*, and sometimes they went naked. It was quite out of the question to wear the *ἱμάτιον* or the *toga* while at work, and therefore to understand *γυμνός* or *nudus* as informing us that a laborer is not wearing a mantle is like saying that a modern farmer does not wear his dress coat while following the plow. Hesiod's famous injunction (Op. 391):

γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βουτεῖν,  
γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν, εἰ χ' ὦρια πάντ' ἐθέλῃσθα  
ἔργα κομίζεσθαι Δημήτερος,

must be accepted at its face value, and so must Vergil's repetition of it (Georg. 1. 299):

Nudus ara, sere nudus.

Hesiod was, no doubt, simply reporting a rustic proverb. Its origin may possibly be suggested by a fertility charm which is recorded in the Geoponica 2. 42. 3: *παρθένος ὦραν ἔχουσα γάμον, ἀνυπόδετος, γυμνή, μηδὲν καθόλου περικειμένη, λελυμένη τὰς τρίχας . . . περιελθέτω τὸ χωρίον*. The allusion to Hesiod's injunction in Ar. Lys. 1173 requires the literal meaning of *γυμνός*.

There is no reason to doubt that Cincinnatus was naked at his plow when the *viator* brought word of his appointment as dictator (Plin. 18. 20, Aur. Vict. Viri Illustr. 17). Plutarch's remark about Cato the elder really admits of only one interpretation (Cat. Mai. 3): . . . *ἂν μὲν ἢ χειμῶν ἐξωμίδα λαβὼν, θέρους δὲ γυμνός ἐργασάμενος μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν*: for *ἔξωμίς* must be a translation of Latin *tunica*. With this compare Plat. Rep. 2. 372 A.

The situation is similar in N. T. Jno. 21. 7, where we are told that Simon Peter was *γυμνός* while fishing on the Sea of Tiberias. That the word here has its ordinary meaning is clearly shown by Nonnus' paraphrase of the passage (21. 37-44).

<sup>1</sup> Roman feeling on this subject was not quite the same as that of the Greeks (cf. Cic. Tusc. 4. 70). It is certain, however, that nakedness among the Romans was much more common than among us.



The practice of stripping for exercise is so well known that *γυμνός* and *nudus* in this context have rarely been misinterpreted.<sup>1</sup> There has been some hesitancy to believe that the gymnastic exercises of the Spartan girls involved complete nudity; but Becker-Göll, Charikles 225-230, show that at any rate such was the opinion of the authors upon whom our knowledge of the matter depends. This is proved in any case by the word *ἀπόδυσις* in Plut. Lyc. 15, but *γυμνός* and *nudus*, often used in this connection, are really no less explicit.

Here may be placed the curious passage in Xen. An. 4. 4. 12, where the soldiers who have bivouacked in the snow hesitate to get up. *ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνός ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχ' ἀναστὰς τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχιζεν.* Xenophon's purpose, both in the deed and in the telling of it, was to exhibit his hardihood.

Equally well understood are the numerous references to naked dancers. One passage alone requires comment. The epitome of Athenaeus (20 F) records that after the battle of Salamis the youthful Sophocles *περὶ τρόπαιον γυμνός ἀηλιμμένος ἐχόρευσε μετὰ λύρας· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἱματίῳ φασί.* Instead of *ἱματίῳ* equally good manuscript authority gives *ἱματίοις*, which would make it quite necessary to interpret *γυμνός* literally. Even with the common reading there is no reason to do otherwise.

No one doubts that Greek boys often wore no clothes, but in one passage the editors have tried to dress them. In Ar. Nub. 963 ff. *Δίκαιος Λόγος* contrasts the old education with the new:

(987 ff.)  
*πρῶτον μὲν ἔδει παιδὸς φωνὴν γρύξαντος μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι·  
 εἶτα βαδίζειν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς εὐτάκτως εἰς κιθαριστοῦ  
 τοὺς κωμήτας γυμνοὺς ἀθρόους, καὶ κριμνώδη κατανίφοι.  
 σὺ δὲ τοὺς νῦν εὐθὺς ἐν ἱματίοις διδάσκεις ἐντετυλίχθαι.  
 ὥστε μ' ἀπάγχεσθ' ὅταν ὀρχεῖσθαι Παναθηναίοις δέον αὐτοὺς  
 τὴν ἀσπίδα τῆς κωλῆς προέχων ἀμελῇ τῆς Τριτογενείας.*

Clearly the bad habit of wearing clothes had made the youngsters ridiculously self-conscious.

We need waste no words on the good Samaritan (Koch Index s. v. *nudus*) who has taken pity on the *Gratia nuda* with her *nudis sororibus* in Hor. Od. 4. 7. 6 and 3. 19. 17.

Plato, Legg. 12. 954 A, tells us that if a man wished to search his neighbor's house for stolen property he must do so *γυμνός ἢ*

<sup>1</sup> In Herodian 1. 15. 15, *γυμνός* may mean either "without armor" or "naked". Immisch, Index s. v., translates "cum veste aliqua".



χιτωνίσκον ἔχων ἄζωστος. Jowett is certainly correct in translating "naked or having only a short tunic and no upper girdle" There is no reason for Hermann's deletion of ἦ.

There is an allusion to the custom in Ar. Nub. 497 ff.:

Σω. ἴθι νυν, κατάθου θοῖμάτιον. Στρ. ἡδίκηκά τι;

Σω. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ γυμνοὺς εἰσιέναι νομίζεται.

Στρ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ φωράσων ἐγωγ' εἰσέρχομαι.

Σω. κατάθου. τί ληρεῖς;

The fact that Strepsiades appears to be *γυμνός* as soon as he has removed *θοῖμάτιον* may be explained in either one of two ways: perhaps he, like Socrates, was old-fashioned enough to wear no tunic, or perhaps *ἱμάτιον* is to be understood as equivalent to *ἱμάτια*. Since the removal of the clothes before entering the *φροντιστήριον* is part of the initiation it is fair to assume that the novice would be required to strip completely, even if he were going to substitute ceremonial garments, as was done in the ritual at the cave of Trophonius in Lebadea to which Strepsiades presently refers (cf. Paus. 9. 39. 8. Luc. D. Mort. 3. 2).<sup>1</sup>

The ancient authors frequently tell of persons who were forcibly deprived of their clothes by robbers, by mobs, by a victorious enemy, or as the result of a conviction in court. When such persons are referred to as *γυμνός* or *nudus* it is never necessary and it is sometimes impossible to suppose that they had been allowed to keep their tunics. Typical instances are: Dem. Conon 1259, Polyb. 15. 33. 7-12, Petron. 92, Cic. Verr. 4. 86 f., Liv. 3. 23. 5, Hdn. 2. 13. 17, 19, Xen. An. 1. 10. 3, Plat. Legg. 9. 873 B, 854 D.

*γυμνός* has a somewhat similar context in Babrius' tale of the one swallow that did not make a summer (131):

Νέος ἐν κύβοισιν οὐσίην ἀναλώσας  
στολὴν ἑαυτῷ κατέλιπεν μίαν μούνην  
χειμῶνος ὄντος. . . .

Then he heard a swallow and

“τί μοι περισσῶν” εἶπε “φάρων χρεῖη;  
ἰδοὺ χελιδὼν ἦδε· καῦμα σημαίνει”.

<sup>1</sup> Of course Strepsiades' fear that he is to experience horrors like those at Lebadea does not imply that he is actually rigged out like the initiates there—*ἐσταλμένος ταῖς ὁθόναις γελοίως*, in Lucian's phrase. The scholiast on our passage declares that the initiates at Lebadea were *γυμνοί*, but that is not the only point in which his account is inconsistent with Pausanias and Lucian.



So he staked his στολήν μίαν μούνην and lost. Soon snow began to fall,

γυμνός δ' ἐκεῖνος τῆς θύρης ὑπεκκίνησας  
καὶ τὴν λάλον χελιδόν' αὐτὸν κατοπτεύσας. . . .

In case a man found it suddenly necessary to get rid of all hindrances to the free use of his limbs, either to escape pursuit or for any other purpose, he was said ῥίψαι τὸ ἱμάτιον (e. g., Lysias 97. 30). Both the phrase itself and the requirements of the situation lead one to think that in such cases a man did not usually stop to rid himself of his tunic also. In two such passages, however, the word γυμνός occurs: Plat. Rep. 474 A: καὶ ὅς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, τοιοῦτον ἐκβέβληκας ῥῆμά τε καὶ λόγον, ὃν εἰπὼν ἡγοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ πάνυ πολλοὺς τε καὶ οὐ φαύλους νῦν οὕτως οἷον ῥίψαντας τὰ ἱμάτια γυμνοὺς, λαβόντας ὃ τι ἐκάστῳ παρέτυχεν ὄπλον, θεῖν διατεταμένους ὡς θανμάσια ἐργαζομένους. Luc. Hermot. 23: πάντων μάλιστα ἐπὶ τούτῳ σπουδαστέον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀμελητέον, καὶ μήτε πατρίδος τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐπιλαμβανομένης πολὺν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον μήτε παίδων . . . ἀλλὰ . . . ἀποσεισάμενον αὐτοὺς χωρεῖν εὐθὺς τῆς πανευδαίμονος ἐκείνης πόλεως καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπορρίψαντα τὸ ἱμάτιον, εἰ τούτου ἐπαιλημένοι κατερύκοιεν, ἐσσύμενον ἐκείσε· οὐ γὰρ δέος μή σέ τις ἀποκλείσῃ καὶ γυμνὸν ᾗκοντα. In both cases we have, not an account of an actual occurrence, but an imaginary situation, and the word γυμνός is obviously added for the purpose of suggesting greater energy of action. In the passage from Plato, then, we should understand ἱμάτια as meaning "clothes", while in Lucian the καί before γυμνόν shows that we have a heightening of the idea originally expressed by ἀπορρίψαντα τὸ ἱμάτιον.

It is perfectly possible to interpret many of the above passages according to Cuypert's theory; but, since that theory rests upon no ancient authority, it can be established only on the basis of passages where no other interpretation is satisfactory. If there are any such they have not come to my attention.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Libri IV Recensuit Carolus Hosius In Aedibus B. G. Teubneri Lipsiae MCMXI. Pp. xvi + 190.**

**Catulli, Tibulli, Properti Carmina quae extant Omnia cura Robinson Ellis, Ioannis P. Postgate, Ioannis S. Phillimore, apud P. H. Lee Warner Mediceae Societatis Librarium Londini MDCCCCXI. Pp. 319.**

The new Teubner text of Propertius by Professor Hosius is based upon the MSS used by Baehrens (N A F D V) with the addition of Professor Postgate's L. Of N Mr. Hosius says: *codex solus ante tempora litterarum renascentium scriptus interpolationibus humanistarum caret, non mendis: optimus est, non unicus testis memoriae Propertianae.* The readings of this codex (with the exception of purely orthographical variants) are fully recorded in the apparatus. Of the other MSS all readings important for determining the text, and many useful for illustrating relationships, are included; other variants are for the most part omitted. The readings of F, a MS difficult to make out and often incorrectly reported by Baehrens, are here given from a collation made in 1908 by the editor, who has also contributed to the apparatus a number of *testimonia*, chiefly from inscriptions. Professor Hosius has now, in deference to the arguments of Mr. Postgate, given up his former opinion that in Neapolitanus 268 we have a text which may serve to control the readings of the parent of A F from the point (ii. 1.63) where A stops, nor does he show himself more indulgent toward the claims made by Professor Birt and his pupils, Messrs. Koehler and Heukrath, in behalf of the Codex Lusaticus, which those scholars regard as forming with N the proper basis for the text of Propertius. No account is taken of the recently propounded theory of Mr. Richmond, nor of Professor Ullman's still newer article on the Manuscripts of Propertius, which latter paper indeed reached the editor too late to be considered. In a word the new edition of Propertius rests upon the same foundations as those of Messrs. Postgate, Phillimore, and Butler. Mr. Hosius is practically at one too with these gentlemen in the relative estimate he places upon his MSS, and in rejecting the estimate of Baehrens, whose codices D V are now known to be later than A F, and inferior to them.

It would however be a mistake to conclude that the new edition marks no advance upon its predecessors. It is easily, in my opinion, the most useful edition of the text we have yet had, for



the following reasons: (1) The MSS are reported more carefully than ever before, and with the possible exception of Baehrens' inaccurate apparatus, more fully. (2) The text adheres rather closely to the MS tradition, in many places even where it is not certain that it is true. The preface warns us of this policy: *Quid poetae licuerit vel quid libuerit, qui diiudicare vult, quaestionem adit magnae aleae, quam aliter alius arbiter solvat. Itaque in textu restituendo, quod explicari posse ullo modo putavi, retinui verius tamen scriptori absurda quoque et absona vindicare.* This principle, if wisely enforced (and the editor has acquitted himself of his extremely difficult task with nice discrimination), is sure to provide a text which will afford to other students of Propertius a sound and convenient basis for their work. It is open to one objection only, viz., that in certain places where the editor finds the tradition explicable his readers may not agree with him. But this objection is largely obviated by (3) the inclusion in the very compactly printed yet liberal apparatus of a large number of conjectures ranging from unknown humanists whose emendations are preserved in the interpolated MSS down to our own day. It is impossible to speak too highly of this last feature of Mr. Hosius' work. Of the 7300 verbal emendations, 1000 transpositions (not including those of the arch-transposer Scaliger), 85 indications of lacunae, and 450 suspected verses, (not to speak of the wholesale attacks on Book IV by Carutti and Heimreich), which the editor has gathered together in the course of his wide reading in the literature of his subject, he has laboriously sifted out for printing those which seem to him worth preserving. The result is an apparatus which provides in most instances a sufficient equipment for the intelligent criticism of this most perplexing of Latin classics, while, on the other hand, one may read or consult the text itself with a reasonable assurance that the tradition has never been wantonly departed from. Finally (4) should be mentioned the valuable set of indices, (a) *Initia Carminum*, (b) *Index nominum*, (c) *Index metricus et prosodiacus*, (d) *Index grammaticus*. The latter two contain truly *multum in parvo*.

The value of the new Teubner text lies chiefly, it is true, in the sanity and industry with which its editor has employed the materials already, in diverse forms, in the hands of scholars. He has, however, contributed to the apparatus about a score of new conjectures, though I believe he has nowhere admitted a guess of his own to a place in the text. In general this practice is justified by the nature of the proposed alterations which though often interesting are seldom convincing. The principle is perhaps applied a bit too rigorously at ii. 2.11, where Professor Butler's *Mercurio et sacris* is printed in the text, although the note runs: *malim ut.* As *et* is itself a mere conjecture it would seem to be the editor's duty to replace it by his own, since, as he says, he prefers it to the other.



At i. 11. 18 Sed quod in hac omnis parte veretur amor<sup>1</sup> veretur is Lachmann's, and Mr. Hosius suggests *tenetur*. Perhaps we should keep O's *timetur*, understanding *omnis amor* as *omnis amator*, or literally "every love," i. e. every love which you inspire. For *in hac parte* "in this region" (Baiae) cf. Cic. At. viii. 3. 6. At i. 15. 6 Et longa faciem quaerere desidia, Mr. Hosius proposes to read *fucum* for *faciem*. But cf. Ov. A. A. iii. 105 *cura dabit faciem*, and *Med. Fac.* 1 *Discite quae faciem commendet cura, puellae*. At i. 15. 29 Multa prius vasto labentur flumina ponto the editor suggests *verso-fonte*. The place is troublesome, but the MSS are very likely right, *vasto ponto* being ablative. i. 17. 3 Nec mihi Cassiope solito visura carinam, the editor's *Cassiope est laeto* is not remote from the letters, but the sense is scarcely improvement enough to satisfy those who believe the MSS corrupt. Mr. Phillimore's translation, "I am no practised traveler, but Cassiope must now behold my bark," rests upon a Propertian usage (*nec mihi solito=et mihi insolito*, cf. Postgate, Selections, CXIX), and the reading, thus explained, may possibly be sound. At i. 17. 14 Primus et invito gurgite fecit iter, the note reads: *malim* insueta. But *invito* is quite in the spirit of the context, and cf. Horace's *nequiquam deus abscidit*, and the personification of winds and waves in iii. 7. At i. 18. 27 Pro quo divini fontes et frigida rupes, the editor suggests *ieiuni montes*, comparing Cic. *Verr.* iii. 37. 84, and Verg. *G.* ii. 212. This makes good sense, but Mr. Postgate's *mi nudi*, and Mr. Enk's *mi duri* are perhaps better, as supplying the dative. ii. 1. 21 Nec veteres Thebas nec Pergama, nomen Homeri. The conjecture *carmen Homeri* would be a good one if the text of O were not unexceptionable. ii. 3. 22 Carmina, quae quivis non putat aequa suis. Here Mr. Hosius queries *an—que Aonidis* (Aonies)?—a not very probable conjecture, from the standpoint of the letters. ii. 19. 19 Incipiam captare feras et reddere pinu Cornua. Here it is proposed to read *tendere panda*, but the need of emendation is to my mind more than doubtful. At ii. 29. 5, Quorum alii faculas, alii retinere sagittas, Pars etiam visa est vincla parare mihi, *strinxere*, which Mr. Hosius suggests, gives a good meaning, but the reference to ii. 19. 24 *stricto calamo* is not particularly in point, for *calamo* there means "lime-rod" not "arrow" (C. P. ii., 1907, p. 213). iii. 1. 27 Idaeum Simoenta, Iovis cunabula parvi. Here the editor's *Phrygis* does indeed give a better sense than *Iovis*, but not quite good enough, for we are still left with only one river, and *flumina* vs. 26 shows we need two. Moreover we find *Iovis* in all the MSS, whereas *cunabula parvi* is omitted by N. Wolf's *cum prole Scamandro* remains the most satisfactory guess yet made. iii. 4. 6 Adsuescent Latio Partha tropaea Iovi. The text seems to me sound. The *accedent* of Fonteinius offers a possible meaning, but is unneces-

<sup>1</sup> I print first the text as the editor himself gives it.



sary. Mr. Hosius' *Accedent* is not only unnecessary, but intrinsically unlikely. How are Parthian *trophies* to yield to Jove? At iii. 6. 28, Et lecta exsectis anguibus ossa trahunt, Lachmann proposed *exstructis* (here incorrectly reported as *exstructis*) *ignibus*, and Mr. Hosius suggests *extinctis*. But *anguibus* seems not likely to be wrong here.

At iii. 11. 5, Venturam melius praesagit navita mortem, / Vulneribus didicit miles habere metum, Mr. Hosius quotes Markland's *vetulus*, and Lachmann's *pavidus*, and observes *praeplacere* tremulus. Of the three conjectures *tremulus* is obviously the best, but it does not meet the exigencies of the line. Why should a sailor foresee death better than, say, a soldier? Does not the pentameter show that such was not the poet's meaning? Again, why is the comparison (*melius praesagit*) left half-expressed? Finally, why is there no mention, in the hexameter, of storms or winds, to offset *vulneribus* in the short line? This last difficulty Mr. Postgate sought to remove by writing *Ventorum-motum*. (The conjecture was published in J. P. IX p. 68: Mr. Hosius ascribes it to Owen). But the second objection still remains. We might, to be sure, resort to contamination, and combine Mr. Postgate's conjecture with that of Mr. Hosius, reading *Ventorum tremulus praesagit navita motum*, but, after all, it is not enough to make the *frightened* sailor foresee the coming storm. Rather we should expect an *experienced* sailor, taught by a sailor's trials, as in the next line we have an experienced soldier taught by a soldier's woes,—both verses leading naturally up to vs. 8 Tu nunc *exemplo disce* timere (i. e. in *love*) *meo*. It was presumably this line of reasoning which led Mr. Postgate later to propose *Naufrage iam melius praesagis* navita mortem, but the departure from the MSS is a considerable one. Possibly Propertius wrote *Ventis iam monitus praesagit navita mortem*. I feel almost certain we must have *ventis* at least. Cf. ii. 1. 43 Navita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator, / Et numerat miles vulnera, pastor ovis. Also ii. 27. 11 sq. Solus amans novit quando periturus et a qua / Morte, neque hic *Boreae flabra* neque *arma* timet. Ovid *Am.* ii. 11 is full of Propertian echoes and at vs. 25 he has navita sollicitus cum ventos horret iniquos, / et prope tam letum quam prope cernit aquam, an expansion after Ovid's fashion of the one line in his model. Possibly we should read therefore *Ventis sollicitus praesagit navita mortem*. This would supply the element of *fear* found in vss. 6 and 8, but is not so near the letters.

iii. 17. 6 Tu vitium ex animo dilue, Bacche, meo. The use of *vitium* is defended by ii. 1.65 Hoc si quis vitium poterit mihi demere (cf. also ii. 22. 17 sq.). Mr. Hosius' *vinclum* is therefore superfluous. At iv. 1. 97 Fatales pueri, duo funera matris avarae! the text is equally unimpeachable. To alter *avarae*, as our editor proposes, to *amara* is to ignore the close association of war and wealth which appears so often in Propertius, as e. g. at iii. 5. 1-6,



and at iii. 12. 5 sq. we have the adjective with precisely the same implications as in the passage under discussion—*Si fas est, omnes pariter pereatis avari, / et quisquis fido praetulit arma toro!* The mother sends her sons to war that their booty may enrich her, and we can ill spare *avarae* for a feeble stop-gap like *amara*. At iv. 4. 85 *Omnia praebebant somnos*, I can see no objection to *Omnia* "all the circumstances." If any change were necessary I should prefer Luetjohann's *carpebant* to Mr. Hosius' *Olia*. iv. 6. 25 *Tandem aciem geminos Nereus lunarat in arcus*. Here *Tandem* seems to me so appropriate that I am at a loss to conceive why it should ever have occurred to Mr. Hosius to suggest *Tantam*. At iv. 11. 72 *Laudat ubi emeritum libera fama rogam* we have in the proposal to substitute *emeritam* for *emeritum* what I regard as the best of our editor's emendations and one which might almost, even without violating his own strict canons, have been received into the text. It is a much better conjecture than the *emeritum torum* of Heinsius.

It might be inferred from the rigor with which Mr. Hosius has treated his own conjectures that his text would prove to be slavishly faithful to the MSS. Such is by no means the case. There are indeed many places usually regarded as corrupt where the Teubner edition retains the tradition. Thus we read *cogis* at ii. 1. 5; *De me, mi certe poteris formosa videri*, at ii. 18. 29; *Mansisti stabulis abdita pasta tuis!* at ii. 32. 12, where Palmer's *mandisti et arbuta* is probably right. At ii. 34. 31, *Tu satius memorem Musis imitere Philitam*, *memorem* is pretty surely wrong. It would be easy to multiply examples, but we must remember the editor's policy—to emend only when the words can in no way be explained without absurdity or inconsistency. As a matter of fact conjectures find their way into the text far oftener than is the case in Mr. Phillimore's Oxford text (1901, second edition 1907), and the Teubner text is much more readable, in consequence. So at i. 8. 19 *Utere felici praevecta Ceraunia remo* (*Ut te N A F V*); ii. 18. 9 *Illum saepe suis decedens fovit in ulnis* (*undis O*); ii. 32. 23 *Nuper enim de te nostras pervenit ad aures / Rumor* (*pervenit*, may not be right, but *me laedit O* seems pretty certainly wrong). So at iii. 5. 14 Hosius adopts the certain correction of Schrader *at inferna rate* for O's *ad infernas rates*. Again at iii. 11. 31 *Coniugii obsceni pretium Romana poposcit / Moenia*, Passerat's certain correction of O's *coniugis* is adopted. The poem is a tirade against Cleopatra and contains no direct reference to Antony, the *coniugis* of O. (For vs. 56 see below). Sometimes the editor seems to have gone farther than his plan warrants. At iii. 5. 1 sq. *Pacis Amor deus est, pacem veneramur amantes: / Sat mihi cum domina praelia dura mea, sat* is an injudicious emendation by Livineius of O's perfectly sound *stant*. Propertius means that Love is the god of peace, in the sense of peace among nations; that he himself does, to be sure, wage wars with



his mistress, but that these wars are not (like real wars) prompted by greed of gain (See Otto, *Hermes* xxiii., p. 40). Again, at ii. 29b. 1 sq. *Mane erat, et volui, si sola quiesceret illa, / Visere: et* in lecto Cynthia sola fuit, the *at* of O is distinctly superior to *et* s, for the poet's thought is "but (despite my suspicions) she *was* alone." In these and some other places the Oxford text preserves the tradition where the Teubner editor has needlessly forsaken it.

In dealing with the vexatious problem of misplaced lines Mr. Hosius has adopted the best possible plan: he has noted in his apparatus a large number of proposed transpositions, but has admitted scarcely any to his text. In i. 15 verses 17-20 have been printed before vs. 15, with Markland, and iv. 9. 73 sq. have been placed before 71, with Schneidewin. That these two transpositions are any more certain than e. g. that of iii. 20. 11 sq. after 13 sq., proposed by Scaliger, or for that matter than a dozen others, or a score of others, can hardly be maintained. But Mr. Hosius has deserved so well of the republic for restricting himself to two transpositions that it would be ungrateful to quarrel with his choice were it even less compelling than it is. I would not be understood to think that the text is free from dislocations. No one who has read Propertius attentively can doubt that there are many places where an alteration in the order of the verses would add clearness to the thought; but the very fact that different scholars can propose such widely different arrangements of the same piece, e. g. iii. 7, shows how impossible it must be to attain certain results by transposition. It must be admitted that the distichal structure of elegy was tolerant of, if not conducive to, a looseness of connection, a disjunctiveness in the presentation of ideas, which modern criticism is quite powerless to control. An editor is bound therefore to concede to his readers the right to exercise their own judgment upon any proposed transposition, and should not—at least in such an edition as this—obtrude his own convictions upon others. The apparatus is his proper place for presenting such suggestions for re-ordering the run of the verses as he may deem worthy of attention. From this point on each reader must be his own editor.

No lines are obelized in the Teubner text, but at four places lacunae are indicated. These are at ii. 9. 48, ii. 22. 42, ii. 30. 12, and iii. 22. 36. This last difficulty is removed by Mr. Phillimore in his new Riccardi text by the transposition of vs. 37 sq. to follow vs. 10. We thus get a verb (*aspicias* in vs. 7) to govern *crucis* (vs. 37), and Sinis fits in better with Atlas, Phorcys, Geryon, and Antaeus than with the stories of unnatural crime—Andromeda, Thyestes, Meleager, Pentheus, Iphigenia—in the latter part of the poem. As the two books appeared at about the same time this clever transposition is not mentioned in the Teubner apparatus.

In the re-division of poems Mr. Hosius has proceeded a little more boldly than in the matter of transpositions. i. 8 is printed as



one poem, but with a line and space after vs. 26. The meaning of this is not clear to me. ii. 13 should, I think, be divided to make a new poem begin at vs. 17 *Quandocumque igitur*, and the new text recognizes this conjecture so far as to provide a new line-numbering (along with the traditional numbering) from this point on. (The Riccardi text frankly divides the poem). iii. 1 is made to include the first distich of iii. 2 *Carminis interea*—an improbable division, since vss. 35–38 form a rather striking close, and *Carminis interea*, etc., an effective opening. Conversely ii. 3 loses its last ten verses to ii. 4. A new poem is made to commence at ii. 26. 21 *Nunc admirentur*. ii. 28 is divided into the usual three parts, and ii. 29 is divided after vs. 22.

In several words the spelling of the Teubner edition shows a greater fidelity to the codices than its predecessors have shown. We now have *Philitae* and *Philitea*, *Xersis*, *Perithoum*, *praelia*, *pulcra*, *subponere*, *inmortalis*, *haut*, etc. The capitalization of *Sopor*, i. 3. 45, is a good idea, and I like too *amoris* with a small initial at ii. 13. 36 *Unius hic quondam servus amoris erat*.

I note the following errors, in addition to those corrected by the editor. In the text: i. 15. 32 *Sis*, quodcumque voles, (the first comma should be omitted—or does the editor take *Sis* with *non aliena tamen*? i. 18, 11 *Sic modo te referas levis*, ut non altera nostro (comma omitted after *referas*); ii. 29. 39 comma omitted after *Dixit* (cf. vs. 10); III, 18. 27 comma omitted after *Achillen*; iv. 4. 67 comma omitted after *Dixit*, ibid. 91 comma omitted after *Dixit*; IV. 9. 42 [Accipite: Haec fesso vix mihi terra patet.] Here O reads *accipit*, and as the line is bracketed, as a duplication of vs. 66, there is no point in emending it. At IV. 11. 35 the German type-setter has given us *Jungor* for *Iungor*. In the apparatus: on p. 15, VII should be XII; II. 10. 23 *in arcem* belongs to Paulmier, not to Birt; ii 19. 32 *mi* belongs to Paley, not to Postgate; ii 22. 44 Gwynu should be Gwynn; ii 33. 12. *Mandisti-arbuta* should be *Man-distit et —arbuta*; iii 6. 28, *exstructis* should be *ex structis*. *Index carminum* p. 162 *Pacis Amor* is iii. 5, not ii. 5. *Index nominum* p. 173 *Philitaea* should be *Philitea*.

Professor Phillimore's new text of Propertius appears in an édition de luxe of the triumvirate of amatory poets,<sup>1</sup> and in view of the price of the volume, a guinea, will be likely to adorn the libraries of connoisseurs in book-making oftener than the study-tables of classical students. It is unfortunate that this should be so, for the new Propertius is a very interesting one, fairly bristling with new emendations, of which some have recently been published in the *Classical Review* (xxiv, 1910, p. 213 sqq, xxv, 1911, p. 12 sq., p. 135 sqq.), and *Classical Philology* (iv, 1909, p. 315 sqq.), some have only seen the light in the foot-notes

<sup>1</sup> I have dealt in this review only with the edition of Propertius. The texts of Catullus and Tibullus are reprinted with relatively few changes from the Oxford texts by the same editors.



to the editor's translation of Propertius (Oxford, 1906), and still others appear here for the first time. The book is printed upon a beautiful heavy paper from types especially designed for the Medicean Society and with initials in blue. The letters have an almost monumental look and are very handsome, but the effect of the page is marred by the unfortunate character of the small *a*, which has a squat appearance due to the loop being too flat and set too low. The demi-binding in boards and canvas back is obviously intended only to protect the book from injury until it can be worthily bound in leather to suit the taste of its purchaser. It will then be a magnificent volume and should last for a millennium or two. But it is too bulky and heavy and the type is too large and bold for one to adopt the book as an intimate companion, and one is reminded of Lamb's feeling that magnificence of dress is out of place in a great classic.

The most striking feature of the editor's work is the way in which he has broken up his text into sections, or paragraphs, of from two to thirty odd lines. In an elegist whose abrupt transitions make it so hard to follow the development of his thoughts, and who is so prone to allow his sentence to overflow the limits of the distich, a new device for punctuating, such as we have here, is certainly worth considering. In its favor is the undoubted help it affords the reader in following the succession of the poet's ideas, as they are understood by the editor. It is also in its favor that it often serves to call the reader's attention to a symmetry of structure which else might easily pass unnoticed. Thus at i. 5 *Invide, tu tandem* Mr. Phillimore's divisions show the poem to consist of five 6-line sections plus one concluding distich. Again, ii. 12 *Quicumque ille fuit* divides quite naturally into six 4-line sections. On the other hand readers will often differ with the editor respecting the proper grouping of the distichs in this or that poem. Thus at iv. 11 *Desine, Paulle, meum*, Mr. Phillimore divides into seven 14-line sections, plus a concluding one of 4 lines. Here my own feeling would be for beginning the fourth paragraph at 45, *nec mea mutata est aetas*, rather than at 43, *non fuit exuviis*, and that 71 sq., *haec est feminei merces* belong by themselves (as Mr. Phillimore puts them in his translation), or with the preceding group, not with the following one, as they are here given. Again, iii. 20 *Credis eum iam posse*, is here printed as five 6-line sections. But however we may regard Scaliger's proposed transposition of 11sq. and 13sq., beginning a new poem with 13, I for one have no doubt that these two distichs belong together. Now it would be unfair to Mr. Phillimore to assume that a disposition to discover symmetry in his author had led him to disregard certain indications of groupings and to over-emphasize others, yet it looks here and there, as though he had in truth conceived of his sections as strophes, rather than as mere paragraphs, and as such not to be strictly identified with sense units. The attitude would, I think, be mistaken. It is no doubt



interesting to find that the sense often falls into metrically equivalent divisions, but the indication of such divisions, to be worth anything, must be based solely on the meaning. So far as this principle has been followed the results are bound to be of real assistance to the reader, especially the occasional reader, for whom such a book seems intended.

Another thing that must be borne in mind in criticising this book is that owing to the circumstance of its being without preface, apparatus, or any kind of notes, the editor may very properly go to greater lengths in correcting his text than would be advisable in a critical edition. It is of little use to the amateur reader to have before him the very words of the tradition, when they are unintelligible. Mr. Phillimore has accordingly admitted many uncertain conjectures in preference to printing the corruptions of the MSS. In fact one is surprised that the process once begun has not been carried out more evenly, for there still remain a number of readings which most scholars regard as indefensible. So at i. 8. 19 ut te, felici praevecta Ceraunia remo, where D V's *utere* is now printed even by so conservative a critic as Mr. Hosius; ii 23. 14, where N's interrogation point is kept, to the detriment of the sense; ii 25. 11sq. at, vos qui officia in multos revocatis amores, / quantum sic cruciat lumina nostra dolor ! where the *vestra* of D V seems required; iii 12. 17sq. quid faciet nullo munita puella timore, cum sit luxuriae Roma magistra tuae? Here *suae* of the Itali seems clearly right. At ii. 23. 23sq. libertas quoniam nulli iam restat amanti: nullus liber erit, si quis amare volet, the text is certainly unsound as it stands, and I think Mr. Phillimore might have done worse than to accept my transposition of *nullus* and *si quis* (C. P. ii, 1907, p. 215). ii. 13. 11sq. me iuvet in gremio doctae legisse puellae, / auribus et pueris scripta probasse mea. Here O's pueris is possibly intelligible if we construe "and win through their ears the approval of boys for my songs", but that *puris* (D) is more suitable is shown by 13sq. haec ubi contigerint, populi confusa valet / fabula: nam *domina iudice* tutus ero.

To scholars the chief interest in the edition will be found to consist in the numerous new conjectures, many of which are very clever and ingenious. At i. 20. 15sq. the vulgate runs quae miser ignotis error perpressus in oris / Herculis indomito fleverat Ascanio. Mr. Phillimore proposes quas (i. e. *Nympharum rapinas* vs. 11) miser ignotis erro perpressus in oris/Herculis, etc., thus getting rid of *error Herculis*=*errans Hercules*, and transferring the weeping role to Hylas. Mr. Enk in his *Commentarius Criticus* is disposed to deride this suggestion (which has been printed in C. R. xxiv, 1910, p. 213). He asks Quis umquam poeta elegiacus Hylan Herculis erroneum nominare ausus est? Quasi cum Plauto alioque comico nobis res esset! Et omnino absurdum est Hylan Herculis erroneum vocare, quia semel in sua vita erraverit. These criticisms are trivial. There are abundant



signs in Propertius of a humor, and a homeliness of diction too, not unlike those of Plautus himself. A more serious objection to my mind is this, that for the comparison Hercules : Hylas = Gallus : x, Hercules and not Hylas should be the one to weep. Nor can I see any impropriety in making the hero shed tears of grief for the loss of the boy. Tears were not regarded as unmanly by the ancients. i. 16. 19sq. (the poet addresses the door) cur numquam reserata meos admittis amores, nescia furtivas redere mota vices. The MSS give *preces*, which I think can be satisfactorily explained (C. P. ii., p. 210). In any case I doubt the admissibility of *vices*, for the line would then mean "Thou that knowest not how, being moved, to move me stealthily in return." i. 21. 9sq. et quaecumque super dispersa invenerit ossa / montibus Etruscis nesciat esse mea (*haec sciat* O). If Gallus had wished the story of his death to be kept from anybody he had only to let his terror-stricken comrade pass unchallenged. The meaning cannot be that Gallus stopped his friend and revealed to him his plight merely that he might charge him not to inform the *soror*. I should therefore prefer to keep *haec sciat*, and in 5sq. to read, with Mr. Postgate, sic te servato possint gaudere parentes / ut soror acta tuis sentiet e lacrimis, etc. ii. 10. 23sq. sic nos nunc, inopes laudis, poscente Camena, / pauperibus sacris vilia tura damus. Here O has *conscendere carmen*, a reading which with Mr. Mattingly (C. R. xxvi., 1912, p. 49) I believe to be sound. At all events *conscendere* should not be given up, as the context defends it. Those who find *carmen* impossible may follow Mr. Hosius in adopting the clever emendation *culmens*. At ii. 12. 18 quod superest, alio tramite pelle sitim, one would hardly recognize our old friend si puer est alio traice puella tuo (O). At ii. 13a. 45 sqq. the new edition presents nam quo tam dubiae servetur spiritus horae? / Nestor *testis eris*, post tria saecula cinis: / qui si *longa suae* minuisset fata senectae / *saucius* Iliacis miles in aggeribus, / non *ante* Antilochi vidisset corpus humari, / diceret aut 'O mors cur mihi sera venis?' The passage has given much trouble but I believe it to be sound except for the probably corrupt *Gallicus* which Mr. Phillimore has replaced with *saucius*. I should read with O and punctuate thus—nam quo tam dubiae servetur spiritus horae? / Nestoris est visus post tria saecula cinis: / quis tam longaevae minuisset fata senectae / † *Gallicus* † Iliacis miles in aggeribus? / non ille Antilochi vidisset corpus humari, / diceret aut 'O mors, cur mihi sera venis?' "What Gallic(?) soldier on Ilium's ramparts would have minished the doom of so great eld? He would not (in that case) have seen the body of Antilochus buried, nor have cried, 'O death why comest thou to me too late?'" We may contrast Vergil Aen. ii. 6 sqq. quis talia fando / Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi / temperet a lacrimis? Propertius means that no Trojan would have killed Nestor, for to have done so would have been to spare him the greater punishment of old age. ii. 16. 27sq.



barbarus excussis agitat vestigia limbis— / et subito felix nunc mea regna tenet ! This conjecture seems to me very good. Certainly no satisfactory solution of the difficulty had yet been offered, and I do not see how Mr. Hosius can retain *lumbis*, the reading of O. Another good conjecture is given at ii. 25. 17sq. at nullo teritur dominae *sub lite*, *memor* qui restat et immerita substinet aure minas (dominae teritur *sublimine* (or *sub lumine*) amor *qui* O). The passage is discussed by Mr. Phillimore in C. R. xxv., 1911, p. 12, and *memor* in the sense of 'true', 'faithful' is defended by the citation of Andria 281.

Less happy is the attempt to heal the sore in ii. 27. 7sq. rursus et objectum fletur (*fletus* N, *flemus* O, *fletis* s, *fles tu* Housman) caput esse tumultu / cum Mavors dubias miscet utrimque manus; / praeterea domibus flammam *metuisque* (Muller's conjecture for *domibusque* O) ruinas, / neu subeant labris pocula nigra tuis. My objection to *fletur*, which is easily derived from N, and so far plausible, is that we are still left with an ill-motivated second *singular* (*metuisque* and *tuis*), after the second *plural* of vss. 1-4. May I venture to refer to a suggestion I recently made (*Stanford University Publications, Matzke Memorial Volume*, p. 101) to adopt *fletis* s in vs. 7, and in vs. 10 read *vestris*—*labris*, for O's *labris*—*tuis*? ii. 34. 55sq. aspice me, cui parva demi fortuna relictæ est / nullus et antiquo Marte triumphus avi, / ut regnem mixtas inter conviva puellas. / hoc ego, quo tibi nunc elevor ingenio! By thus making a new sentence of vs. 58 Mr. Phillimore adds force to the passage and gives *ego* a natural position. With *ego* we must understand something like *facere possum*. The effect is something like that at iii. 24, 11sq., where the editor does me the honor of printing my *hoc ego!* non ferro non igne coactus, et ipsa / naufragus Aegæa—vera fatebor—aqua!

At iii. 1. 23sq. I am glad to see that both the Teubner and the Riccardi texts give N's *Famae*, rather than O's *Omnia*: *Famae* post obitum fingit maiora vetustas: / maius ab exsequiis nomen in ora venit. *Omnia* is easily accounted for as a marginal note (intended to suggest the object to be supplied with *fingit*) which later ousted *famae* from some MSS. But the phrase *Famae vetustas* is too rare to permit us to explain its presence here in N<sup>1</sup> as due to a similar attempt to indicate more precisely the already clear meaning of *vetustas*. *Famae* is the *lectio difficilior*, and therefore to be preferred unless it can be shown to be either bad Latin, or nonsense. Its Latinity is vouched for by a passage in Livy, which the commentators seem not to have noticed: Athenas inde plenas quidem et ipsas vetustate fama, multa tamen visenda habentis, etc. (Liv. xxxv. 27. 11.) Would it not be better, by the way, had Mr. Phillimore (who

<sup>1</sup> Or rather in N's parent, for N itself has *vestustae*—apparently an effort to make a kind of sense of what seemed to the scribe a corrupt phrase.



does not, like Mr. Hosius, capitalize his initials) printed *famae*, with a small *f*? At iii. 6. 9 the Oxford text printed Mr. Butler's *sic, ut eam incomptis etc.* N has *si cā*; O has *sicut eam*; Mr. Hosius reads *Siccine eam s.* Mr. Phillimore now reads *sic erat?* *incomptis vidisti flere capillis?* The sense is excellent, but so plain an idiom seems scarcely likely to have been corrupted. iii. 7. 43 sqq. *quod si contentus patrio bove verteret agros, / verbaque duxisset pondus habere mea, / viveret ante suos dulcis conviva Penatis, / pauper at in terra; nil, ubi flere, potes* (*flere potest* O). Here by taking *flere* as the indicative, and adopting *potes* from the Dresdensis, Mr. Phillimore would like to make Propertius say (to quote from the Oxford translation) "You would be a poor man, but alive; when you are dead the riches you risked so much to gain are of no use to you". Perhaps we might get this meaning more clearly by reading *nil, ubi fleris, opes.* (Baehrens conjectured *nil nisi* (D V) *fleret opes.*) Compare the same commonplace at iii. 5. 13 *haud ullas portabis opes Acherontis ad undas.*

iii. 11. 55sq. 'Non hoc, Roma, fuit tanto tibi cive ferendum!' / *dixit et assiduo lingua sepulta mero.* The MSS have *non hoc, Roma, fuit tanto tibi cive verenda.* The new Teubner text has 'Non hoc, Roma, fui tanto tibi cive verenda' / *Dixit 'et assiduo etc'.* Whether Mr. Phillimore adheres to his interpretation of the pentameter indicated in the translation: "So said even that sot's tongue swamped in endless debauch", I do not know. To my mind the most natural treatment of the distich would be to read thus: 'non hoc, Roma, fui tanto tibi cive verenda!' / *dixit, et assiduo lingua sepulta mero.* "I deserved not thy fear, Rome, seeing thou hadst this great citizen!" She said, and straightway her tongue was buried 'neath an endless flow of wine". For the idiom compare ii. 29. 10 *dixit, et in collo iam mihi nodus erat;* *ibid* 39 sq. *dixit, et opposita propellens savia dextra / prosilit in laxa nixa pedem solea:* iv. 4. 67 *dixit, et incerto permisit bracchia somno;* *ibid.* 91 *dixit, et ingestis comitum super obruit armis.* With regard to the meaning I would point out that a reference to Antony is out of place here. He is indeed alluded to in vs. 31, but here the sense indicates that we should accept Passerat's *coniugii obsceni pretium* (*coniugis* O and Mr. Phillimore), and the 'shameful wedlock' is so-called because of Cleopatra's being a party to it, not in contempt of Antony. Propertius seems to have refrained deliberately from mixing up Antony in his denunciations of the Egyptian queen. Cf. Smith on Horace, *Odes* i. 37. "Of Antony the poet is silent, conforming in this to the national feeling, which never permitted a triumph to be celebrated, except over a foreign foe", and Mr. Ramsay, Tacitus, *Annals* I p. 375<sup>1</sup>.—"the triumphs of Caesar and Augustus were never nominally celebrated as over Romans". Lachmann takes this view of our line on purely artistic grounds: "Caeterum ducis Antonii hic, ubi de feminarum imperio agit, Propertium non meminisse



plane censeo". For Cleopatra's drunkenness cf. Horace, *l. c.* vs. 14 *mentemque lymphatam Mareotico*.

iii. 13. 9 sq. *haec etiam clausas expugnant arma pudicas; / haec quaterent fastus, Icarioni, tuos (quaeque terent O)*. This conjecture has the merit of close conformity to the *ductus litterarum*, and I much prefer it to any other suggestion I am acquainted with. Another excellent emendation is that made at iii. 17. 17 *dum modo purpureo tumeant mihi dolia musto*. Here the MSS have *numen* N D V, *nūie* F, *numerem* L, *spument* s. Another good conjecture, but not, I think, quite so good as Mr. Phillimore's, is the *cumulem* of Mr. Postgate. At iii. 18. 31 Mr. Phillimore has improved on Paley, adopting his *traicit* and *portet*, and changing his *qui* to *quo*, reading: at tibi, nauta pias hominum quo traicit umbras, / huc animae portet corpus inane tuae: This is the most satisfactory treatment of the distich I know. At iv. 4. 55 Mr. Phillimore prints his own conjecture, first published in his Oxford text of 1901, viz. *sin hospes patria metuar regina sub aula (sic O; pariamne N, patiare D V (L), patrianue (ne F,) F, patrare L,)*. This seems to be the most emended line in Propertius. "fere dicere licet" says Mr. Hosius (Praef. XI) "quot litterae tot coniecturae", and he cites thirty-two of them. *Pace Hosii* I will start a small owl on its way to Athens, by proposing a slight change in Mr. Phillimore's conjecture, namely to return to *sic* of the MSS (in the sense of 'if you get the *toga picta*'), making the line read: *sic, hospes, patria metuar regina sub aula?*

The book is very accurately printed, as one would expect, and I have observed no misprints. One slight error seems to have come over from the Oxford text in iii. 11. 19 sq. *ut, qui pacato statuisset in orbe columnas, / tam dura traheret mollia pensa manu*. The commas seem to be of the kind that are made in Germany.

B. O. FOSTER.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, May 4, 1912.

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Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum. By ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, PH. D., Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago. Parts X and XI. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

When Prof. Harper began, in 1891, the publication of his *Corpus of Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, it was anticipated that some three or four volumes would suffice for the texts and, after these were published, it was proposed to devote several additional volumes to translations, commentaries, indexes, etc. The material, however, has proved to be far more abundant than was expected, and now volumes X and XI have just appeared



bringing the number of published texts up to the very respectable figure of 1172, while the end is not yet in sight. So far, no volumes of indexes, translations, or commentaries have appeared, but after all the prime need and Prof. Harper's main object, as announced in his original plan, is to make these texts available for students, and in this he has certainly been successful. In the mean time the study of the Letter Literature has undergone considerable development along historical lines. For the older period we have, for example, King's Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, King of Babylon (3 vols. London, 1898-1900); Nagel, Briefe Hammurabi's an Sin-indinam (45 letters) B. A. iv, 434-483, with remarks by Delitzsch, pp. 483-500 (1902); Meissner's Altbabylonische Briefe (B. A. ii, 557-564); Cuneiform Texts<sup>1</sup> from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum, Part xxix, Pl. 1-41 (contains 57 letters). For the later period, from Nabonidus to the Persian kings, there is a fine collection of 246 letters published in C. T. xxii, Pl. 1-47, and translated by R. C. Thompson in his Babylonian Letters, a work, by the way, which leaves much room for improvement.

The texts selected by Harper for his Corpus belong, with rare exceptions, to the Sargonide period and, besides being much more numerous, are far more interesting than the others, both from their varied contents and their value in matters of grammar and lexicography. Of late years increasing attention has been paid to them. Van Gelderen, for example, in an elaborate article in B. A. iv, pp. 501-545 (1902), published a selection of twenty-one of these texts with translation, transliteration, and commentary, and the distinguished Leipzig Assyriologist, Prof. Heinrich Zimmern, who first interpreted the Babylonian Penitential Psalms, has recommended the study of the epistolary texts to his students. In consequence we now have, in the Leipziger Semitistische Studien, edited by Professors A. Fischer and H. Zimmern, three excellent works on this subject: E. Behrens, Assyrisch-Babylonische Briefe kultischen Inhalts, aus der Sargonidenzeit (1906); E. Klauber, Assyrisches Beamtentum nach Briefen aus der Sargonidenzeit (1910); and S. C. Ylvisaker, Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik. Untersuchung auf Grund der Briefe aus der Sargonidenzeit (1912). The first is a study of the Assyro-Babylonian religion and religious ceremonies on the basis of information derived from the letters; the second an endeavor to define the functions and duties of the various Assyrian officials, of whom great numbers are encountered in the letters, and thus arrive at a clearer idea of the mechanism of the government; and the third is an interesting study of the grammar of the letters, and at the same time a successful effort to establish the differences existing between the Assyrian and the Babylonian dialects. In addition to these works, H. H. Figulla has published the correspondence of Bel-ibni, the well-

<sup>1</sup> Usually abbreviated as C. T.



known general of Ashurbanipal, in *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1912, no. 1.

The new volumes of Harper's Letters are marked by the same careful editing and excellent typography that have characterized the preceding volumes. The only textual error noted by the writer occurs in vol. xi, No. 1166, rev. 5, where the precative *lipšuru* is evidently intended, and therefore the next to last character of the line must be *šu*, not *ma*, which is impossible in any case. This, however, is merely a misprint, if it be not a slip on the part of the original scribe. Among the writers of letters is a certain Pûlu, whose name is interesting as being that under which Tiglath-Pileser III. appears in the Bible. Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, is the writer of the badly mutilated letters Nos. 1022 and 1040, and perhaps also of Nos. 1001 and 1026, though if so it must have been before his accession to the throne, since they are addressed to "the king my lord". Among the other writers are the astrologers Balasî and Nabû'a, Arad-Natû, who in H. 113 names the children of Esarhaddon, Çillâ, NaLû-xamâtu'a, and a number of others who have appeared in former volumes. In a very considerable number of cases the names of the writers are broken away, but it is sometimes possible to restore the lost name, especially in case of Bel-ibnî who seems to be positively unable to mention his enemy Nabû-bel-šumâte without swearing. Consequently when we find in H. 1000, obv. 12: *Nabû-bel-šumâte ša Nabû mašak-šu ana maxâra inamdin*, 'N. whose skin may Nabû expose for sale', and rev. 12: *sikipti arrat ilâni Nâbû-bel-šumâte*, 'that abandoned wretch, accursed of the gods, N.', we may safely conclude that Bel-ibnî is the writer. The parentage of Bel-ibnî is given, by the way, in H. 1106, rev. 14, where it is stated that his father was Nabû-kudurru-uçur (i. e. Nebuchadrezzar, or Nebuchadnezzar) who had been placed in command of the Gulf District, the old dominion of the kings of Bît-Yakîn, later under the rule of Bel-ibnî himself. It is possible that they were of the line of Mero-dach-baladan, and the present writer has long had a suspicion that they may have been the progenitors of the later dynasty of Babylon, which began with Nabû-polassar and his son Nebuchadnezzar. Certainly the family of Bel-ibnî would seem to have been the most powerful family in that locality and might well fill all the necessary conditions. All this, however, is mere conjecture. Among the interesting forms and expressions to be found in the present volumes may be mentioned: *taxâzâtî*, pl. of *taxâzu* 'battle', which occurs here for the first time. In H. 1105, rev. 24, we read: *Ištar âšib[at Arba']il, ilat taxâzâtî (taxa-za-a-ti)* 'Istar, dwelling in Arbela, goddess of battles', so that *taxâzu* has a feminine plural. Another new word, occurring in H. 1165, obv. 8, is *â'itu*, fem. of the interrogative pronoun *â'u* 'who, which?' The unknown writer of H. 1149 remarks, rev. 6-7: *ina pân matâtî gabbi labkî, memeni ša libbu*



*išákanánini laššu* 'before the whole world I must weep, (and) there is no one to put heart into me'. The letters abound with similar passages, but, strangely enough, the heart as the seat of emotions and passions is not well represented in the lexicons. A few examples may be useful: *apil šipri ša šarri beliia lilliká-ma, ála lušarxiç u iášî libbi tâbu liškunáni* (H. 846, rev. 16-18) 'let a royal messenger come and encourage the city, and let him hearten me up also'; *libbi-ni niziqipu* (H. 1105, obv. 25) 'we shall pluck up heart'; *kî libbi-kunu epšâ* (H. 1121, rev. 6) 'act according to your wish' (literally 'heart'); *kî libbi-šu* (H. 561, rev. 6) 'according to his will'; *kî libbiia luppiš* (H. 476, rev. 11) 'I will do as I please'; *ardu ša libbu-šu ana beli-šu gamurúni anáku* (H. 620, rev. 6) 'I am a servant whose heart is wholly given to his lord'.

The compound character ID, No. 11644 in Brünnow's List, is of course well-known as the ideogram of *nâru* 'river', etc., but hitherto no case of its employment with a purely phonetic value has been reported. In H. 1022, obv. 2, and in H. 1040, obv. 3, it represents phonetically the last syllable of a well-known Elamite name. The latter passage has: *Tam-mar-it šar mât Elamti*, and the former [*Tam-ma*]r-it šar mât Elamti, the syllable *it* in both cases being represented by the character in question. In H. 1042, rev. 10 the official title *manzaz pâni* occurs in the unusual form *ma-za-az* (= *mazzaz*) *pâni* with assimilation of the *n*, and H. 1140, rev. 3-4, gives the days in the month of Iyar which *ana epêš çibûti palâx ili tâbâni* 'are favorable for doing (one's) will and for worshipping the god'. Rather a delicate compliment is found in H. 1042, obv. 5, 6, where we read: *atta tattemi kî kunukki ina libâni-ka taktarar-šu* 'thou art like a seal, which thou hangest upon thy breast'. *Libânu*, which does not occur elsewhere, must here be compared to the Arabic *labân* 'breast'. Instances of the change of *k* to *g* after a nasal, which according to Ylvisaker, o. c. § 6 c, is a peculiarity of the Babylonian dialect, occur in H. 1106, rev. 10: *ramân-gunu uçrâ* 'take heed to yourselves', and in H. 1114, rev. 10: *dîn-gunu* 'your cause'.

Many additional examples might be cited, for the recent volumes of Harper's Letters are quite as full of interesting material as their predecessors, but these will probably suffice. The steadily increasing attention paid to the epistolary texts is a fair index of the estimation in which they are held by Assyriologists, and it is to be hoped that Prof. Harper, who has made the letters of the Sargonide period so peculiarly his own domain, may find material for many additional volumes of these interesting and valuable texts.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.



## REPORTS.

### HERMES XLIII.

#### Fascicle 3.

Frontonis platani (zu Juvenal Sat. I, 7 ff.) A. von Premierstein interprets this passage as a satire (112-116 A. D.) on a group of court poets, admirers of V. Flaccus, who had bored Juvenal (85-90 A. D.) with their wearisome repetitions and expansions of topics suggested by the Argonautica. He further identifies, from inscriptional evidence, the Frontonis platani (l. c.) with a spot, known as le Marmorelle, which is situated fifteen miles from Rome near the Via Labicana. Here *παρὰ ταῖς πλατάνοις* (IG. XIV, 1011) existed, toward the end of the first century A. D., a *Μουσεῖον*, devoted to poetical, musical and athletic contests, which seems to have been part of a villa built by a certain Fronto, once slave of the augur Lentulus, then dispensator in the retinue of the Emperor Claudius (cf. CIL V. 2386). After Domitian had instituted his agon Albanus (circ. 89 A. D.) it seems to have fallen into decay, to which Juvenal gives a humorous turn in vv. 12-13.

Phaedrus-Studien, II (cf. A. J. P. XXIX, 491). G. Thiele has shown that the prose version of Aesopic fables, preserved in MSS of the X. century and later, known as Romulus, represents an illustrated edition made about 400 A. D., primarily from an older illustrated, presumably Greek, Aesop and to a less degree from Phaedrus. The interpolations from the latter have given the impression that Romulus is merely a prose paraphrase of Phaedrus (cf. G. Thiele, *Der illustrierte Lat. Aesop, and Romulus*). This investigation aims to reconstruct such fables as may be classified as burlesques among the gods (Phaedr. I, 6; IV, 18 (19); Append. 9; Luc. Müller, *Fab. Novae* 17) or as novelettes (Phaedr. III, 10; Append. 13 and 14), and from a comparison with Romulus, who exists in two recensions, Thiele shows that Phaedrus often suffers from excessive brevity and arbitrary changes. Light is thrown on Phaedrus' method and on the mixture of his text with vulgar Latin in the Romulus versions.

Philumenos. M. Wellmann gives an account of the Vatican MS, gr. 284, s. XI, discovered by him, which contains, besides Galen (VI-XI) etc., Philumenus *περὶ λοβόλων ζώων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς βοηθημάτων*. Philumenus is shown to have been a contemporary of Galen (about 180 A. D.) and, like Oribasius (IV century), was a compiler. He drew largely from the Pneumatic school (Archigenes, etc.) and, as he usually names the sources that he used or



received, he would be a valuable aid, together with Nicander and other writers mentioned by W., in reconstructing Apollodorus (300 B. C.), the founder of toxicology. For the later tradition W. shows that Philumenus passed through Oribasius to Aetius (VI century); Paulus Aegineta (VII century) and Pseudo-Dioscurides (VI or VII century). The two latter are independent of each other, except that the text of Ps.-Diosc. was interpolated from Paulus; hence Schneider (*Handb. d. Gesch. d. M.*, I 553) erred in saying that Paulus copied from Ps.-Dioscurides. The MS is also valuable for emending the text of Aetius.

*Zur Cirisfrage.* A. B. Drachmann tries to prove that the *Ciris* was composed by Vergil about 50 B. C., but not published; hence he felt free to use it. Vergil did borrow from his earlier works (cf. *Aen.* VIII 449-453 = *Geor.* IV 172-175; *Aen.* VI 306-308 = *Geor.* IV 475-477). In maintaining his thesis D. not only addresses himself to Skutsch, Leo and Sudhaus (cf. *A. J. P.* XXXI, 478); but gives valuable results of his metrical and linguistic investigations to emphasize the generally admitted neoteric style of the *Ciris*.

*Zu Xenophons kleineren Schriften* (Hieron, Agesilaos, Apologie). Th. Thalheim discusses the relationship of the MSS, using an unpublished collation made by K. Schenkl for the Agesilaus. He finds, especially from the lacunae, that they all depend on the oldest MS, A (=Vat. s. XII); but the corrections by the second hand are merely conjectures (Tretter and Fuhr think they were derived from a MS). D (=Vat. 1950, s. XIV) is often valuable for restoring the erasures in A. Th. proposes a number of emendations and questions Xenophon's authorship for the Apology, as the humorous passage in Antisthenes' speech in *Symp.* IV, 41 recurs seriously in *Apol.* 18.

*Die Steingewichte von Marzabotto.* P. Graffunder discusses twenty-three stones of various weights, found at Marzabotto, the Etruscan Pompeii (cf. Brizio, *Monum. ant. d. R. Accad. d. Lincei* I, 1889, 520) and determines their units, on the basis of which he outlines the commercial history of M. He finds examples of four grades of the Phoenician light silver mina, which confirms Lehmann's theory (*Hermes* XXXVI, p. 130), also examples of the Lydian mina of Croesus, of the Attic *μνᾶ ἐμπορικῇ*, etc. Most of these units, originating in Babylonia, were brought to Etruria by way of Asia Minor and Greece, or of Phoenicia and Carthage (550-400 B. C.) Only two stones, marked 1, give approximately the actual unit, the rest contain multiples indicated by Etruscan symbols representing chiefly five, ten or the tenfold value shown by an additional stroke, the resemblance of which to Chalcidic aspirates is due to evolution and, possibly, assimilation. Zange-meister's theory of the origin of the Italic numeral signs seems correct after all.



Κατάρχεσθαι und ἐνάρχεσθαι. P. Stengel shows that at a meat-offering the worshippers followed a leader in the rite of κατάρχεσθαι, which consisted in the χερνίπτεσθαι and οὐλόχυνται, chiefly the latter (cf. A. J. P. XXV, 220). The cutting off of the victim's forelock and the prayer were separate acts, performed by the leader alone, although the worshippers joined in invoking the god. Hence the κατάρχεσθαι of the leader was virtually a προκατάρχεσθαι (πρό, temporal). These results rectify Dittenberger's famous interpretation of Thuc. I 25 (cf. Classen-Steup l. c. and Rh. Mus. 59, 400 ff.) The term ἐνάρχεσθαι, which is always joined with τὸ κανοῦν or τὰ κανᾶ, means to sanctify the basket by the inlaying of the οὐλαί.

Miscellen: Giov. Pinza argues interestingly that the Homeric phrase χρυσὸν περιχεύειν (cf. Od. γ, 425 ff.) originated from the mercury-amalgam process (cf. Pliny N. H. 33, 125), the employment of which in archaic times is doubted by Helbig (Das Hom. Epos, p. 267).—H. Jacobsohn makes it probable that Antium belonged to the tribe Camilia (cf. Corp. VI, 13470), and supports his view with a Dalmatian inscription (cf. Corp. III, 2887), where Ansio (= Antio) gives an example of ti > si that is not later than 150 A. D.—U. Wilcken supplies παρὰ τὴν Μεσσηνίδα, etc., in the Hellenica fragments from Oxyrhynchus (cf. V. 842), making the agreement with Strabo XIII, p. 629, complete and thus establishing the authorship of Theopompus.—Th. Reinach emends Ptolemaeus Harmonica II 10 so as to read: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἴσως τόνους (for ἰσοτόνους) αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζοντες. As the Doric, Phrygian and Lydian scales differed by a whole tone, 'therefore perhaps calling them τόνοι', a stupid etymology.—M. Ihm has found extracts from Cassianus' Consolatio 5 in the Pseudo-Rufinus commentary to the Psalms, which is mainly dependent on Augustine's Enarrationes Psalmorum. As the Consolatio was written 426–429 A. D., a terminus post quem is obtained for the anonymus, who was probably Vincentius (Gennad. vir. ill. 80) who, being at home in Gaul, would know Cassianus the 'Gallicanus doctor' (cf. A. J. P. XXVI, p. 230).

Fascicle 4.

De inscriptionis Phrynichae partis ultimae lacunis explendis. I. M. J. Valetton discusses at length the decree conferring a crown and citizenship on Thrasybulus the Calydonian (CIA, I 59, Hicks 56). Bergk was the first to connect it with Lysias XIII 71 f., and so with the assassination of Phrynichus 411 B. C. (Thuc. VIII 92). Except for the identification and nearer definition of the locality (cf. Lycurgus, in Leocr. 112), the orators are valueless; even Thucydides, writing without the fuller knowledge of the decree, passed 409 B. C., records no names, but merely the current belief created by the testimony of the Argive accomplice, who to shield his associates, cast suspicion on the περίπολοι; but these Athenian guardsmen did not include



foreigners, as has been inferred from Thuc. VIII 92 (cf. Gilbert, Beiträge zur innern Gesch. Ath., p. 320.) V. rejects the theory of two decrees honoring Thrasybulus, of a reward offered the unknown assassins, and that Apollodorus had been temporarily debarred by a *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. It must have been the decree of Demophantus (Andoc. I 96) that induced Apollodorus to return and receive as a reward the confiscated property of Phrynichus (cf. Lysias VII 4, where the name of Pisander is probably an error). Then Thrasybulus, hearing of Apollodorus' success, returned; others also presented themselves as accomplices. The investigation of bribery (in the second rider) was entrusted to the *βουλή* of the Areopagus. V. supplies the lacunae to this effect with a detailed justification.

Varia. I. Vahlen, among other things, proposes *Ἀγάθωνος* in apposition with *ένός* in Plat. Symp. 176 B; reads, in *περί ὕψους* I 2, p. 2, 15, *ἀληθέστατα <καὶ εὐεργετικώτατα>*; calls attention to an iota subscript in the perf. pass. of *διαίρειν*, which has been overlooked from the time of Ruhnken, in *περί ὕψους* VII 1, p. 11, 20, and II 2, p. 3, 20, also elsewhere; to illustrate 'Cyprio bovi merendam' in the Sota of Ennius, cites Athen. III, p. 95 f. Then follows a defense of three passages of his text of Ennius' Iphigenia against Skutsch in Rh. Mus. LXI, 1906, p. 605 f.

Über kleinasiatische Grabinschriften. Br. Keil presents a wealth of observations on the language and content of these inscriptions and the mutual influence of the Greek and Latin. He restores BCH XXIII, 178 n. 32, deriving *θυγαθράσιν* (outside of Egypt mutes for aspirates occur oftener than the reverse, cf. *τυγάτηρ*); *κατάστρωμα* (= roof over sarcophagus); *συστυχήση* (= *συστοιχήση* 'to stand by', 'help'). The *πελεκεῖνοι* are clamps (cf. *κόρακες*), which leads him to supply in Heberdey-Wilhelm Reisen in Kilikien, n. 94 D, *σκυ] λεύση* for *σα] λεύση*, which latter does not mean 'to injure'. He objects to Mayser's designation of *Φερσεφόνη* as altpoetisch-attisch; for only *Περσεφόνη* is old Ionic, i. e., epic. The latter came into Attic prose through the drama and so into general use. *Φερσεφόνη* (cf. Pindar, Bacchylides, Plato Crat. 404 C) became the Koine form, the influence of which appears in the MSS of Homer. The inscriptions show variety; but regularly begin with *Φερσ.*; *Περσ.* is rare or doubtful (cf. Preller, Gr. Myth., p. 800, Jebb Antiq. 894, Meiterhaus' 100, 888). CIG 3776 refers to a sarcophagus (*πύαλος*) cut out of the native rock (*φριτήν*=*φυτήν*), and to another as *ἐπείσανκτην* (*ἐπείσάκτην*), and measures *ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥούας* (= 'street' from the vulg. Lat. *ruga*; French *rue*), perhaps the oldest example of *ruga* in this sense. In n. 539 of Sterrett, Wolfe Expedition occurs *ἐξεδόμην*; this vb. means here 'to draw up, engross', not 'to publish'. In a bilingual inscription from Egypt *Σατορνείλος* = Saturninus, and the Greek characteristically rounds off as 'two months' the 'one month and twenty-eight days' of the Latin. Certain Roman formulae



appear in Greek sepulch. insc., viz., τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον κληρονόμοις οὐκ ἀκολουθήσει renders literally HMHNS. The use of the single *deferre* aided the levelling of the originally distinct *μηνύειν*, *ἐνδεικνύναι*, *εἰς-προσαγγέλλειν*, etc. But specifically Roman ideas like that of 'tutela' could not be transferred, and, correspondingly, the Greek conceptions of *τυμβωρυχία*, *ιεροσυλία ἀσίβεια*, etc., remained foreign to the Roman. However in the II century A. D. there appear in both Gk. and Lat. sepulch. insc. threats of pecuniary penalties. Hirschfeld traced the origin of this formula to Lycia, where it appears in the III century B. C. Kaibel shows its occurrence in Nabataean inscr. as early as the year I A. D., and thinks it originated in the Greek legal formularies of the rights of property and obligation, of which the sepulch. inscr. merely show a special application. This explains the rights of the testator and his relation to the community, his legal executor. This broader basis throws light on the sporadic appearance and transmission of these threats. Witness the close resemblance between the formularies of the Hellenistic inscriptions and the Egyptian papyri.

Thucydides VIII. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff points out Thucydides' use of doublet passages as connecting links, thus the Sicilian and Ionian wars are joined by repetitions from VIII 1, 3 in VIII 4 (cf. also I 146-II, 1; II, 1-V, 24; and even V 39-40). This device prepared the way for the structure of the prose book, first evolved by Theopompus and Ephorus. With due acknowledgment to Holzapfel (cf. A. J. P. XVI, 391) W. reaches the conclusion that Thucydides inserted, from a Spartan source, the treaties (18. 37. 58) and chapters 29. 43. 44. 52. 57 into the already completed history of the year 412 B. C., which had been based on a Chian source and information touching Phrynichus and Alcibiades, obtained from Athenian emigrants; hence the lack of criticism of the former and the unfavorable light cast on the latter. Plato's Symposium gives the truest conception of Alcibiades' character. Isocrates, Lysias & Co. merely repeat political phrases. The new matter brought inconsistencies into VIII, which were never smoothed out. The histories of the Sicilian and Ten Years' Wars were written as such; but only a beginning was made of writing the history of the Twenty-seven Years' War. This explains the incompleteness of Book V and the lack of a clear exposition of the conditions in Asia with reference to Persia. Book VIII in its first form, without the treaties, etc., was probably written soon after 411 B. C. W. also discusses the conflicting accounts concerning Hermocrates and, finally, presents some interesting emendations. He believes that Thucydides suffers from conservative criticism.

Zu Martial. G. Friedrich discusses twenty-six epigrams of M., including more in his wealth of illustrations. In most cases he



offers interpretations of misunderstood epigrams, often to support the received text or to defend neglected or suspected MS readings. He traces the origin of corruptions, throws light on the MSS and, incidentally, on the work of modern scholars (cf. also *Rh. M.*, 1907). He addresses himself principally to Friedländer, Duff and Lindsay, citing them individually or together, mainly to show the need of interpretation and emendation. Lindsay, whose groupings of MSS he adopts, has evidently come to his notice since writing the other article. In XII 59, 9 he adopts Heinsius' conjecture, which yields (transposing *hinc*) *dest oculis*, from which originated †*dexiochulus*† (Lindsay and Duff) and the unreal *desiocus* (Georges, Harper). In XIV 177 he translates *respicit* 'fears', a rare meaning not yet recognized in the dictionaries (cf. K. P. Schulze, *Beiträge z. Erklärung d. röm. Elegiker Progr.*, Berlin, 1893). He points out Martial's fondness for post positive *et* and *que*, viz.: in II 46, 7 *pro scelus! et* = *et pro scelus*; in X 48, 2 *et pilata redit iamque subitque cohors* = *et p. et iam redit et subit cohors*. *Totum servare* = *integrum s.* in X 34, 5 is probably vulg. Lat., cf. causal *dum* in IV 62 and *manere*, 'to spend the night' in VIII 14, 6.

Miscellen: L. Deubner interprets Pind. Ol. II 57–60 *ὅτι θανόντων κτλ.*, 'on earth (*ἐνθάδε*) the people straightway wreak their vengeance on the tyrant by not allowing burial, etc.; under the earth (*κατὰ γᾶς*), *τις* pronounces judgment; *ἐν τῇδε Διὸς ἀρχῇ* means 'under the rule of Zeus' (cf. Plat. Gorg. 523). There is no apodosis to this passage beginning *εἰ δέ νιν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον ὅτι θανόντων κτλ.*; but the suspense reaches its climax in the praise of Theron.—O. Seeck supports L. Ziehen's emendation of Cic. ad Att. II 17, 2 (cf. A. J. P. XX, 218) against the difficulty raised by Wissowa (*Relig. u. Kult. d. Röm.*, p. 293, A 1) by showing from the passage of Tertullian (*ad nat.* I 10) that the Isis statue had been overthrown once, before the consulship of Gabinius, i. e., not later than 59 B. C. The epithet *Curiana* illustrates the interest of private persons in the Egyptian gods (cf. Dio 40, 47), in this case perhaps of Q. Curius (cf. Pauly-Wissowa IV, p. 1840. and Apul. met. XI 30).—K. Meiser emends Marc. Aurel. 10, 15 *ζησον ὡς ἐν <πορείᾳ>* (cf. Plat. Phaedo 115 a and Seneca dial. XI 11, 2) and translates the whole passage.—F. Bechtel considers *-φοος* in the name *Ἀγησίφορος* (cf. Blass Coll. 5055 d) an ablaut form of *-φεος* in *ἀργύφεος*.—P. Stengel shows that *ώραῖα* and *νεκύσια* are both appellatives and that the *Νεμέσια* and *Γενέσια* are not identical (cf. Rohde Psych. I 216, n. 2 (235 f.) and Hesychius s. v. *ώραῖα*).

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ROMANIA, Vol. XL (1911).

Janvier.

E. Philipon. L'U long latin dans le domaine rhodanien. 16 pages. The author here endeavors to combat the theory long since in favor that Celtic influence caused the long U in Latin to become the French U. He draws his material from the dialects of the Rhone Valley, where early Greek transcriptions of Gallic names afford a valuable key to the pronunciation.

Antoine Thomas. Variétés bibliographiques. 24 pages. I. Variations sur la dernière strophe d'Aliscans. II. Le Liber Galteri du Trésor des chartes. III. Le N° 10 des manuscrits français de Francesco Gonzaga. IV. La Chace aus mesdisans de Raimon Vidal. V. Remarques sur trois ballades politiques du temps de Charles VI. VI. Un ms. oublié, un ms. perdu, un ms. prétendu du Débat des Hérauts d'armes. VII. Trois lettres de Thomassin de Mazaugues à La Curne de Sainte-Palaye.

Paul Meyer. Notice du ms. Egerton 745 du Musée britannique (2<sup>e</sup> article). 29 pages. Appendice. Vie en prose de Saint Edouard, roi d'Angleterre. The author of the article outlines the investigations necessary for a careful critical edition, citing extracts from one Latin and two French versions.

Mélanges. P. Meyer, Fragment du Comput de Philippe de Thaon (with facsimile). P. Meyer, Le dit du boudin. Giulio Bertoni, Una poesia provenzale infrancesata. A. Jeanroy, Modèles profanes de chansons pieuses. Gertrude Schoepperle, Sur un vers de la Folie Tristan de Berne. Mario Roques, Anc. franç. Jobreus, -se. F. Rechnitz, Fenestre dans le Roman de Rou. Edmond Faral, Pour l'histoire de Berte au grand pied et de Marcoul et Salomon. A. Thomas, Deux documents inédits sur Pierre Bersuire. A. Thomas, Saint-Martin-Valmeroux.

Comptes rendus. W. Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1<sup>re</sup> livraison (A. Thomas). Dietrich Behrens, Beiträge zur französischen Wortgeschichte und Grammatik: Studien und Kritiken (A. Thomas). R. Zenker, Die Tristansage und das persische Epos von Wîs und Râmîn; Jacob Kelemina, Untersuchungen zur Tristansage (G. Schoepperle). Jean Beck, La musique des Troubadours; étude critique illustrée de douze reproductions hors texte (Mario Roques). Edw. Jaernstroem, Recueil de chansons pieuses du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (A. Jeanroy). E. Faral, Mimes français du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Textes, notices et glossaire (A. Jeanroy). Ernst Hoepffner, La Prise amoureuse von Jehan Acart de Hesdin, allegorische Dichtung aus dem XIV. Jahrhundert (Gaston Raynaud, with supplementary note by Paul



Meyer). J. Douglas Bruce, *Mort Artu*, an Old French prose romance of the XIII<sup>th</sup> century (Jessie L. Weston, with supplementary note by Paul Meyer). Carl August Westerblad, "Baro" et ses dérivés dans les langues romanes (A. Thomas). G. Pașcu, *Despre cimiliturî*, studiu filologic și folkloric; partea I (Mario Roques). N. Cartoian, *Alexandria în literatura românească* (Mario Roques). D. Russo, *Studii și critice* (Mario Roques).

Périodiques. *Romanische Forschungen*, XXI, fasc. 1-3, XXII, fasc. 1-3, XXIII, XXIV (Mario Roques). *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, Helsingfors, 11<sup>e</sup> année, 12<sup>e</sup> année (P. M.). *Annales du Midi*, XXII (A. Th.). *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique*, t. XIV, fasc. 1-6 (A. Thomas, with notes on etymologies). *Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig*, XVI (Mario Roques, with notes on etymologies). *Reale Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere, Rendiconti*, serie II, t. XLIII.

Chronique. Obituary notice of A. Marshall Elliott by P. M. ("Il obtint . . . la première chaire de langues romanes qui ait été fondée aux États-Unis, si bien que la plupart des Américains qui enseignèrent plus tard les langues romanes ont été ses élèves." Personal reminiscences.) Announcement of Studies in honor of A. Marshall Elliott.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 7 titles. Ernesto Monaci, *Antichissimo ritmo volgare sulla legenda di Sant' Alessio*.

Avril.

Edmond Faral. *Ovide et quelques autres sources du Roman d'Enéas*. 74 pages. The author has been engaged on an extensive work of comparison between the French romances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and certain Classical works which may have served as sources for much of their material. The present article merely treats that phase which includes the borrowings of the *Roman d'Enéas*, which itself served as a source for a whole series of later romances in French. It is evident that the Old French author knew his Ovid thoroughly, as he mingles episodes drawn from all of the latter's works. Later on such imitations became quite the vogue in France.

G. Huet. *Le Château tournant dans la Suite du Merlin*. 8 pages. This strange Celtic tradition is found in a great variety of literary works in various countries. Their possible interrelations are here discussed at some length.

C. Chabaneau et J. Anglade. *Essai de reconstitution du Chansonier du Comte de Sault*. 80 pages. When M. Chabaneau died he left unfinished a projected edition of Jean de Nostredame. The present article was intended by him as a separate publication, but this too was unfinished; it has been completed and published



by M. Anglade. Jean de Nostredame states that he had seen two large tomes containing the biographies and poems of more than eighty Provençal troubadours. The attempt is here made to identify them and to learn something definite as to their works. Various tables and lists are added which will greatly facilitate future references to the important material here presented after a delay of some thirty years from the inception of the work.

Jean Haust. *Etyologies wallonnes*. 8 pages. Ten dialect words or groups of words are here discussed in some detail, with frequent reference to Grandgagnage and other authorities.

Mélanges. A. Thomas, Berrichon Asté, Sté. A. Thomas, Anc. prov. Esbrigar.

Comptes rendus. Arthur C. L. Brown, *The Bleeding Lance* (G. Schoepperle). Santorre Debenedetti, *Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel cinquecento* (Giulio Bertoni).

Périodiques. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXII-XXIV (P. Meyer makes many interesting and spicy comments on the Romance articles, especially on those of H. C. Lancaster, F. M. Warren, George C. Keidel, W. A. Nitze and J. E. Matzke).

Chronique. Awarding of four prizes by the French academies, among them the Premier prix Gobert to M. Bédier for his work entitled: *Les légendes épiques*.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 10 titles. Gustav George Laubscher, *The past tenses in French* (favorable notice by H. Yvon). Henry Martin, *Notes on the syntax of the Latin inscriptions found in Spain* (H. Yvon notes among other things that the deviations from the normal usage are less frequent than in the Latin inscriptions of Gaul). A. Philippide, *Un specialist român la Lipsea* (Mario Roques calls attention to the large number of notes here given to the work of G. Weigand and his pupils during many years). Dante Alighieri, *La divina Commedia*, edited and annotated by C. H. Grandgent, vol. II.

Juillet.

Antoine Thomas. *Traduction provençale abrégée de la Mulo-medicina de Teodorico Borgognoni, suivie de Recettes pour le vin*. 18 pages. The introduction to this article treats of the author, translator and manuscripts. After this comes a much curtailed Provençal text, the recipes, and a detailed glossary.

Emmanuel Cosquin. *Le conte du Chat et de la chandelle dans l'Europe du moyen âge et en orient*. 1<sup>er</sup> article. 60 pages. This, the first of several articles treating of a worldwide story, is divided into two parts which discuss respectively the European



and the non-European forms of the apologue and tale. In 1875 Reinhold Köhler published a short essay on the same subject, but since that time so much new material has become accessible that a general reëxamination of the whole field is fully warranted.

The many questions here investigated are of great interest to students of folk-lore and fable literature, as well as to those who devote their attention to the popular story. The first point to be taken up is the mediaeval story of Solomon and Markolf, in connection with which a lengthy excursus is given on the Latin and French versions.

After this certain French and German variants are studied, and among them an Old French fable entitled *Du chat qui savoit tenir chandoile*, which A.C.M. Robert in 1825 attributed wrongly to Marie de France. The same story has been inserted in a condensed form in *Li Proverbe au vilain*.

The second part treats of the numerous variants of the tale to be found in the literatures of China, India and the Barbary states. These Oriental stories have given rise to many ramifications, and some of these have in turn been the starting-point for groups of European tales. And in this connection another excursus is given on the legend of the Predestined bride.

Benvenuto Aron Terracini. *Appunti sui "Parlamenti ed epistole"* in antico dialetto piemontese. 9 pages. The notes here given are largely etymological in character, and they touch upon many points of linguistic development on the Italian peninsula.

Mélanges. A. Thomas, *Anc. franç. Beur.* A. Thomas, *Encore Scieur de long.* A. Thomas, *Le pont de Mautrible, à Saintes.* A. Thomas, *Encore Goufier de Lastours.* T. Atkinson Jenkins, *La chanson de Bele Doe dans Guillaume de Dole.* Giulio Bertoni, *Nuovi versi provenzali di Percivalle Doria.*

Comptes rendus. Susan Almira Bacon, *The Source of Wolfram's Willehalm* (M. J. Minckwitz). Pierre Champion, *La librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (A. Thomas). H. J. Molinier, *Essai biographique sur Octavien de Saint-Gelays* (Mathieu Augé-Chiquet). A. Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia dall' età media al secolo di Voltaire* (A. Jeanroy).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Charles Gustave Estlander († 1910), Auguste Longnon, Gaston Raynaud and Rufin José Cuervo. The last three of these scholars were well-known collaborators on the Romania. Commemorative volume presented to Pio Rajna on June 6, 1911. Prospective publication of the *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français* compiled by the late Adolf Tobler.

Livres annoncés sommairement. 6 titles. Joseph Anglade, *Les Troubadours, leurs vies, leurs œuvres, leur influence.* N.-E.



Dionne, *Le parler populaire des Canadiens français*. All.  
Ravanat, *Dictionnaire du patois des environs de Grenoble*.

Octobre.

Emmanuel Cosquin. *Le contre du Chat et de la chandelle dans l'Europe du moyen âge et en orient (Suite et fin)*. 51 pages. This article concludes the second section of the second part, and contains the entire third part of the whole investigation. The story is found again in an Arabian tale of Tunis (accompanied here by an excursus on the Chaste woman and her suitors), and in a Berber tale further to the south. The story is also found in Central Asia and elsewhere.

The third part of the investigation is devoted to the version current in the folk-lore of Modern Europe, and more especially to a Roumanian tale quite recently committed to print.

In conclusion the author gives expression to certain general ideas on the folk-lore field, which are of wide application. One of the questions which inevitably present themselves in such work is whether all the tales which resemble each other closely go back to a common and remote original, or whether the fundamental idea may not have presented itself spontaneously to the writers of a score of different countries.

This again emphasizes the fact that in studying the origin and propagation of popular tales the important point to consider is the mode of presentation of the common theme in the various literatures. It is the concrete, not the abstract, that should be studied.

P. Meyer. *Notice du ms. Sloane 1611 du Musée britannique (Une poésie de Nicole Bozon.—Traité français de médecine de la Vie de sainte Marguerite)*. 27 pp. The second part of the manuscript, the only portion considered here, was written by a French scribe in the second half of the thirteenth century. An English scribe of the following century added a poem to it attributed with certainty to Nicole Bozon. Portions of this text have become illegible through much thumbing. The remainder of the manuscript is a copy by a French scribe of Anglo-Norman originals. A facsimile of one page of the manuscript is appended.

Arthur Långfors. *Du Mesdisant par Perrin La Tour* (Bibl. nat. fr. 25462). 7 pages. Introduction, text and glossary.

Arthur Långfors. *Li Despisemens du Cors* (Bibl. nat. fr. 25462). 5 pages. Introduction and text.

A. Thomas. *Les Manuscrits français et provençaux des bibliothèques de Milan au château de Pavie*. 39 pages. In the year 1492 there was drawn up a *Consignatio librorum* of the library of the question, which contained no less than 988 articles. This Latin text is here carefully edited, with voluminous foot-notes concerning



menting on the descriptions given by the mediaeval author, and endeavoring to identify them with extant manuscripts in various libraries.

**Mélanges.** E. Walberg, *Anc. franç. Estovoir*. Johan Vising, *La rime Met: Bec dans le Bestiaire de Philippe de Thaon*. A. Thomas, *Galeroux dans la Folie Tristan de Berne*. A. Thomas, *Sur l'expression La Sent Johan Mostoza dans une charte gasconne (1262)*.

**Comptes rendus.** Reginald Harvey Griffith, *Sir Perceval of Galles: A Study of the Sources of the Legend* (Jessie L. Weston: "Mr. Griffith deserves the thanks of all Arthurian scholars for having placed at their disposal much interesting and valuable material").

**Chronique.** Obituary notices of Wilhelm Cloëtta, Gustave Gröber and Édouard Forestié. Appointment of D. S. Blondheim at the University of Illinois.

**Livres annoncés sommairement.** 3 titles. T. Atkinson Jenkins, *A New Fragment of . . . Gui de Warewic*.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.



## BRIEF MENTION.

In my world of dreams there lives and moves a Brief History of Greek Literature in which the space allotted to each author is measured by the rôle he has played in the literary annals of the English tongue. The theme was suggested many years ago by Dante's perspective of classical literature, so different from ours; and in the hands of one equal to the task the results would be not uninteresting, especially if the statistical method were applied. Mythical names like Orpheus, semi-mythical names like Arion, are familiar as household words. The false Anakreon has effaced the true Anakreon. Compare the angle subtended by Archilochos, the angle subtended by Theognis, if measured by their remains, if measured by the mention of them in English literature. Nor is it always the great names that count in reference and in influence, and in Dr. SAMUEL LEE WOLFF'S monograph, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction* (Columbia University Press), we find an illustration of the disparity which I have signalized. The book will doubtless challenge the attention of competent critics. *Brief Mention* is equal only to a summary of the contents. It is made up of two parts. In Part One—*The Greek Romances*—which takes up nearly half the volume, Dr. WOLFF presents us with an elaborate study of the Theagenes and Chariclea of Heliodorus, the Clitophon and Leucippe of Achilles Tatius, the Daphnis and Chloe attributed to one Longus. For various reasons the names Daphnis and Chloe have a hold on modern literature that the others have never gained: and Longus, the mere shadow of a name, brings up to every scholar the droll misadventure of the French Hellenist, Paul-Louis Courier, brings up to me the memory of my lamented friend, John Henry Wheeler, who during the summer of 1880 turned his back on the allurements of Paris in order to collate a MS of Longus in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Sad to relate, after his death only a few Sibylline leaves of the collation were discovered among his papers, and Wheeler's critical edition of Longus, which would have been distinctly worth while, never saw the light. Nonne fuit satius? is a sigh that makes itself heard from the depth of the scholar's experience of life as well as from the melodious verse of bucolic and elegiac poet; and after all it might be better even for the staid mother of the Muses now and then to throw her cap over the mills of the gods—grind they never so fine.



And fine is the grist ground by Dr. WOLFF, and the possibilities of the intrusion of alien matter are incalculable; but I am not going to indulge in microscopic criticism. It is enough to emphasize here the importance of the work for the student of English literature. As Dr. WOLFF sums it up: 'Heliodorus and Longus are respectively secondary and primary sources of Shakespeare'; 'Lyly's Euphues probably occupies a place in a long tradition that goes back to Greek Romance'; 'both Sidney and Greene were steeped in the matter and the style of Greek fiction, and Sidney went so far as to remodel his Arcadia after the pattern of Heliodorus' narrative'.

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In Part One the introductory chapter deals with the general characteristics and chronology of the three romances, with analyses of the stories themselves. The second chapter treats of Character, Humour, Setting, Structure, Style. An interchapter has to do with the accessibility of the chief of the Greek Romances to the Elizabethan writers, and forms a supplement to the tabular exhibit given in the opening of the book. In Part Two the author sets forth the obligations of John Lyly, Sir Philip Sidney, Robert Greene, and Thomas Nash to the aforesaid Greek Romances. Appendices A, B and C, a Bibliography, and Index, without which no book deserves to live, complete the work.

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A perfunctory notice this of an ambitious work, and Dr. WOLFF may be inclined to join in the remonstrance of a German publisher, who wrote to me the other day, 'None of your perfunctory notices. We have no use for anything but substantial reviews', as if in the vast majority of cases anything more than the acknowledgment among *Books Received* were possible for the Journal, as if some of the German philological magazines did not refuse to guarantee even that (A. J. P. XVII 390). And so with acquired hardihood I proceed to say some of the obvious things about this whole line of research, which is black with investigators, who, to use the familiar figure of Dryden, are tracking the moderns in the snow of the ancients. That we are all debtors to our predecessors from the time when 'Omer smote 'is bloomin' lyre' down to the time of Stahl's Syntax of the Greek Verb is freely admitted, but this general acknowledgment does not suffice. We not only strip the jackdaw of his feathers and trace each feather to the part of the bird from which it is taken, but we run down the fable of the feathers itself to its ultimate source. The quest has the irresistible charm of the



detective story. One becomes a Gaboriau, a Sherlock Holmes. It is so throughout the whole field of philology. Whence that interpretation? Whence that emendation? Whence that formula? The whole thing is a tradition from the days of the Alexandrian *grammatici*; and the fragments thereof remain in the scholia. Our modern methods are more exact, more persistent, and there are few of our leaders who dare say with Wilamowitz that like Plato they care more for the λόγος than for οἱ λέγοντες. In periods of creative activity your healthy ancient, yes, your healthy modern, troubled himself little about sources, about the charge of plagiarism. These periods over, the packs of Alexandrian scholars, of modern scholars, have busied themselves in nosing out the origin of this fancy and that fancy, this and that story. No man is supposed to have a brook of his own; everybody is supposed to have drawn from the tank of some other man, as Coleridge puts it. What would Shakespeare have cared about all the proofs of his indebtedness? Molière snapped his fingers at those who made him out to be under heavy obligations to Spain. And, to cite a very modern instance, Charles Reade was notoriously a thief of the world. 'The pedigree of honey', sings the New England Sappho, 'Does not concern the bee'. Most assuredly it did not concern the Matinian bee. It did not concern Vergil. The Roman poets rifled Greek prose as well as Greek poetry. Every fresh find of Greek lyric fragments contributes to the sources of Horace. But as has been well said: If Alkaios and the rest of the nine lyric poets were to rise from the dead, Horace would still be Horace. Hesiod's *τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες εἰκότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν* reappears in 'laudantur simili prole puerperae', but there is a malicious tang of Horatian honey in 'laudantur', such as we do not find in Nossis's version (A. P. VI 353: *ἡ καλὸν ὄκκα πέλοι τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἴσα*). To be sure, it fretted me not long ago to find Sappho's *γλυκύπικρον* ascribed to Poseidippos, as has been done by those who ought to know better; but *γλυκύπικρον* may not have been original with Sappho. There is no 'Chi l'ha detto', no 'L'Esprit des Autres' for those early times. It does not follow necessarily that Propertius should have taken from Vergil the 'Nonne fuit satius' that I have just quoted. 'I do not remember', says a recent writer, 'who first inverted Franklin's sententious remark about not asking for luxuries'. Why should he want to remember the origin of any thought so obvious? Why identify the author of the pronouncement as to the relative value of luxuries and necessities? Some French writer calls him a 'fils de Gavarni', and at the name Garvarni there rises to my mind's eye out of the flood of years the image of a shirt-sleeved philosopher, polishing his boots, with an opera ticket protruding from his waist-coat pocket, and the legend, 'Pourquoi se priver du superflu quand on peut se passer du nécessaire'? At my present distance from libraries, this secondary source must suffice me.



And so, I must confess, it was with somewhat languid interest that I addressed myself to the study of WILAMOWITZ'S recent memoir on *Mimnermos and Propertius*. But the title misled me. The relation of Propertius to Mimnermos occupies only a small part of a paper, which, short as it is, would furnish forth half a dozen *Brief Mentions* with its wealth of comment and suggestion. Beginning with a critical study of the fragment in Stobaeus Flor. VII 11, the writer passes on to the discussion of the character of the old Ionic elegy, which, like the iambus, dealt with concrete things and not with the mere commonplaces of the anthologies, and then proceeds to reinforce the reading λιγυστάδης for Λιγυστάδης in the familiar lines of Solon addressed to Mimnermos. The word is not a patronymic but a characteristic of the clear-voiced singer, who had no paternity worth mentioning. It appears also that when Solon bade Mimnermos change his song and substitute ὀγδωκονταίτη for ἐξηκονταίτη in the notorious line, ἐξηκονταίτη μοῖρα κίχου θανάτου, he was addressing not an old man but a young man to whom sixty years seemed many ages away, so that we have to go back to the old chronology, as we must hold to the old tradition that Mimnermos was a Colophonian, not a Smyrniote. Those who remember Byron's cynical use of the proverb ἄριστα χολὸς οἶφει will be interested in WILAMOWITZ'S discussion of it. The saying is ascribed to Mimnermos, but WILAMOWITZ finds no evidence of iambi in Mimnermos. Iambic poetry belongs to another region, was the vehicle of another school. The curious fact that a fragment of Mimnermos turns up in the Theognidea leads to a discussion of that famous collection, for which WILAMOWITZ desiderates a much more thorough treatment than it has received thus far. We must address ourselves, it appears, to the task of putting each fragment in its proper place and unmasking the creatures who have worked over bits of early poetry in the interest of stale moralities. From this point of view the Theognidea are more interesting than Theognis himself. Here it would seem to me that eidographic syntax might have something to say. Elegy and epos are not one, even if, as everybody knows, ἔπη is used of both. If τὴν σαυτοῦ φρένα τέρπε is Mimnermean, as WILAMOWITZ maintains, I die contented (A. J. P. XXXIII 107). It presents an aspect of 'Freut euch des Lebens' which is impossible for epic. τὴν σαυτοῦ φρένα τέρπε is not epic syntax. Epic syntax is what we find in the scandalous distich οἷον μὲν μοῖραν δέκα μοιρέων τέρεται ἀνὴρ, τὰς δέκα δ' ἐμπλήσει γυνὴ τέρπουσα νόημα.

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The title Nanno, WILAMOWITZ goes on to say, is an Alexandrian device, the number of books, however, two, is a trustworthy tradition. And this Nanno brings us to the Cynthia



of Propertius, and the oft-quoted line: (1, 9, 12) Plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero. Of course, one does not need to be told that this mention of Mimnermos proves nothing for Propertius' first-hand acquaintance with the poet. Mimnermos was typical, just as Philainis was typical. Indeed, I doubt very much whether the anthologist who referred to Philainis as πολύχαρμος (A. P. V 202) was any better acquainted with the real Philainis than was my old Christian friend, Justin Martyr, who coupled her with that other apostle of the lust of the flesh, Archestratos. Even if Horace's line (Ep. 2, 2, 101) is accepted as an intimation that Propertius, not content with calling himself a Roman Kallimachos (4, 1, 64: Umbria Romani patria Callimachi) undertook to be a Mimnermos as well (fit Mimnermus et optivo cognomine crescit), that may be nothing more than the literary trick of taking a name in vain, a trick with which we are all familiar. The title Cynthia may have been suggested by Nanno, as Nanno itself was suggested by the Lyde of Antimachos; and WILAMOWITZ finds himself unable to show any direct contact between the Umbrian poet and the Colophonian. Apart from a couple of concrete fragments, the one that deals with the taking of Smyrna and the one that deals with the battle between the Smyrniotes and Gyges, apart from the barge of the sun, in which we recognize the barge of Arthur, there is nothing but a succession of sighs about the shortness of life and the brevity of youth, the transitoriness of golden Aphrodite, the unloveliness of old age—standing themes of erotic poetry. But he who is bent on discovering sources need never despair. Nothing would be more in Propertius' vein than correcting his original, and it might not be hard to maintain that in his description of the loves of Tithonus and Aurora (2, 18) he may have had in mind the lines of Mimnermos:

Τιθωνῷ μὲν ἔδωκεν ἔχειν κακὸν ἄφθιτον ὁ Ζεὺς  
γῆρας ὃ καὶ θανάτου ῥίγιον ἀργαλείου.

To judge by Propertius, Tithonus was a male Ninon, and his lees far better than the wine of younger men, a case fully set forth in Balzac's *Vieille fille*. It is only an accident that the Greek Anthology has not preserved companion-pieces to the poems which extol the *beaux restes* of ancient beauties (A. P. V 13, 258). And once on the subject of Propertius and parallels, I will not withhold the amusing contrast between homely Greek and elegant Latin which came up to my mind in reading Propertius (2, 22, 35):

aspice uti caelo modo sol modo luna ministret:  
sic etiam nobis una puella parum est.  
altera me cupidis teneat foveatque lacertis,  
altera si quando non sinit esse locum.



How much heartier the old verse and the comment thereon:

ἀ ὕς τὰν βύλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει τὰν δ' ἔραται λαβεῖν·  
καὶ γὰρ παιῖδα καλὴν τὴν μὲν ἔχω τὴν δ' ἔραμαι λαβεῖν.

which is my favorite illustration of the *ethos* of the Greater Asclepiadean.

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As a manner of preparation for the study of a book which had been insistently recommended to the good graces of *Brief Mention*, I took from its case and read over again after the lapse of some years Mr. Horton's *In Argolis*; for the scene of Mrs. DRAGOUMIS'S *Tales of a Greek Island* (Houghton Mifflin Company) is laid on Poros, and Mr. Horton's book deals with the life of Poros and incidentally with the life of Greece. I too have seen Poros, and for me also it has a charm of its own against which I had to be on my guard, if I was to be an honest critic. I saw it first as I was on my sea-way to Athens, when my eyes were greeted by a sight of the Royal yacht as it dashed out of the naval station at Poros; and I was afterwards to spend a memorable afternoon there, to ascend through the fragrant woods to the Temple of Poseidon and from that vantage-ground to behold Athens at a distance, as Demosthenes may have seen his Athens, when he staggered out of the sacred precinct, though his vision was doubtless blurred by the fatal drug which ended the long duel with the Macedonian. An ill-judged struggle, according to Professor Mahaffy. To some people all lost causes are ill-judged struggles. The Greek did not take his life with the ease of the Roman. Suicide was not a ready relief with him, but a last resort. Of course, the Greek woman yielded to despair sooner than the Greek man, and the national mode was a feminine mode. 'Go hang', we too say; and ἀγξασθαι stands alone as a direct reflexive for self-murder. There was something feminine in the excitability of the Βάταλος, as his enemies called Demosthenes—something of the Megaira in his makeup. So Poros, as Kalaureia, has undying associations with death, and as Poros, it is beautiful. 'Lovely Poros', exclaimed our former Minister to Greece, the late Professor Alexander, 'lovely Poros, where the divine sea sparkles at one's feet, and the air is sweet with blossoms of orange and of lemon; where nightingales are always singing, and groves of aged olives give dignity to fields gay with poppies and anemones'. I know a man who crossed the Atlantic over and over again to summer at Sorrento, and I can understand that. I know another who would gladly cross the Atlantic and traverse the Mediterranean to see Poros once more and dream the dream of old age with the Sleeping Woman—a mountain, mind you, which figures in Mr. Horton's book as in Mrs. DRAGOUMIS'S: 'a great giantess asleep upon her



back. Wonderfully noble and classic are the features', continues Mr. Horton, 'serene unto death and yet with the intelligence of life'.

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I have called Mr. Horton's book a preparation. I intended it as a prophylactic, because I remembered it as a book full of homely details, and I have a perverse way of disillusioning myself in advance in order that I may yield to the illusion more unreservedly afterwards. When I first saw the Oberammergau play in 1860, I made the acquaintance of the principal actors and actresses, and took beer with the protagonist of the great tragedy. Truth to tell, he bore himself in the familiar intercourse of daily life with a serene dignity which made me understand the play better and some other things also. So I took Mr. Horton's book, written by a clear-eyed American who was thoroughly familiar with the life he was describing, to be just the prophylactic I needed to keep me from falling under the Circean spell of Mrs. DRAGOUMIS. But if Mr. Horton's book is full of homely details, described with remorseless fidelity, there are homely details in Theokritos; and after all *In Argolis* is an idyll, as Mrs. DRAGOUMIS's tales are idyllic. Here is what Mr. Howells wrote of *In Argolis*: 'It is delightful, every word of it, with just that mixture of the epic and idyllic and domestic and divine that is peculiarly American'. Mr. Horton is as full of poetry as Mrs. DRAGOUMIS, and so after reading Mrs. DRAGOUMIS's book and yielding to its charm, I began to compare the two in detail, to note the differences and the coincidences, to count the recurrences, to make a list of the things that strike the casual tourist, the things that a long resident foreigner thought it worth while to interpret, the things that a native woman of refinement would dwell on, would glance at, would avoid. There is, for instance, no smell of garlic on Mrs. DRAGOUMIS's literary raiment. Mr. Horton's book may be said to be impregnated with it. The stench and filth—unmentionable filth which disillusions the foreigner—are barely alluded to by the daughter of Greece who daintily draws her skirts away from the refuse-heap into which Mr. Horton resolutely thrusts his walking-stick. But when the American man and the Greek woman turn the fair side outward, they are rivals in poetical expression. If you want matter of fact, you must look to such a writer as Mr. Zimmern, who stands no nonsense about flowers and fruits. Greece, he says after Mr. Myres, is a jamless world; and nothing could present a sharper contrast than Mr. Horton's description of the asphodel and Mr. Zimmern's note on the same vegetable growth. Mr. Horton says of it: 'A stately plant, as befits the symbol of death; for it stands up tall and straight with stalks that branch out symmetrically from the main stem. The plain where it grows seems a great table, set with many silver candelabra'. Silver candelabra,



forsooth! Here is what Mr. Zimmern says of the asphodel: 'The asphodel is a sort of overgrown hyacinth, and is one of the commonest scrub flowers. To the ordinary Greek farmer the name conveyed nothing of the romance which our poets have woven round it' (Greek Commonwealth, p. 43). The fact is, wherever fancy comes in, fact suffers—perhaps ought to suffer. Zola's description of Rome is said to be marvellously exact in view of his short sojourn. But it suited him to say that there were no bells in Rome, 'those friends of the humble', nothing but domes; whereas Frederic Harrison complains that 'the air is heavy with the jangle of incessant belfries'.

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But an analysis of recent books on Greece after the pattern of my syntactical studies would carry me too far, and the half dozen lines promised to Mrs. DRAGOUMIS's stories threatens to grow into a many page review. The charm of her book lies not only in the personality it reveals, but also in the vivid description of the scenery, the immediate vision she gives of the home life of the Poriotas, the sharp individuality of the characters. We cease to be tolerant, if we have been only tolerant before, we become sympathetic. The tales themselves are in the main sad, and the story by which these tragedies of humble life are bound together does not end in a true lover's knot. The boy and the girl of the opening go apart at the end. The situations, often sombre, are somewhat relieved by a certain Kyra Sophoula, who appears and reappears as a manner of chorus and whose acrid comments remind one of the tang of the *resinata*, which one must learn to like, it is said, if one is to get into tune with the Greece of to-day. Kyra Sophoula will linger in the memory longer than the gentler spirits that flit before us in Mrs. DRAGOUMIS's pages.

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I have no qualms of conscience about the space I have given to Mr. Horton and yielded to Mrs. Dragoumis. Their books enter directly into the studies of the Hellenist. There is a constant increase in the number of scholars who make themselves personally acquainted with the land and the people of Hellas, with the language or rather the languages that are spoken on the sacred soil of Greece; and much to the advantage of those who are chiefly concerned with the life of the classical past. Books like Mr. Grundy's Thucydides and the History of His Age, like Mr. Zimmern's Greek Commonwealth have a vitality that comes from the sky and the land of Hellas. In my youth a man who knew the Greek of the Nineteenth Century was a rarity and there were few among my German teachers who could speak of Greece from actual vision. Welcker was one



and I shall never forget his description of a walk from Athens towards Eleusis, when he was overtaken by the same kind of storm that overcame the watchman and his fellows in the *Antigone*, *μύσ-αρες δ' εἶχονεν θείαν νόσον*. It was Welcker that introduced us to Alkiphron as a witness of the climatic conditions of Athens which had not changed so much after all. Franz was another of my teachers who was at home in Greece. He had been tutor to King Otho and was renowned for his familiar command of ancient Greek in writing and in speech. But with the modern tongue he had but little patience. He was a thorough-paced archaizer, and would not admit the analogy between Italian and Romaic. Modern Greek, he said, was not a new vest out of old material. It was a rag, a 'lappen'. It is not so many years since it was considered somewhat of a feat when Classen in his old age visited Greece in the interest of his Thukydides. Now with the recent facilities of travel every other tourist can talk of Athens, Epidaurus, Olympia. But as I recall my own visit, as I read the glowing descriptions of Mr. Horton and Mrs. Dragoumis I cannot suppress a word in favor of the Greece of our dreams, the Greece that was before the days of the tribe of Thomas Cook and Son. The changes in the land of Greece may, it is true, have gone on in some respects along the lines of classical times. Mountain and watercourse may enable us to follow the study of the ancient battlefields, but in order to reproduce the Greece of our boyhood, we must do as Méryon did, who in his etchings simply thought away much of the Paris of his times, and so in the vision of the actual Greece we must think away much that fills the eye and charms the eye. Read again the words that I have quoted from Professor Alexander's description of Poros. The sea is there and the olive-trees are there and there is a distinct gain in the sight of the Greek sea, and in contemplating the Greek olive-tree. But there were no oranges and lemons in the old days—to say nothing of the exotic eucalyptus. The people—delightful as some of them are—do not answer to the Greek type as we know it from the monuments. The conquest of the black over the blond which is going on everywhere is complete. It has been contended that even in antiquity the blond beauty was emphasized because of its rarity. I have read and heard that there are villages of odd corners of Greece where the blond type survives, but I was a little surprised at Mr. Horton's 'towheaded' urchins. I should never have used the adjective of the school-boys I saw assembled in Sparta. When as boys we were taught the history of the Persian War, we were told that it embodied the eternal conflict between Orient and Occident, and despite all that one reads in Curtius about the nearness of Greece to Asia Minor, its practical remoteness from Italy, it is hard to realize the orientalism of Greece. There is no touch of orientalism in the Greece that we learned in school. The Orient is with us at every turn in the Greece that now is.



Greece is not in Europe, and in some aspects the ineffable Greek is nearer to the unspeakable Turk than we are to either. The kingdom of Hellas is a spiritual kingdom.

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All my fellow students of 1850-1853 are gone — Baumeister, Wölfflin, Hug, my close friend Hübner, to pick out a few of those whose names are written in the chronicles of scholarship. Vahlen was the last to go, working to the end and ever widening the distance that separated him from the mass of those who sat on the same benches with him in the days of Bonn and of Ritschl. I paid my tribute to him while he was living. What can my small voice add to the chorus of eulogy now? I can only protest against the keynote that makes itself heard whenever a veteran falls—a keynote I myself have struck from time to time. Do not call him the exemplar of a bygone day. There is no bygone day for any life that has been so well worth living as Vahlen's.

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Another scholar, not a fellow-student but a close contemporary, withdrawn for some years from active work as a teacher but busy in his chosen field so long as health and strength permitted, has joined the quiet ranks of those whose labors are over. A master workman he, who won for American scholarship a name that gained recognition for his countrymen. Not a fellow-student of mine, for he came to Germany after my time, William Watson Goodwin seems to count as one, for he followed the teachings of very much the same masters at Göttingen and elsewhere and underwent the same influences, though the fruit of his studies was not so long withheld. When Bernays was gathering the material for his *Life of Scaliger*, Ritschl warned him against postponing publication too long. 'Don't let your chestnuts get burned', said he; and Goodwin did not let his chestnuts get burned—whether of German origin or homegrown. In my eyes the *Moods and Tenses* was an audacious venture for so young a man—it was published in 1860, when he was not yet thirty—but the blockade of the Southern States shut me out from all intercourse with foreign scholarship for four long years, so that I could not follow the fortunes of the *Moods and Tenses*; and it was not until the Civil War was over that I discovered how brilliant a success the *Moods and Tenses* had been. Introduced under favorable circumstances into England at a time when English Hellenists were not familiar with Krüger and Madvig, the work became a standard. Quite apart from his command of what was the common property of all who had been trained in Germany, Goodwin brought to his task qualities that commended them.



selves to the practical Anglo-Saxon mind. No specialist could reproach him with supersubtlety, prolixity, obscurity, or the impertinence of figurative language; and what some might have considered a defect—the absence of definitions—was in the eyes of others one recommendation the more. Goodwin was more concerned with the behavior of the moods and tenses than with their origin, and applied to them the rules that sensible people apply to commerce with the world at large. The high position thus early gained as an ultimate authority for English-speaking Hellenists, the *Moods and Tenses* has maintained for half a century, and the term of its usefulness is not in sight. Each successive issue was enriched by wider reading and closer observation, until the author gathered himself up for the great Revised Edition, which has made all the others obsolete and which became a finality for Goodwin himself. Most of us crystallize long before sixty, though few of us are aware of the process.

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Goodwin's activity did not limit itself to matters grammatical. He was an authority on Attic law; he was a close student of Greek history; he was versed in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. His edition of Demosthenes' *De Corona* is the culmination of a lifelong study of the orator and his times. But it is the *Moods and Tenses* that has made him known wherever Greek is studied, and as an interesting specimen of the attitude of the undergraduate mind towards this renowned text-book I copy from the daily press the following tribute to the Harvard scholar's great achievement: 'In the *Moods and Tenses*', says an editorial writer in the *New York Sun* of June 20, '<Goodwin> collected with an inhuman industry and an Attic or Indian subtlety all the deviltries of a copious, casuistic and perfidious syntax, collected them for the wonder and despair of a generation.' One seems to be reading a legend of the construction of some mediaeval cathedral, some mediaeval bridge, in which the Evil One is supposed to have had a hand. To have left a typical name,—there is nothing better than that even for the Scaligers, the Bentleys, the Porsons, whom the irresponsible chronicler of current events always cites whenever a classical scholar is gathered to his fathers.

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C. W. E. M.: Whilst the palaeographer has every reason to be grateful for the number, variety, and excellence of the collections of palaeographic facsimiles that have been published in recent years, it is nevertheless true that most of these collections have been so expensive as to be beyond the reach of the average scholar, and so unwieldy as to attract few but specialists. But two years ago, the firm of Marcus and Weber in Bonn in-



augurated a series of inexpensive and handy collections of facsimiles, which, bearing the title of *Tabulae in usum scholarum* are being issued under the editorial supervision of JOHANNES LIETZMANN.

The second number of this series now lies before me, the *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, Collegit WILHELM SCHUBART (Bonnae, A. Marcus et E. Weber; Oxoniae, apud Parker et Filium; MCMXI; 20X30 cm., cloth, flexible covers; M. 6.). The object of the present work is a threefold one: 1. To provide reading matter for beginners. 2. To illustrate the various kinds of papyri. 3. To furnish materials for the use of the trained palaeographer. In view of this threefold object, the collection has been made to embrace literary, epistolary, and documentary material of many kinds and of every degree of difficulty. The editor has even called into requisition a few ostraka, two parchments, and a wax-tablet, and, in three instances, he has not hesitated to go outside of Berlin to secure certain material without which the collection would not have been complete. The facsimiles are eighty in number and have been distributed among fifty plates. These plates have been arranged in chronological order, and, where definite chronological data have been lacking, the author has been obliged to use his own judgment as to the proper sequence. As the chronological order does not correspond with the order of difficulty, a table has been supplied in which, besides a division into literary and non-literary specimens, there appears also a subdivision of the non-literary facsimiles into those that are easy, medium, and difficult. The plates are accompanied by twenty-eight pages of letter press, which, in addition to the transliteration of most of the facsimiles, give the necessary information as to the provenance, place of publication, contents, chronology, style of writing, etc., of all of the specimens, the whole concluding with a tabular conspectus of the plates. From the point of view of those beginners who have no access to the Berliner Griechische Urkunden, the Elephantine Papyri, the Berliner Klassiker Texte, it was perhaps a mistake not to have furnished the complete transcription of every facsimile. Fortunately, the number of such omissions is small, and the usefulness of the book is not seriously impaired. But apart from this consideration, it may be said without prejudice to the merits of previous publications that the work described above has supplied a long-felt want. There was need of just such a convenient, inexpensive, and attractive volume as this, containing such an abundance and variety of material, and compiled and edited by so competent a papyrologist as SCHUBART. The book is destined to give a great impetus to the study of Greek palaeography and of Greek papyrology, and both editor and publishers deserve our congratulations and sincere thanks.



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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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WHOLE No. 132.

## I.—DERIVATIVES OF THE ROOT *STHA* IN COMPOSITION.

### I.

#### GENERALITIES.

1. It is well known that a suffix has often arisen from the extension of a posterius of composition, but I think I have never seen the deduction made that when the prius of derivation is either an abverb or a noun in case form there is a strong probability that the apparent suffix must once have had enough verbal individuality to be regarded as a posterius of composition. By way of illustration let me use an example that I propose to reserve for expansion in a subsequent study, viz.: the example supplied by the Greek words *ἱαρι-νός*, *περυσσι-νός*, *ἰωθι-νός*, *ἡμερι-νός*, *νυκτερι-νός* (see Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>1</sup> § 190, 2). In view of the obvious locative (or adverb) in the prius of these words I cannot doubt that *-νός*<sup>1</sup> has an explicit meaning, the meaning to wit of Lat. *-cola* 'habitans' or of its Sanskrit equivalent *-cara-s* 'migrans' (cf. Lat. *caeli-cola* with Skr. *divi-cara-s*, both used of the 'sky-goers' who developed into the 'sky-dwellers'). The same double reference to the place of wandering as the habitat is found in Eng. *dwells* 'habitat': OEng. *dwelian* 'errare, morari, habitare'.

2. But how reluctant scholars are to admit composition rather than suffixation. Brugmann, e. g., not only indicates his general

<sup>1</sup> It belongs with the Skr. root *ni-* 'ducere', with the sense of Germ. 'ziehend' 'migrans'), or with Skr. *nas-* ('ein-) heimsen'.



hostility to explanation by composition (v. Gr<sup>3</sup>. II. 1, p. 7). but goes specifically out of his way (l. c. p. 405 fn.) to challenge the genuineness of *-ιτος* 'way' in *ἀμαξ-ιτός* 'wagon-way' *ἀταρπ-ιτός* 'cross-way', in favor of some undefinable suffixal *-ιτο-*—as though some malicious sprite of popular etymology had worked a bastardy with *ιέναι*, whereas every feature of *-ιτος* in these compounds suggests its legitimate descent from *ιέναι*. It is well for us to remember that the notandum in a popular etymology may be as apt and correct as in a legitimate etymology, in which case a charge of illegitimacy is quite unwarranted unless abnormal phonetics or positive facts of word-history can be brought forward to demonstrate the illegitimacy.

3. But a notable suggestion and admission of composition instead of suffixation has been made not so long ago. I refer to the analysis of *πεζός* as *\*ped-yo-s* 'pede iens', suggested by Schulze and admitted by Brugmann, though not distinctly accepted by Walde<sup>1</sup> (s. v. *acupedius*). But the applicability of this analysis to Lat. *acupedius* (cf. also *bipedius*) and, mut. mut., to *κυλλο-ποδίων* 'on-lame-foot-going' and *ἰθυ-πτείων* 'in-straight-flight-going' (v. Fay, AJPh. 31, 426)—wherein *-ποδι-* and *-πτε-* are locatives followed by a confix *-iyen-* 'going'—seems to me not merely to warrant the acceptance but peremptorily to exclude the rejection of Schulze's analysis. The challenge made upon our belief by *ped-yo-s* 'pede iens' is direct. It is simply impossible not to believe it, for the reason that it is transparent, obvious—and for no other reason in the world. Equally direct, if not so strong, a challenge is made upon us by *ἐμ-μήνιος* 'in einem monat verlaufend' and by Lith. *įžatmb-is* 'in die ecke laufend', wherein Brugmann's unpurposed definitions with 'laufend' (Gr<sup>3</sup>. II. 1, §61, 1) fairly suggest the connection of the suffix with the root of 'ire', and *ἐμ-μηνι-* can hardly be aught but the coalescence of *ἐν μηνί*. Similarly, perhaps, Lat. *egregius* adumbrates a vanished *\*in gregi-yo-s*.

4. In the present study I propose chiefly to deal with compounds in which some derivative of the root of the *stāre*-sept plays the part of a posterius of composition (see also Fraenkel, KZ. 42, 241). Shall we write that root as *sthā-* or as *sthāy-* or decline the issue by writing *sthā-y-* (see Bezzenger in KZ. 41, 104<sup>2</sup>)? After all, the debate cannot be brought to an issue. Still, for convenience of rubrication in this study, I shall speak of the root as *sthāy-*, as that gives the clearest account of the use of



-*stino-s* as a confix (§ 27), cf. Skr. *pra-sthāy-in-* 'proficiscens', *sākam-prasthāyīya-*, the passive *sthīyāte*, and especially Lith. *stainia* 'stall' (§ 14), Lat. *postī-cum* (§ 16); furnishes the simplest rubrication for -*sthi-s*, as compared with Brugmann's -*sth-i-s* or Bartholomae's -*sth(ə)ti-s*; and vindicates Varro's derivation of *stiva* from *stare*, to wit: regula quae stat, stiva ab stando (l. l. 5, 135). The *v* of *stiv-a* can hardly be unconnected with the *v* of Skr. *sthāva-rds* 'stans, firmus, solidus' and the *z* will be a form of *ay* : *āy* (cf. my derivation of Skr. *nīvi-s* 'vestitus' from [s]*nāiw-*: *snāyati* 'vestit' in AJPh. 25, 373, 379).

5. So I write the root as *sthāy-*, but unless we make entirely unreasonable semantic exclusions we must also acknowledge the form *stāy-* in Skr. *stī-ma-s* 'stagnant' (AV. 11, 8, 34, of the waters), *stīy-ā* 'stehendes wasser': Av. *armač-štā* 'still-stehend, stagnierend' (of water), cf. *σά-δ-α* (fem. sg.) used of 'stagnant' water. This evidence demands that we write the root as *st(h)ā(y)-* 'to stand; be firm, congeal' and derive therefrom the sept to which Skr. *styāyate*, Greek *στιάω* belong (v. the lexica).<sup>1</sup> In *τῖ-φος* (*es-stem*) for \**στίφος* we have the proper conditions for deaspiration as well as for loss of *σ-* (by dissimilation).

6. The variation between *t* and *th* in this root<sup>2</sup> must on the whole be regarded as proethnic, though most of the recorded evidence can be so disposed of as to avoid an issue. Thus *σθ-ένος* 'might' (=staying power), modelled on *μένος* 'might' (also=staying power), is in conflict with Hesychian *ἀστηνεῖ ἀδυνατεῖ*, *ἀστήνες* ταλαίπωροι, *δυστυχεῖς* (cf. *ἀτήνειν* μοχθεῖν), but an appeal again for the *θ* may be and has been made (cf. Siebs, KZ. 37, 281) to *εὐθενεῖν* 'vigere'<sup>3</sup>, and though the obvious definition of *πρό-σθιος* is 'prae-stans' and of *ὀπί-σθιος* 'a tergo-stans' (cf. Aeolic and Doric *ῥπισθα*), one may choose to divide as *πρόσθ'* + *ιο-* and decline to account for -*σθ-* at all, though *πρό-σθε(ν)* be left ever so riddlesome. In Sanskrit, if we contrast *pari-ṣṭhā-* 'umstehend, hemmend; fem. hinderniss' with *pari-ṣṭi-* 'hinderniss' (for the sense cf. Lat. *obstat* 'hinders'), since one would now hardly rely on Grassmann and derive *pariṣṭi-* from *pari* +

<sup>1</sup> A diphthongal form of root is shown by extensions with determinatives as e. g. Lith. *stai-bis* 'frost', *στι-φ-ρός* 'solid', Skr. *stb-h-i-s* 'bunch, clump'.

<sup>2</sup> See also Brugmann, Gr. I. § 703, anm.

<sup>3</sup> Others compare Skr. *dhdna-m* 'Kaufpreis'—with no great semantic probability.



*-sti-* (: the root *as* 'esse')—here cf. the definitions of the later and earlier Petersburg lexica—it would be open to him to declare that *t* of *pari-ṣṭi* has lost its aspiration owing to the counter terms *abhiṣṭi-* 'hülfe' *abhiṣṭi-* 'helfer, beistand' (see § 78). Here belong *ni-ṣṭhā-* (pada-text *niḥ-sthā-*) 'exstans' (trans.=adducens), but without aspiration *nī-ṣṭya-s*<sup>1</sup> 'auswärtig, fremd' (cf. Lat. *hostis* 'extans' in § 86); *ni-ṣṭhā* (fem. subst.) is 'ende, grenzpunkt' (again='exstans').

7. The explanation by dissimilation of aspirates may, in the case of this root, be appealed to as the real cause of a proethnic variation between *sth* and *st*. Its reduplicated present and compounds like *abhi-ṣṭi-s* furnished the proper recurring conditions and the deaspiration of the surd aspirates may have begun prior to the deaspiration of the sonant aspirates, and already in the proethnic time. Thus from a reduplicated present stem like *\*sthi-st(h)ā-* a root-form *-stā* might have grown up, as a "root" *ṣṭhā-* grew up in the Indic dialects (cf. Wackernagel, ai. Gram. I. 236); and what we are pleased to regard now as the derivatives *sta-tus*, *στά-σις*, Skr. *sthi-ti-s* | *sthi-ti-s* may all have come from reduplicated start-forms *\*sthā-(s)t(h)ū-s* (cf. Skr. *ta-sthu-s* 'stans, perstans') *\*sthā(s)t(h)i-s* (cf. the Latin perfect *steti*), whence by irradiation to the *βάσις* and other like groups the suffix *-ti-* (*-tu-*).<sup>2</sup>

8. The fact of proethnic conflict between *sth* and *st* in members of the *sthā-* sept scarcely admits of being brought to an issue for an etymological reason. I allude to the words like Avestan *sti-* 'Wesen' and Skr. *stī-* 'cliens' (§ 78), united by Bartholomae in his lexicon, col. 1593, and compared with *caelestis* 'qui est in caelo'. In BB. 22, 122 Prellwitz resolved *caelestis* into *caelei-estis*, but he is now (see his lexicon s. v. *δύστηνος*) of a better mind (§ 84).

9. No, a definitive issue, whether semantic or morphological, can scarcely be raised here. The truth is that the root *sthā* shows in its historical representations so many convergences of meaning toward the root *es* that we must use our common sense and admit a great deal of neutral ground between 'stare' and 'esse',

<sup>1</sup> So *āvi[s]-ṣṭya-s* 'offenkundig, offenbar', may be regarded as for *\*āviṣṭhya-s* 'offen-stehend'. See further § 23.

<sup>2</sup> A posterior *sthi-* or *sthu-* would mean 'state' (cf. on *-stati-*, *-stuti-* AJPh. 31, 417<sup>1</sup>) and it is quite impossible to decide between *vir-[s]thū-s* (see §§ 12, 17) 'man's estate' and *vir-tu-s* 'man's power' (see on *-tu-* 'power' IF. 29, 414<sup>2</sup>) on merely phonetic grounds



belonging equally to both. It is not merely that the root of 'stare' has furnished a copula in Old Irish as in Prakrit and in the Romance tongues, but in early Sanskrit, if not in the Vedas, the root *sthā* expressed ideas that one now renders into Latin by 'exstare, adesse, se habere, esse; alicuius (alicui) esse'. In Greek, also, ἵστημι is "often merely a stronger form of εἶναι 'to be there, to be,' like Ital. *stare*" (v. Liddell and Scott, s. v. B. 1, 5). The same convergence of sense toward 'esse' is shown by Latin *exstat, existit*. Even for Av. *sti-* 'Wesen' we satisfy all the legitimate demands of definition with our two English words 'existence' and 'substance', which come from 'stare', not from 'esse', and the infinitive *stōi/stē* is as well defined by 'stare' as by 'esse'. For an Indo-Europeanist *sto ergo sum* is a perfectly legitimate enthymeme.

10. The existence of an Indo-European abstract *sti-* or *esti-* seems to be open to challenge, not only for Avestan—and for Latin (see Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. *pestis*)—but also for Sanskrit. Deferring for a time the consideration of *stī-* 'cliens' (see § 78), it is questionable if *sv-astī-s* 'well-being' may be so considered. In view of such English nouns as *habitat, fiat, ipse-dixit*, it is a tenable position that *sv-astī-s* is a nominalization of the phrase *su astī* 'bene est', a word in the making, indeclinable in half of its uses in the Rig Veda.<sup>1</sup> In Greek we have ἵστω 'substance' (ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἀτίραν τινὰ εἶμεν αἰτίαν τὰν κινάσοισαν τὰν ἵστω τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὰν μορφῶν, Archytas cited by L. Meyer, Wtbch., I. p. 393), εὐεστώ 'tranquility, well-being' (Hdt., Aesch.) with the counter-term κακεστώ (Hesychius), αἰεστώ 'eternal being' (Antipho), ἀπείστω 'absence' (Hdt.), and συνεστώ 'convivium' (Hdt. 6, 128). Skr. *sv-astī* will have been a statement assuming the realization of a wish, and εὖ ἵστω[d] the imperative of benediction echoing the imperative of petition. The separation of this εὖ ἵστω out of the formula may be realized by a consideration of words like *ave* and *paternoster*, while in complete nominalization there is a

<sup>1</sup> This derivation has analogies in savage tongues. In Athabascan (see Hdbk. Am. Ind. Lang., p. 109) 'rain' is *nañya* 'it comes down', a 'creek' is *milliñ* 'fluit', 'snow' is *nāndil* 'they come down', a 'bundle' is *willoi* 'vinc-tum est', while a 'belt' is *naxō-willoi* 'ei circumvinctum est.' A 'fire' is *Lenawilla* 'they have been laid together', a 'fishing-board' is *talkait* 'over the water it has been pushed'. These examples deserve the consideration of those who are trying to derive the IE. verb ending *-ti* from the abstract nouns in *-tis*, and show that the converse may rather be true.



resemblance to *rendezvous* or *revenez-y*. English *welfare* (εὖεστώ, with the flexion and accent of the ὦ nouns) is not so different from *farewell* (quasi εὖ ἔστω), and συνεστώ 'good cheer, entertainment; convivium' seems, in the light of Eng. *welcome*, Fr. *bienvenue*, a somewhat natural development of the formula of invitation συνέστω <'apud me' > adsit'—cf. for the connotation the combination of σύνειμι with ᾧπερ ἡδεσθον βίῳ (Aristoph.), τρυφερῷ βίῳ (Menander). The philosophical term ἐστώ 'substance, matter', perhaps did not arise in some cosmogony wherein ἔστω functioned as *fiat* (lux) in the Vulgate, but by discomposition from εὖεστώ κακεστώ.<sup>1</sup> [Eng. *lavabo* a striking formula-word.]

II. But these -εστώ compounds are all liable to derivation from ἴσθημι,<sup>2</sup> viz.: from the ptc. ἐστώς. Thus \*εὖεστώς (substantivized neuter) would mean something like 'bene-stantia', cf. Skr. *tasthi-vāṇs-* 'stehend, unbeweglich, fest' (of the permanent and stationary as opposed to *jāgat*, the movable and living). With this definition ἀειεστώ[ς] cited by Hesychius in the perplexing accusative ἀειεστοῦν<sup>3</sup> τὴν αἰώνιον οὐσίαν ἢ αἰδιότητα, entirely accords. Ionic ἀπ-εστώ, instead of ἀφεστώ, would be entirely normal, and would explain the development of ἐστώ as a technical term by the Ionic philosophers. The sense of 'substance' as contradistinguished from 'form' (μορφώ, see § 10) easily derives from that of 'the permanent' (τὸ ἐστώς). Similarly Skr. *svastī-s* may be for \**sva-st(h)i-s* (on *sth* | *st* see §§ 5-6), cf. the later words *sva-stha-s* 'in ordnung seiend', *validus, laetus*, frequently read for *su-stha-s*

<sup>1</sup> Is it too much to guess that the vigorous newness of this ἐστώ was what prompted the alteration of μορφή to μορφώ in Archytas, as cited above?

<sup>2</sup> Here we may note Καλλιστώ 'in beauty standing', cf. Byron's wonderful "She walks in beauty". Then καλλι- is, in this context, a locative: κάλλος (see AJPh. 31, 411, § 36), less likely an abstract stem (see Fay, KZ. 45, 133; Fraenkel-Schulze, *ibid.*, 42, 124). A name like καλλιστώ serves admirably to illustrate the semantic development of the superlative asserted in AJPh. l. c. § 16 sq.; see also § 43. So Homeric ῥίγ-ι-στος = 'in rig(or)e stans', though in *rig-i-dus* (v. ll. cc.) -i- looks to be a stem, or at least is not of easy interpretation as a case-ending. In οἰκτ-ι-στος i- if a locative is either heteroclitic to an *es*-stem \*τὸ οἶκτος, or to an *o*-stem (ὁ οἶκτος), cf. Homeric ἀλκί: ἀλκή (ā-stem), though the easy interpretation of ἀλκι-μος and ἀλκί-φρων is from a stem ἀλκι-.

<sup>3</sup> Can there have been a stem \*ἐστ[ρ]φος- (cf. ἐστός varying with ἐστώς), with gen. \*ἐστφοῦς, alternating with a stem \*ἐστφώς- gen. \*ἐστφῶς? Even so a pair of accusatives (masc. or fem.) \*ἐστφων and \*ἐστφουν are hard to account for.

<sup>4</sup> In RV. *su-sthā-s*, properly defined by Grassmann as "in gutem Zustande befindlich."



(cf. Lat. *suus*=*proprius*), *svāsthya-m* 'wohlsein, behagen'. We might even treat *svastī-s* as *\*sva-st(h)i-s* 'proprii-status'. Conceptually opposite to *svā-sthya-m* is Av. *ayō-sti-*, name of a sickness, quasi 'übel-stand', while *δύστηνος* 'in evil plight' is the opposite of Skr. *sva-stha-s* 'wohl auf' and bespeaks its antiquity. See § 83 for Latin *sospes*.

12. In connection with the treatment of the *-stho-* compounds arises the question of the treatment of heavy and almost asyllabic consonant groups at the junction points of the compounds, and especially of (1) *-rsth-* and (2) *-ksth-*. As regards *-rsth-* the evidence seems to show that the reduction to *-rth-* was either general in the proethnic time or occurred severally in most, if not all, of the derived languages. Should we find *-rsth-* (whence subsequent *-sth-*<sup>1</sup>) the reintroduction or retention of *s* was due to a feeling for the signification of *-stho-s* 'stans' in the compound, cf. *παπράς παστράς παστρός παραστράς* as treated by Fraenkel, KZ. 42, 245 sq. For *-ksth-* much the same developments are to be reckoned with. The reduction to *-kth-* in forms like *ἔκρος* OHG. *sehto* was probably normal—though it may have occurred independently in several of the derived languages. Thus it was probably in the separate life of Sanskrit that the 3d sg. mid aor. *ābhakta* arose from *\*abhaksta* (cf. Wackernagel, ai. Gram. I. § 233, c). The reintroduction or retention of the *s*, whence *-ksth-*, would be due to recomposition, that is to say that *(k)s(w)ek<s>thos* '6th' would owe its *<s>* to *\*tri-sthos* '3d', to say nothing of the discomposit (see §§ 36-37) *(k)s(w)eks* '6'. On the other hand, in Sanskrit *pañkti-s* 'five' (i. e. a pentad), which was isolated from the other ordinals, *ksth* was reduced to *kt(h)* (§33).<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *sak-(s)thi-* 'thigh', § 67.

<sup>1</sup> Bloomfield in AJPh. 12, 25, explained as pre-Aryan the loss of the *r* in *\*há(r)sta-s* 'hand' (: *χείρ*) and *kí(r)sta-s* 'poeta': *kirtī-s* 'laus', but see § 20.

<sup>2</sup> Consistency and rigidity are hard for all of us in our application of the phonetic laws. I have believed for years that the *k* and *ḱ* series owed their differentiation to a parasitic palatalization conditioned on the neighboring sounds and still let myself try to infer a *gh* for *\*eḡhs* 'out' because of the *gh* of *hostis* (see § 86). But an unreflecting application of canons of rigidity is perhaps most deplorable precisely where we deal with heavy consonant groups massed at the junction point of stem with suffix or of prius with posterius. Neither the one nor the other of these weldings is quite unconscious, there is always opportunity for an analogy to arise here. As expressions of opinion note Verner in KZ. 23, 128: die sprache hielt auf einheit der flex-



[13. To account for the *ss* of Lat. *oss-is* (gen.), I have assumed (see PAOS. 31, 412<sup>2</sup>) that *-tsl(h)-* (not *-tsl-*) gave *ss* in Latin, while in Skr. *asthi-* it gave *-sth-*. As the word was a compound (§ 67) recomposition must always be reckoned with. When recomposition was not active then *-sth-* may have been the development still in the proethnic time. Perhaps a trace of conflict between normal *ss* and recomposite *st* is found in Lat. *pussula* | *pustula* 'little blister', wherein we may recognize *\*phut-* (see Prellwitz<sup>3</sup>, s. v. *φῦσα*) + *sth(o)la* as in *fistula* (§ 58)—though assimilation to *fistula* may account for the *st* form. As for *assula* | *astula*, it is clear from the passages in the Thesaurus that it was used of 'kindling' i. e. 'fire-sticks' or 'fire-brush'. If from the sept of Lat. *āter* (cf. especially OIr. *aith* 'fornax' in Stokes-Fick, 2, p. 9, and see Prellwitz, BB. 23, 71) a sense-unit ("root") *āt-* can be abstracted, a start-form *āt-sthola* 'fire twig' (see on *-sthola* § 49) were admissible. We are on somewhat firmer ground in deriving *asser*<sup>1</sup> 'rafter' from the preposition *ad* + *sther*, cognate with *στροτήρ* 'rafter, crossbeam'. The propriety of using a derivative of *st(h)er-* 'to cover' for a roof-timber may be defended either from a thatch or a tent-roof, and we may discern the propriety of the preverb *ad-* from a technical passage like Lex. par. fac. Put. 2, 1, <parietem> in *asserato*<sup>2</sup> *asseribus abiegneis*, i. e. *ad-* describes the contact of the rafters with the 'stringers', cf. *ad-miniculum* 'prop'.—A compound of *st(h)er-* may also occur in *passer* 'sparrow'. The verb *construo* (in Tacitus the simplex), as a glance at the Thesaurus, 4, 547, 33, will show, was technically used with *nidum* (= 'nidificare'), and the sparrow seems to be architecturally gifted. When the house sparrow nests in trees (and not in a roof or thatch) its nest "is formed with a dome and composed, as in other cases, of a mass of hay, lined within with a profusion of feathers, to which access is gained by a hole in the side". Are we not therefore justified in explaining *στρον-θ-ός* as 'struem faciens'? Also note *nidum plumis consternunt* (Pliny) and *στροῦμα τὰ δ' ὑποβάλλει τρίχας καὶ ἔρια* (Aristotle, H. A. 9, 13, 14) describing the

ionsendungen (cf. also Whitney, Skr. Gram.<sup>3</sup> § 555, a); Bartholomae, Gr. Ir. Phil., § 52, 3, die bedeutungsgleichen suffixe werden auch lautlich mit einander ausgeglichen.

<sup>1</sup> The Plautine quip in Aul. 357 about using the *asseret* for fire-wood (ligna) may owe its point either to *assula* 'kindling' or to *assus* 'roasted'.

<sup>2</sup> Misdivided in the Thesaurus, s. v. *asser*.



lining of nests by birds. In view of the sparrow's domed nest with a hole at the side—and just such nests made of clusters of straw, and used as the abode of whole colonies of sparrows, I can see in numbers from my class-room window, securely pitched in the angle between a buttress and the tower-wall—I would explain *passer* as from *pad-* : Eng. *fat*, Germ. *fasz* 'cask' + *sther* 'struens'. Or the prius might also be connected with Germ. *fat-sch* 'coenum in viis', or, if written *pat-*, with the root of *πετάννυμι*, with the vocalism of Lat. *patulus*. For the sense cf. *πέτ-ασος* 'hat' and *πατνώματα στεγάσματα οἴκων*.]

## PLACE-WORDS.

14. That derivatives of *sthā-* should develop the sense of 'place' is what we might expect. We frequently have *-stho-* in the sense of 'stall,' e. g. in Skr. *go-ṣṭhā-s* 'cow-stall, standort', OHG. *ewi-st*<sup>1</sup> 'sheep-stall', ON. *nau-st* 'statio navalis'; Frankish *sunni-sta* 'swine-herd' (v. Bezzenberger in KZ. 22, 278, and §§ 76–7); cf. Eng. *stud*, first of the 'stall' but then of the animals occupying the stalls; cf. also, even though it need not be original, OBulg. *stado* 'herd'. In these compounds the prius is of evanescent sense, whereas in a simplex like Lith. *stónė* (cf. *stai-nia* 'stable' with its precious testimony for diphthongal *sthāy-*) the sense is <'horse-> stall', cf. Alban. *stan* <'sheep-> stall'. We further have Skr. *sadhāstha-m* 'locus, sedes' (? from *\*sadhastha-*, tautological; cf. *sādhis-* 'ziel, ort, sitz') *prati-ṣṭhā* 'standort, wohnort', Lith. *dim-stis* 'haus-stand' (BB. 26, 167), *stha-pātis* 'loci dominus' (see § 82), *bhayā[s]-sthas* 'periculosus locus' (see § 18), *pra-stha-s* 'table-land, plateau', *saṁ-sthé* (RV.) 'in loco ilico, statim'. Other adverbial formations are *a-sthā* 'ilico' (cf. Zubaty, KZ. 31, 7), wherein *a-* is probably reduced *en-* 'in',<sup>2</sup> though it might be *ad-* (: Latin *ad*), or even a negative (*asthā* = *haud mora*); *anu-ṣṭhū* | *anu-ṣṭhuyā* 'ilico', or perhaps 'successim', cf. *anu-ṣṭhā-s* 'sucedentes'. As in *anu-ṣṭhā-s*, the sense of quick motion is also found in Vedic *pra-sthāv-an-as* (Voc. plur.) qualifying *marutas* and rendered by 'celeres'. Further

<sup>1</sup> On Bezzenberger's perfectly sound analysis of Goth. *avi-str* 'ovile' as *schaf-lager* see § 77.

<sup>2</sup> The alleged Skr. root *asth-* (see IF. 5, 388) is non-existent (see Lanman ap. Whitney's *Atharva Veda*, 13, 1, 5), but the sense of 'instare' suits the passages.



cf. μετανάσσης (§ 86). [Add Homeric κατ' ἀντη-στιν as now explained by Schwyzer in IF. Anz. 30, 33.]

15. A further group of Sanskrit adverbs, hitherto misunderstood, and probably misunderstood very anciently by the Vedic diaskeuasts, corresponds with Latin *praestō(d)* 'prae (loco)'. These are *adhā[s]-st(h)āt* 'infra (loci)', *ava[s]-stāt* 'infra', *parā[s]-stāt* 'supra; porro', *purā[s]-stāt* 'ante', *upāri-stāt* 'deorsum; prāk-[s]tāt (see § 12) 'von vorne', *āpāk-[s]tāt* 'von hinten.' Owing to the interplay of this type on the type of Skr. *ārāt* 'von ferne' and Lat. *suprād* 'over' Skr. *adharāt* 'infra' has been equipped with a doublet *adharāttāt*. Not but that we can justify the use of this enclitic *-tāt* on general principles, but the then adventitious *s* of *upāri-stāt* and the normal loss of aspiration in *adhā[s]-stāt* make strongly for the grouping of this adverbial type with Lat. *praestō[d]*<sup>1</sup>.

16. Lith. *dim-stis* 'house-stead', whence 'house', furnishes a good point of vantage for explaining Skr. *pasti(y)a-m* 'behausung, stall', *pa-stī(y)ā* 'ohnsitz, haus', named, I take it, from their sheltered and retired position. I assume a proethnic *(a)po-sthi-* 'apstans',<sup>2</sup> cf. ἀπόστασις 'repository, store-house'. Here Lat. *po-sti-cum* 'back door, rear of house, back-house (privy)' belongs, and its *z* is a testimony to the root *sthāy-* (§ 4). I define *po-sti-s* by < 'a foribus > apstans' <sup>1</sup>, certainly an adequate notandum for the door posts or jambs, though the original sense may have been that of a standing growth, a stalk (see §§ 47, 49)—which leaves, however, the *po-* much harder to account for.<sup>3</sup> A somewhat different notandum meets us in

<sup>1</sup> I do not follow Walde<sup>2</sup> in deriving the *l* of *praestolari* from this *d*, but rather equate the *l* with the *l* of Germ. *stuhl*. The word *praestolator* was then first used of those waiting in ante-chambers on stools (cf. § 19, fn.). For a start-form *sthōlo-/ā-*, admissible also for the *stool-sept*, we may plead the *ō* grade of στῶ-μιξ 'beam' (cf. Eng. *stud*, *studding* of upright beams), Aeolic στῶια 'colonnade', Lith. *stūmū* 'stature'.

<sup>2</sup> In Latin *po(s)-ste* 'behind' the sense of the posterius has vanished.

<sup>3</sup> The possibility of *\*por-sthi-s* 'vorstehend' (so Brugmann Gr.<sup>2</sup> II. 1, § 97, 1, a) cannot be excluded; cf. AJPh. 32, 412, 14. Sommer's start-form *\*twostis*: Goth. *pwasti-pa* 'festigkeit' is not to be accepted, and the equation *tw-* = Latin *p-* has nothing to recommend it, though it has been accepted by both Walde and Stolz, as well as by Niedermann (IF. 26, 50); and Marstrander (ib. 20, 349) has built an etymology of *pernix* upon it. The criticism directed upon it by Charpentier (KZ. 43, 163) is entirely sound, and Ital. *pipita* from *pituita* (Niedermann, l. c. 52<sup>1</sup>) doubtless replaced *pitita* by a more normal re-



*παρ-στάς* which is the frequent definition of *postis* in the Latin glosses. It is needless to marshal here words like Doric *στά-λα* 'prop, postis' or Lith. *statinís* 'vallum', but it is perhaps worth while to point out how Germ. *fest* may belong with *postis*, cf. e. g. Av. *staw-ra-* 'stark, fest': Skr. *stambh-a-s* 'postis', and note Skr. pf. act. ptc., *lasthiváms-* 'stehend, unbeweglich, fest'. In general 'stans' 'apstans' as counter-terms to 'inclinans' were bound to acquire the sense of 'stiff, strong, fest'. The verb *to fast*, Goth. *fasten*, means 'abstare a', revealing the concrete sense of *pastyā-m* as an 'off-standing' house, cf. *açva-pastyā-s* = equi-stabulum habens. In English, *fast-ness* still connotes a retired stronghold, usually in the mountains; while in *steadfast* and *standfast* we have tautological combinations.<sup>1</sup> In deference to the *a* of Arm. *hast* 'fest' we might write our start-form *pā-stho-*.

17. Under circumstances already glimpsed above (§ 12) *-sthā-* yielded *-thā-*, e. g. in *ar-[s]tha-s* 'goal' (i. e. geh-steh-platz) and *tir-[s]tha-m* 'ford' (i. e. 'crossing place'), whereas in *kā-ṣṭhā* 'goal, curriculum', consciousness of the posterius dominated at the junction point, though the start-form for Aryan must be written *\*kars-sthā* and the doubling of the *s* may be the dominant factor in the phonetic process that obtained here.<sup>2</sup>

duplicative group. As for Lat. *paries*, which Charpentier finds unexplained, there is no reason to question *pari-et-* 'circum-iens', found as early as the Twelve Tables from which Varro (l. l. 5, 22) quotes '*ambitus parietis*'. On *-et-*: Skr. *ḍtati* 'errat' see Fay, Class. Quart. 3, 275. Gothic *pwasti-pa* is *fasti-* (see § 16) affected in its initial by the group to which Eng. *th(w)ong* 'binding strap' belongs (cf. Fay, TAPA. 41, 47). For the connection of sense cf. our English proverb 'fast bind, fast find.'

<sup>1</sup> It is possible, but less likely, that this *pastyā-m* 'group' is to be connected with Lat. *positus*, *sub-postus*, etc., but the *i* of *postis* is best explained from *-sthi-* (see also Walde, s. v.).

<sup>2</sup> The primary suffix *-tha-* in Skr. may have started with *-(s)tha-*, but of the lists given by Macdonnell, Vedic gram., § 156, all nouns of rest and motion may owe their *-tha-* to irradiation from *dr-tha-s*, *tir-thā-m*, *kā-ṣṭhā*, and to words like *çay-d-[s]tha-m* 'lair', *āvasa-[s]thā-s* 'abode', *pra-vas-a-[s]tha-m* 'absence', the explanation by dissimilation might further apply. By phonetic loss of *s* in *-ksth-* (see § 12) we explain a word like *rek-[s]thā-m* 'hereditas' (i. e. 'reliqui stans'). Note the large group of words meaning 'song', etc.: e. g. *gā-thā-s*, *ud-gī-thā-s*, *gū-thā-*, *nī-thā-m*, *rau-d-tha-s* 'roar', *tveṣ-d-[s]tha-s* 'furor', *prath-a-thā-m* and *çvas-d-[s]tha-s* 'snorting', *çap-d-[s]tha-s* 'curse', *stan-d-[s]tha-m* 'thunder', *stav-a-[s]thā-s* 'praise', *uk-[s]thā-m* 'saying', in several of which the loss of *s* by dissimila-



18. A special paragraph among the names of places is due to Lat. *infestus* 'periculosus, nocens', which originated by coalescence, with thematic flexion, from the groups *\*in fae[s]-stōd*, *\*in faes-stom*, wherein *\*fa[y]es-sto-* is sound for sound identical with Skr. *bhaya[s]-stha-* 'periculosus locus' (§ 14). The start-form of the prius was *\*bhāyes-*, from the root *bhēy* 'ferire', cf. *pavor* 'fright', *pavēre* 'to be struck with fear': *pavit* 'strikes' (see Fay, AJPh. 26, 180). Skr. *bhayā-* 'fear' is from *bhāyā-*, but *bhiyās-* from *bhiyēs-*, *bhāyate*, with secondary accent, from *\*bhāyétai* (cf. OBulg. *boya* 'timeo'). For the long diphthong cf. Skr. *bhi-* forms.<sup>1</sup> In Latin, *bhāyes-* gave *faēs-* (cf. *aēnus* from *ayēs-nos*), whence in composition (cf. *profecto* from *pro factōd*) *in-fē(s)-stus*. For a typical locution let us take Cicero, Planc. 1 (cited also by Nonius, 29, 11), *si huius salus ob eam causam esset infestior* (i. e. in periculosiore loco = 'more endangered'). This shows how the sense of 'endangered' would have arisen. The sense of 'dangerous' might have arisen in a turn like *haec res mihi in \*festum* (cf. *in usum*) *erit*, or in an ablative turn like *res in periculo* [replace by *\*festo*] *vertitur* (Plautus) 'the business becomes dangerous'.

#### POSTURE AND POSITION.

19. A large number of words with a posterius in *-stho-* 'stans' indicate posture or position,<sup>2</sup> to construe these terms rather widely, both as regards the abstract and the concrete, and to include words like Skr. *prati-ṣṭhī-s* 'wider-stand', *ava-sthā* 'abstand' Lith. *at-stū* 'procul' (i. e. 'apstans'), Lat. *praestō* (advb.) 'in readiness',—also Greek *ἑξαστις*<sup>3</sup> 'pile' i. e. outstanding threads of cloth,

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tion was possible. For the relation of *[s]thd-m* in these words to the root *st(h)u-* | *stha-* see § 20, and cf. on *στόμα* 'mouth', *στωμύλος* 'dicax' below (§ 66). For the propriety of the posterius *stho-* in *yū-thd m* 'herd', see on Frankish *sunni-sta* (§§ 14, 76). After the phonetic loss of *s* in *rik-[s]thd-m* and *rek-[s]thdm* merely formal analogy might have reduced *yū-[s]thdm* to its actual form.

<sup>1</sup> To this root belongs pre-Germ. *bai-no-m* 'bone', 'fractum, scissum', to wit, of the marrow bones as broken for food in neolithic times (§ 67).

<sup>2</sup> In PW.<sup>1</sup> Skr. *-stha-* is defined by 'stehend, sitzend, wohnend, weilend, befindlich; sich befindend; bei etwas seiend, beschäftigt mit, abliegend, ergeben. Cf. also § 81 fn. ('plenus').

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that *ἑξα-* is not from *ἑξ-av(a)-*, but that it belongs with *ἑξω* as *ἀνά* with *ἀνω*, *κατά* with *κάτω*. Thus *ἐφ-εξῆς* 'seriatim' (cf. Walde<sup>2</sup>, s. v. series) is from *ἐπ'* + *\*εχσης* : *\*ēghes* 'binding, border, boundary', (cf. Skr. *stambh*, etc.:



cf. Catullus 64, 318, *lanea - - morsa - | quae prius in levi fuerant exstantia filo*), λεπα(σ)-στή 'limpet-shaped drinking cup', doubtless resembling the limpet in having a foot (base) to stand on.<sup>1</sup> Other names of pieces of furniture are κί-στη 'box, chest' (κι- : κεῖται, cf. κοίτη 'chest, bed') and Skr. *pró-ṣṭha-s* 'bench'<sup>2</sup> (*pro-* with a *u*-diphthong, strong grade to *u* in πρύ-τανις, cf. Thess. προῦ-τος 'primus' (?) and IE. '*prōw-yōn-*' in Walde<sup>3</sup>, s. v. *prōvincia*; see also Fay, AJPh. 31, 424 for the definition of *\*prow-yen-* as 'foregoing'). In Skr. *sv-āsa-stha-s* (=in bona sella sedens) note the change of posture, as compared, e. g. with *prati-ṣṭhā-s* 'fest-ste-hend'. We saw above (§ 6) that Skr. *ni-ṣṭhā-* 'adducens' (but cf. *puru-nī-ṣṭhā'-s* 'vor vielen hervorragend') expressed causative motion, and motion is expressed—thanks to the preverbs—in *pra-sthā-na-m* 'profectio': Vedic *pra-sthā-van-* (voc. only), 'proficiscens; celer', *anu-ṣṭhā-* (plur. only) 'auf einander folgend' and *sañi-stha-s* 'obviam iens'; also cf. μετανάστης 'land-louper, lustror' (§ 86). In *urdhva-thā* (advb.) 'erecte' *-thā-* is for *-sthā* (see § 17, fn.).

20. In the Avesta *aršta-* means 'erectus', and may be regarded as containing *or-*: Lat. *ortus* + *sthō-s*, unless we write a start-form *\*ordh(w)o-dh(ə)tos*, whence with haplologic shortenings Av. *aršta-* and Lat. *ōrsus*. Nearest of kin to Av. *an-aivya-ā-sti-* 'nulum coitum habens' is Skr. *upa-ā + sthā* 'coitum habere (cum)'. Av. *paiti-ṣti-š* (*paiti-a-sti-š*, *paitiyā-sti-š*), used as a technical term

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ap. Uhlenbeck), (?) ὀχανον 'band' (Fay, TAPA. 41, 50; 32), to which add ἔχεται in the sense of 'clings' (i. e. fixes oneself to), v. Liddell and Scott, s. v. C. 1-5. But this root *ēgh-* 'to bind' is thoroughly mixed with the root *segh-* in the flexion of ἔχω. A weak stage of *\*ēghs* 'border' may be found in σχ-ερός 'row', but in Hesychius ἀκτὴ, αἰγιαλός. Did σχ-ερός first mean 'borderland' (-ερος : ἐραζε 'earthward', see Fay, JAOS. 27, 402), with evanescence of 'land'? cf. Σχερίη, name of a sort of Ultima Thule among the Greek frontier islands.

<sup>1</sup>Or cf. Skr. *sthāld-m* 'shell' with the posterius -στή?

<sup>2</sup>The definition 'bench' may be admitted on the basis of Tait. Brah. II. 7, 17, 1, as cited by Ludwig in his Rig Veda, 5, p. 401, but in his translation (II. No. 908=R. V. vii, 55, 8) he rendered *proṣṭhe-ṣa-yās* (nom. plur. fem.) by "die im vorgebäude—liegen". In RV. 10, 60, 5 *rdtha-proṣṭha-* is a proper name, and it would be curious indeed if it did not mean 'curru-praestantiam-habens'. With *-sthā-* as used in this group we should of course compare, for the meaning, Eng. *stool* and its kin (see also § 15, fn.).

<sup>3</sup>Do Attic πνευμένης, Ion. πρηυμένης 'benignus' contain *prēw*? Cf. Skr. *pramdnas-*, same sense.



to describe the silent attention of a second person to another's Gātha recitation, reminds of Fr. *assister à* 'adesse alicui'. In the by-forms the *ā* may be a second preverb, but it may be due to association with some Iranian cognate of Skr. *abhy-ās-a-s* 'wiederholung, studium'. In *paityā-star-* 'studiosus' we have a doublet of *\*paityā-stā* after the fashion of *raθaē-štar-* | *raθaē-štā-* (§ 80). A posterius from *-stho-s* is also found in *kī-stā-s* 'poet' (RV.) from *\*kīr-stā-s*, whereof the prius is either cognate with *kīrī-s* 'poet' or contains *gīr-* 'song' affected by *kīrī-s* + *-st(h)o-s* with transitive sense, quasi *or(di)nans*. Here we may think of *στῆσαι χορόν* and of the choric *στάσιμον* (cf. Germ. *stollen*, Eng. *stanza*), and the question will arise whether Skr. *stu-*<sup>1</sup> 'laudare' is not a specialized sense, allocated to a special grade-form, of the root *sthewā-* | *sthā-*, cf. the specialized sense of *στύω* 'erigo' (§ 64) and the Avestan prius *stož-* 'stiff'. Or the posterius of *kī-stās* may be connected in sense with the posterius of Av. *paityā-star-* 'studiosus' and mean something like 'sciens', cf. *ἐπίσταμαι*, Germ. *verstehen*, Eng. *understand*. A start-form *\*kīr-stra-s*, whence *\*kī-strās* *kī-stās* (see Wackernagel, ai. Gram., I, 145 b., anm. for *ṣṭr-* | *ṣṭ-*) might account perhaps for *-st-* (not *ṣṭ-*) in *kīstā-s*. Otherwise, the only assumption short of dialectic irregularity that I can adduce is the assumption of the reintroduction of *s* into *\*kīr<s>tha-s* after its normal loss (see § 12).

21. The Avesta also has *van̥harə-šta-* 'in vesti stans' (whence 'vestitur'), and from this starting point we realize how Lat. *onu(s)stus* may have meant something like 'in onere stans'; *fidusta* 'ea quae maximae fidei erant' (Festus, 64) and *confoedusti* 'foedere coniuncti' (ib. 28) would have meant 'in foedere stans'. This type does not really differ from the type of *scelestus* (§ 82) and with *scelestus* and *fidustus* before our eyes we see how *sublestus*, synonymous with the former and a counter-term to the latter, arose. Here it is possible to operate with the formal pair *levi-s* (adj.) : *\*leves-* 'lightness' :: Skr. *mahi-* 'magnus' : *māhas-* 'magnitudo', and derive our adjective from *\*sub-leve(s)-stus*. Cf. Acc. 86, where *mulier funestā veste* = quae in veste funerali stat.

<sup>1</sup> The loss of aspiration in *st(h)u-* would be due to the impv. *stuh!* (27 times in RV. against 29 other *stu-* presents) and to extensions by determinatives as in Skr. *stu-bh-* 'laudare'.



22. A posterius from the root *sthāy-* may also be recognized in the following :

(a) Lith. *pė'scza-s* 'zu Fuss befindlich', which Brugmann (Gr<sup>1</sup>. I. § 912, 3) derives from *\*pēd-tyo-s*, but *\*pēd-sthyo-s* 'fuss-stehend' is a more intelligible start-form, being a counter-term to *πεζός* 'pede iens' (§ 3), and parallel with *rathe-ḡthā-* 'chariot-fighter' (lit. '-stander'), describing another arm of the military service (see § 79).

23. (b). Greek *ἀνωιστί* (advb.), *ἀνώιστον* (n. adj.). These occur in Homer as follows :

(1) δ 92, ἀδελφεὸν ἄλλος ἔπεφνεν  
λάθρη, ἀνωιστί, δόλφ οὐλομένης ἀλόχοιο.

(2) Φ 39, τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀνώιστον κακὸν ἦλυθε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

In (1) the sequence after *λάθρη* warrants taking *ἀνωιστί* also as meaning in general 'furtim' and 'inapertum' (cf. in Silius Italicus *fraudique inaperta senectus*), which is fairly adequate for *ἀνώιστον* in (2), while Germ. 'nicht offen-stehend' seems a perfectly appropriate starting point for a definition ending in 'unexpected'. Accordingly I regard *ἀν-ωιστί* as a negative compound closely akin to Skr. *āvi[s]-ḡtṛya-* 'offen-stehend' (see § 6 fn.). The posterius *-στῖ* might be instrumental to *\*-sthi-*s, unless it is a locative with *ī*, or secondarily lengthened *ī* (cf. on the flexion of long-vowel monosyllables—not attested for the locative in RV, see Whitney, Gr<sup>1</sup>. § 351—Fraenkel in KZ. 42, 241 sq.). [Thus *ἀνωιστί* has no relation to *δίω* 'opīnor, ich glaube', which is from the preverb *o-* (recognized by some in *o-pīnor*, see Brugmann, Gr<sup>1</sup>. II. 2, § 634) + the root of *ἔμαι* 'cupio'. So in Eng. *be-lieves*, Germ. *glaubt* we have compounds of preverbs + the root of Eng. *loves*, Germ. *liebt*. Similarly *opīnor* (87 times in Plautus against 3 other forms, cf. also *opīnio*) is from *\*ob* + *wī-nor* (cf. Eng. 'I ween'), whence *op(p)īnor* by the "law of mamilla" (see Fay in Class. Quart. 1, 25, page 1, 26). The *σ* of *ώισθην, ώισθη, δισθείς* is secondary as in *γνωστός* (Homer), *έγνώσθην*. The complete synonymy of *δίω opīnor* and 'I ween', taken in connection with their parenthetic syntax, demands admission of their cognation.]

24. (c.) *μεγαλωσιτί*. The Homeric usage of this adverb is as follows: *κεῖτο (κεῖσο) μέγας μεγαλωσιτί* (Π, 776, ω 40) and *μ. μ. τανυσθείς* (Σ 26), and its sense is 'super magnam distantiam'. The prius has a lengthened *o* at the junction-point (cf. Brugmann, Gr<sup>1</sup>. I. § 544, 2; II, 1, 80) and the posterius is either a locative *-στῖ*, or a neuter expressing extent of space, though it is not im-



possible that the posterius is *-sph(ə)li-* 'spatium' in composition (: *σπι-δής* 'spatiosus', also from the root *sphē(y)-*).<sup>1</sup>

25. (d.) Lith. *auksztas* 'altus' suggests *aug-sł(h)o-s* 'in-might-standing', whereas Lat. *augu(s)stus*, in view of Skr. *apnāh-stha-s* 'opum potens', suggests rather the definition 'vigoris potens', cf. § 82.

26. (e.) Lat. *manufē-stus* 'in manibus stans' has in its prius a lost locative ending in *-fe*, cognate with the ending of *ibei ubei*. For the *e* cf. on *caelestis* (§ 84). The *f* may be due to misdivision as *manu-fēstus*. For the sense cf. (with *esse*, not *stare*) Sallust, Jug., 14, 4, *neque mihi in manu fuit* ('obvious, clear', so Lewis and Short) Jugurtha qualis foret; Cicero, Sest., 69, *quae cum res iam manibus teneretur* ("was certain, evident").<sup>2</sup>

27. (f) *ἀγχι-στίνος* 'prope stans', used in Homer of corpses lying piled together. I compare the posterius *-στίνος* directly with *stīmā-s* (AV. 11, 8, 34), used of 'stagnant' waters (see § 5). The *ν* and the *m* are, under different accentual conditions, equally the product of *mn* in the participial start-form *\*stīmnas* 'stans': *st(h)āy-* (§ 4). I am not oblivious of Brugmann's derivation (Gr<sup>1</sup>. II. 1, 276) from *ἀγχιστο-* (§ 43), but in this as in several words following *-st(h)īno-s* seems to me an integer.

28. (g) *προμνη-στίνος* 'prae manu stans'. Hoffmann's analysis of this word (conveniently synopsisized in Prellwitz, s. v. and by

<sup>1</sup> Not every adverb in *-στῖ* contains a form of *-sthā*, e. g. *μελεῖστί* 'limb-meal, limb-from-limb', with posterius *-φιστί* 'division' from the root *vid(h)-* of *di-videre* (see Fay, AJPh. 26, 381-2) cf. Poetam ab. Cic. N. D. 3, 67, *membraque articulatim dividit*. In OBulg. *očī-vistī* 'augenscheinlich, offenbar', we have a comparable derivative from the root of *vidēre*.

<sup>2</sup> Lat. *manubiae* 'booty' could also be derived from a locative *manubī*, employed first with *capta* (cf. the glossic definition by *manu capta*) and extended on the analogy of *induviae*, *exuviae*. This leaves the term. tech. of the augural ritual unaccounted for, wherein *manubiae* is the designation of varieties of lightning' (Festus, de Ponor, 92, 15). This passage almost demands that we take *-biae* in the sense of 'strokes': *bhēy-* 'to strike' (Fay, AJPh. 32, 403 sq.). The sense of 'booty' will then derive from the verbal sense 'to get by striking' (see AJPh. 26, 193; Cl. Quart., 1, 29, *ἀπρὸς* of Lat. *hostus* 'produce'). But we might start with *\*manu-būjāe*, refashioned after *induviae exuviae*, with posterius from *\*bhūdyā-*: Germ. *beute* (see Kluge, s. v.). The root *bhū-d-* found in Eng. *beat* (see also below, § 54, on *fustis* 'club') is cognate with *bhēy-*. Thus both explanations of *-biae* unite in a root *bhēy-* | *bhōw-(d)-* 'ferire', to which OIr. *būaid* 'victoria, praeda' would be allied; cf. OBulg. *do-bytī* = 'fenus (?praeda), victoria.'



Brugmann, l. s. c.) is positively brilliant—si non é vero, é ben trovato—but \*ἡ πρόμνηστος of “a lady before whom pass her wooers one by one”—as at the wooing of Helen, the wooing of Damayanti—is, after all, a somewhat airy reconstruction, and I prefer soberly to compare \*προμνης, an old local genitive (see Brugmann, l. c. II. 2, § 504) in composition (see also § 50) with *eminus comminus*.<sup>1</sup> The stem was *m(a)nā*, i. e. *man-* + *ā* as *μάρη* is *mar-* + *ā*. The definition of *προμνηστῖνοι* by ‘prae manu stantes’ entirely suits the only two occurrences of the word, viz.:

- (1) φ 230, ἀλλὰ προμνηστῖνοι ἐσέλθετε, μηδ' ἅμα πάντες,  
πρῶτος ἐγώ, μετὰ δ' ὕμμες.

Here, as the context shows, ἐσέλθετε is inclusive of the speaker who says, in the loose Homeric way, “but go we in standing-close (*προμνηστῖνοι*), but not all together, I ahead, ye twain behind”, and vv. 242–244 record the reëntry of Odysseus, followed by the joint entry of his two thralls.

- (2) λ 232–234, οὐκ εἶων πίνειν ἅμα πάσας αἶμα κελαινόν.  
αἱ δὲ προμνηστῖναι ἐπήισαν, ἥδὲ ἐκάστη  
δὲ γόνον ἐξαγόρευεν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐρέεινον ἀπάσας.

Homer, no more than Virgil, tells all the incidents. Here we read between the lines that telling her story was a condition precedent before any one of the heroines might drink of the blood offering. Odysseus with drawn sword made all come and stand close before him (*προμνηστῖναι*), each to tell her tale severally<sup>2</sup> before being dismissed to drink her share of the blood.

29. (h) Lat. *clandestinus*, from *clamde-* ‘in occulto’ (see Thes. L. L. III, 1246, 3 for the adverb *clamde*) + *-stinus*. The word was as old as the Twelve Tables in the locution *coitiones clandestinae*.

- (i) Lat. *media-stinus*, see § 80.

(j) Lat. *libertinus* is as likely to contain original *-stinus*, as to be an extension of *liber(s)tus* ‘frei-stehend’ (§ 12).

- (k) Lat. *intestina*. See § 74 b.

<sup>1</sup> I do not follow Brugmann (Gr<sup>2</sup>. II. 2, 768) in taking these as nominatives, but start with \**ἔ man-os* (gen. abl.) ‘from the hand, afar’ \**com man-os* ‘sequens (§ 36, fn.) a manu’ (cf. OBulg. *съ* ‘cum’ (with instrum.), but ‘de’ (with gen.). In these coalescents we have a consonant stem *man-* that has been invoked to explain Lat. *mal-luvium* ‘hand-washing’: Umbr. *man-f* (acc. plur.).

<sup>2</sup> I think I should hardly be going too far to render ἐκάστη by ‘standing apart’ [from \**ἐκα(σ)* + *στη* as Joh. Schmidt long ago recognized (cf. Fraenkel, KZ. 42, 245)].



## NUMERALS WITH -STHO-S 'STANS'.

30. In AJPh. 31, 415 sq. I presented an account of the names of the numerals from three to nine as names of the digits<sup>1</sup> and for the first time, so far as I am aware, suggested that the ordinals were likely to be prior to the cardinals, that *sextus* '6th' might be prior to *sex* '6'.<sup>2</sup> In briefly restudying some of these ordinals it will be necessary to bear constantly in mind the use of -*stho-s* also to describe certain fingers and other parts of the body (§§ 59 sq. ; 75).

31. The Italo-Celtic start-form *tri-sthos* 'tertius' (cf. *\*tri-sthis* in Lat. *testis* 'tercero, le tiers assistant', and note Pomponius, 143 (Ribb.<sup>3</sup>) *te . . solum foras | seduxi ut ne quis esset testis tertius | praeter nos*) was defined as 'tip-stander', used of the third finger (of the left hand) as the tallest. Parallels for this definition from American Indian tongues are Zuni *ha'i* '3' (=the equally dividing finger), Chippeway *nisswi* '3', said to be closely related to *nawi-nindj* 'middle of the hand', Montagnais *t'are* '3' (= 'the middle is bent', referring to count by depression of the fingers<sup>4</sup>), while the Ewe tongue of Africa designates '3' by *eto* = 'father' ("from the middle or longest finger").<sup>4</sup> See also on '8', § 40.

32. The start-form for '5' I wrote as *\*pen[g]-kwe* = 'thumb and' or 'hand and' (*peng-* = 'grasper'). I would now eliminate 'thumb' as a possibility, perhaps,—at least Conant's materials may be said hardly to warrant the notion that the thumb, rather than the whole hand or fist, gave the name of this numeral. The argument for the fist (see § 35) seems much strengthened by noting Av. *puxda-* '5th' which comes quite normally from *pug-stho-s* (: Lat. *pugnus* 'fist') 'fist-standing', where *sthos* may describe the fist as held up to indicate the numerals—unless *sthos* has come by irradiation from the other ordinals. Here cf. OBulg. *pesti* 'fist' from *\*pukst<h>is* : Lith. *kūmstė*

<sup>1</sup> In Botocudo *podsik* means 'finger', but also 'one', and *kripo* '2' means 'double finger' (Conant, *The Number Concept*, p. 48).

<sup>2</sup> In the *Handbook of Amer. Ind. Languages*, p. 1048, it is expressly remarked that *arvingat* '6' in the tongue of the Labrador Eskimos "corresponds to the Greenland ordinal *arFerðat* THE SIXTH"; and that Labrador *agge* '2' = Greenland *arLaa* '2d'.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes (see *Handb. Am. Ind. I.*, 354) the count started with the clenched hand and the fingers were opened as counted. After this fashion *\*tri(s)sthos* might have meant 'the tip is standing' (see § 10 fn.).

<sup>4</sup> These statements are taken from Conant, l. s. c. pp. 48, 62, 53, 92.





(=*\*kūmpstē* < v. Brugmann, Gr<sup>1</sup>. I. 410, anm. >) —produkt proethnischer vermischung der durch lat. pugnus und ai. *muſtīh* vertretenen sippen unter hereinspielen der wurzel von ahd. *fēhtan*<sup>1</sup> (Niederman, IF. 26, 45). Polynesian *lima* 'hand' also = '5' (Encycl. Brit., II, p. 117).

33. With the start-form *\*pñkst(h)i-s* before us let us look at Skr. *pañktī-s* (acc. plur.) in RV. 10, 117, 8 (=AV. 13, 3, 25, with unimportant variants). In stanzas 1–7 of this hymn, but with some vagueness in stz. 7, the poet sings the praises of a bounteous giver. In stz. 8 *pādas* a b c d run in Latin as follows:

8a unipes [i. e. Sol] magis bipede progressus est  
b bipes tripedem [i. e. cum baculo euntem] anteit a  
tergo [sc. proficiscens]

c quadrupes venit bipedum vocatu

d conspicatus *pañktīh* adgrediens [sc. est].

What are the *pañktīs* at the sight of which the quadrupeds approach? The hands, I assume, of their biped masters. Thus *pañktīs* (in. AV. *pañ(k)tīm*, acc. sg.) is a riddle word like *tripedem* (Skr. *tripādam*) in b, and the next stanza starts off assuming the answer to the riddle with the words:

9a. similes tamen manus [Skr. *hāstāu*, dual] non simile laborant:

Wherefore I rede the riddle thus: the pet quadruped seeing his master's raised hands approaches to find that one hand contains some dainty, the other not. And this is the whole content of stz. 9 which goes on to rehearse the difference of the two hands, of cöuterine milk-cows, of twins, of near kinsmen, in point of toil, yield, strength and generosity. Only in the light of stz. 9 does stz. 8 mean anything and then only by interpreting *pañktīs* as explained by *hāstāu*. The *pādas* of stz. 9 are isolated in the Vedic literature and must have been composed for the identical place where we find them. On the other hand, stz. 8 appears in AV. rubricated in a sun hymn (*ab* twice so rubricated), and the only propriety of their usage lies in the initial word *ēkapāt*,<sup>1</sup> a riddling name for the sun. The stanza was an ancient riddle, take it, and the three points to guess out were what is *ēkapāt* (unipes), what is *tripādam* (tripedem), what are the *pañktī-s*; and as the last question was overhard, inasmuch as the concrete sense

<sup>1</sup> This sort of rubrication of Vedic stanzas is very common in the ritual literature (see p. 22 of my dissertation, The RV. Mantras in the Grhya-sūtras).



of *pañkti-* had waned before its numeral sense, the next stanza (9) went on with *hástāu* to give a clue, and it is only when we closely combine stz. 8 with stz. 9 that the former reveals any connection with the hymn on giving bounty.

34. We best understand the use of *pañkti-* as 'row, series' (the habitual rendering in the passage discussed above) if we start with the sense of 'hand', cf. below (§ 35) on Montagnais *se-sunla-re* '5' = the row on the hand, and note that the Nengones call 10 *rewe tubenine* = 2 series (of fingers), v. Conant, Numeral Concept, p. 63.

35. Conant's collections do not explicitly reveal the identification of the thumb with 5 anywhere, but a method of pricing still in vogue in the East gesticulates 6 (or 60) by combining the thumb with the little finger (Conant, p. 18) and, unless it stands for hand, one of the two fingers—for in some systems of digital count the little finger is five (on Banks Island, e. g. Conant, p. 16) and the thumb 1—indicates 5 and the other 1. The Zuñi word for 5, *öpte*, means 'notched off', and this is a most appropriate designation of the thumb (cf. on Skr. *aṅgū-sthā-s*, § 61), but Conant interprets "notching off" as "stopping" (p. 48). In the Klamath count one closed fist indicates 5 and both fists closed 10 (p. 59), and the gesture for 10 is the same on Banks Island (p. 16). Montagnais 5 is *se-sunla-re* = the row on the hand (p. 53). Tamanac 5 is *amgnaitone* = one hand complete (p. 55). Betoya 5 is *teente* = hand (p. 57). The Maipures say *papitaerri capiti* = one only hand for 5 (p. 56). In Zamuco 5 is *tsuenayimana-ite* = ended one hand (p. 56), and Karankawa 5 is *natsa behema* = one father (see §§ 31, 41), i. e. of the fingers (p. 69), which looks like a designation of the thumb from its strength. Jiviro 5 is *alacötegladu* = one hand (p. 61), and Vilelo 5 is *isig-nisle-yaagit* = hand fingers one (p. 60). In Pawnee the word for 5 generally refers to one hand or foot (Handbook of Amer. Indians, p. 353). Another designation of 5, better suited to 10 in the Indo-European system (see AJPh. 31, 422), is Algonquin *nahran* = gone (p. 161); cf. Massachusetts *napanna* '5' = on one side (p. 159) and Tlingit *ké'djín* '5' = up-hand (Handbook of Amer. Ind. Languages, p. 198). [In Pawnee 4 is 'all the fingers, thumb excluded', see Hdbk. Am. Indians, p. 353].

36. The Indo-European start-form for 6th-6 was *ksw-ek[s]-stho-s*, from still earlier *skū-* 'with' + *eks* 'out' + *stho-s* 'stand-



ing'.<sup>1</sup> Prior to the development of Skr. *ṣaṣṭhā-s* '6th' there had been an assimilation of the start-form to *ks(w)-ek[s]-stho-s* whence, with continued assimilation of the *ks* groups, *ṣaṣṭhā-s*. In Av. *xštva-* '6th' we have the start-form *ks(w)[eks]th<w>o-*<sup>2</sup> with a haplologic shortening as in Lat. *exta* from *\*exsecta*, but *xšwaš* '6' is normal from *\*ksweks*, shortened from *\*kswek[s]-sthos* (see AJPh. 31, 420). From the same short form, with assimilation, viz.: *ks(w)eks*, comes Lith. *šesz-i* '6', whereas OBulg. *šestī* '6' is from *(k)s(w)-ek[s]-sthi-s* '6th', a precious instance of ordinal form (*-sthis*: *sthos* as in Lat. *testis* 'le tiers assistant': Osc. *trstus* 'testes', OIr. *triss* 'tertius') in cardinal<sup>3</sup> function, cf. the ordinal *šestū* (posterius, *-stho-s*) and § 30 fn. 2. The posterius *-sthi-s* with loss of aspiration appears in Skr. *ṣaṣṭi-s*<sup>4</sup> '60' (see § 35 for an identical digital gesture for 6 = 60). From *šestī -tī* spreads to other numerals in Old Bulgarian, e. g. *petī* 5, *devetī* 9, *deszetī* 10. Nearest of kin to OBulg. *šestī* is Alban. *g'ašte* from *\*sest-* with some sort of *-iyo-* suffix (cf. Lat. *Sestius*, Skr. *ṣaṣṭhya-s* 'sexta pars'). This *sest-* comes let us say from *(k)s(w)ek[s]-sthyā*<sup>4</sup> (fem., cf. Skr. *ṣaṣṭhī*) whence, with corresponding treatment by assimilation of the *ks* groups, *\*sesthyā*.

<sup>1</sup> The preposition *skā-* is from the root of Lat. *sequor* 'I follow', *socius* 'companion' (cf. *secū-tus* 'following'), with a proethnic metathesis to *ksu-* in Greek *ξύ-ν* and the tautological *μεταξύ* 'between' (cf. Lat. *circumcirca* and, with adverbial sense, *πρόσπερι*; also Eng. *roundabout*). Another preposition from this root was *\*skwom* 'with', which had lost its *s-* proethnically in combinations such as that exhibited in Umbr. *veris-co* = *portis-cum* (with the sense of *apud portas*), wherein *-skwom*, following an instr. plural in *-s*, lost its own *s-*. The velar of *s)kwom* is attested in Welsh *prwy* (*prwy gilydd* = 'ad suum comitem' [v. Thurnysen, Hdbch., p. 456], an admirable example to illustrate the cognation of *prwy* [from *(s)kwom*] with *secundum*). Old Latin *quom* 'with' also attests *kw* (*kw*). This *(s)kwo(m)* alternated with *(s)kwo-* or *(s)ku-*. Volscian *co-uehriu* = Lat. *curia* (from *\*co-uārio-*) may have been dissimilated from *k(w)o-wīria* (cf. *subsecivus* 'sequens' from *-sek(w)lwo-s*). From *kwo-* as well as from *\*kwom* we may derive OBulg. *kā* 'erga, secundum', and *\*kwo* may have been dissimilated to *ku-* proethnically, carrying with it *k(w)o-m*. Further prepositions from the root *sek-* are collected by Brugmann, Gr<sup>2</sup>. II. 2, 894.

<sup>2</sup> This *<w>* belongs to the root as found in Skr. *sthāvard-s* 'stans', I conjecture. Whitney (Roots, etc.) cites *-sthāva* as a posterius, see on octāvus, § 40.

<sup>3</sup> G. Meyer identified Alban. *g'ašte* '6' with Skr. *ṣaṣṭi-s* '60' (v. KZ. 36, 284).

<sup>4</sup> G. Meyer identified *-te* with Lith. *-ti*, OBulg. *ti* (Alb. Stud. II, 51, 69 sq.), but the identification with *-ti(yā)* is also possible as in *pese* (= *\*pe(n)ktyā*) '5'.



Alban. *št* in *g'ašte* cannot come from  $\hat{k}st(h)$ - as *djaθte* = OBulg. *destŭ* 'dexter', with *θt* from  $\hat{k}st$ -, clearly shows. As Meyer (Woert. s. v.) pronounces *djaθte* a precise equation with OBulg. *destŭ*, *g'ašte* may perhaps come from  $*sest(h)o-s$ .

37. For the designation of '6' by the second thumb there is much warrant in Conant's collections, as follows: Besides general statements that 6=either the right little finger or more often the right thumb (p. 16), note for '6' Jiviro *intimutu*=thumb [of second hand] (p. 61), Zamuco *tsomara-hi*=one on the other [hand omitted] (p. 56), Maipures *papita yana pauria capiti pureva*=one of the other hand we take (p. 56), Zulu *tatisitupa*=taking the thumb (Encyc. Brit. II. p. 117). Of curious interest (p. 92) is Ewe *ade* '6'=the other going (cf. *de* '1'=a going, i. e. a beginning and Zuni *töpinte* '1'=taken to start with, forms which suggest that IE. *oino*- 'one' also meant 'a going'. With these examples before us the explanation of IE.  $(k)s(w)-ek[s]-sthos$  as 'co-ex-stans,' descriptive of the second thumb in an enumeration, seems to me substantially demonstrated, especially as the tongues that designate 6 by 'thumb' are like Indo-European also in not necessarily indicating 5 by the other thumb. If one reflects on the perfect propriety of co-ex-stans for 'thumb' (see § 3); and that the complicated start-form *ksw-ek(s)-sthos* yields, without any sort of forcing, this definition; and that the simple assumption of continued assimilation between the *ks* groups accounts for the Protean forms of this numeral in the derived languages, he must attach little value to the thing called common sense if he still chooses to shrug out a cry of accidental coincidence.

38. In the *th* of Skr. *caturthā-s* '4th' we have the best of testimony that the original start-form ended in *-r-stho-s* (AJPh. 31, 418; supra, § 12). Sanskrit was the only language that could have yielded this evidence, and it does so by its *-th*-. Cf. also *saptā-tha-s* '7th', Av. *hapta-θa*-, with incontiguous *s*- dissimilation from  $*septm-stho-s$ .

39. This exhausts the numerals of the first decade wherein *-stho-s* 'standing' is traceable, but a few remarks may be added on the others. For the possible semantic and other connections between IE. 4 and 7 (see Fay, l. c. §§ 37, 38, 45) note that in the Muralug system of Torres Strait, where 7 is the left and 13 the right elbow, these numbers have a joint name=elbow, and only the touching of the one or the other makes clear which is meant (Conant, p. 17-18). Not infrequently 7 is the 2d finger of the



2d hand (Hdbk. Am. Ind. I. 353). In Tsimshian, 7 (= *t'epqall*) is the 2d 2 (= *tepqat*), but is pronounced in the Handbook Am. Ind. Lang., which employs a different transliteration, the same as 2 (p. 397; Conant, p. 164) cf. also Labrador *aggártut* '7': *agga* '2' (Hdbk., p. 1048). For the identification of 7 with the index finger cf. Jiviro *tannituna* (Conant, p. 61). In Zulu "the verb *kombi* 'to point', indicating the forefinger, or 'pointer', makes the next numeral, seven—and a Zulu would say *U kombile* 'he pointed with his forefinger', i. e. 'he gave me seven'" (Conant, p. 62)—all of which makes for the connection of Lat. *septem* with *sapio* (see AJPh. 31, 487), but rather in the sense of 'I am wise'. In Navaho the index finger is *hála tsōsts'ēdi* = *digitus septimus*, though the Franciscan Fathers in their elaborate work on this tongue elsewhere say that this tribe began the count of the second pentad with the little finger of the right hand, not the thumb.

40. In my discussion of the numeral 8th—8 the point on which I laid most weight was the analysis of *dydoos* into *ok̂* 'tip' + *dwoyos* 'bis'. I omitted to mention Skr. *açtī-s* '80', wherein I see a dual word *\*açtī*<sup>1</sup> = 'two tips' + a *-ti-* that irradiated from *gaçti-s* '60' (see § 36). Lat. *octō* represents a start-form *ok̂* + *dwōw* 'two', whose first *w*, in the heavy consonant group, was lost by dissimilation. The assimilation of *ked* to *ket* was due to the influence of the *pt* of the *septem*-sept. Lat. *octavus* '8th', like *dydoos*, is unique, and I could find only *prāvus* 'forward, froward' (lit. 'first') with a possibly similar ending. Perhaps we should write *\*ok̂-sthāwos* 'tip-standing' as the start-form (see § 36 fn.).

41. Yes, the really important thing in my study of 8th and 8 was the definition of *ok̂* as 'tip', describing the middle finger of the 2d hand in the digital count (see Handbook Amer. Ind., I. 353), and corresponding with *\*tri-sthos* 'tip-standing' = 3 on the first hand. Parallels for all this from the savage tongues exist in plenty. The Hudson Bay Eskimos say *kittukleemoot* (= 'middle finger') for 8 and Jiviro 8 is *tannituna cabiasu* = 'index finger next finger' (Conant, p. 61). Cheyenne *notoyos* 'middle finger' is closely related to *na-nohhtu* '8' (Conant, p. 62). Niam-Niam 8 is *batti-biata* = 2d 3 (cf. *batissa* = 2d 1, *batiw-wi* = 2d 2, *batti-biama* = 2d 4, (Conant, p. 64)). While the Karankawa used

<sup>1</sup> It may be that the Lithuanian cardinals in *-i*, from 4 to 9, correspond with *\*açtī* in their ending.



for 5 *natsa-behema* = 1 father (of the fingers), they used *haikia behema* = 2 fathers (?) for 8 (Conant, p. 69). In their 5, 'father' designates the strength of the thumb (? *pollex*, but see AJPh. 31, 419), but in 8 the length of the middle finger (cf. Ewe *eto* 'father' for 3, § 31; cf. § 35).<sup>1</sup>

42. I wrote the start-form for 9 as *ne-wenos* 'not winning' (l. c. 422), but later (p. 423, fn. 1) noted how curious it was that *new-en-de-kmt* (9-10) lent itself to interpretation as 'now-on-to-hind- (most)'. A curious illustration is furnished by Choctaw *chokali* '9' = soon the end (Conant, p. 162). Conant's lists (pp. 160 sq.) furnish plenty of examples of words implying end for 5 or for 10. Thus Delaware *tellen*, Shawnoe *metathwe*, Old Algonquin *mitas-soo*, Chippeway *metosswoy* [the three last obviously cognate] mean 'no more' or 'no further'. The Hudson Bay Eskimos use *eerkitkoka* for 10 and for 'little finger' (Conant, p. 48).

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<sup>1</sup> It may be noted for its curious interest that Skr. *giri-s* 'mons' also meant 8, the current explanation whereof is from a locality where there were eight mountains.



## II.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF HOMERIC METRE.

### II. LENGTH BY POSITION.<sup>1</sup>

The first chapter of the second part of Solmsen's *Untersuchungen zur Griechischen Laut- und Verslehre*, pp. 129–186, is entitled *Ueber metrische wirkungen und wesen des digamma*, and aims at showing that the digamma can aid in making position only under the following circumstances: (1) In the interior of a word; in other positions only (2) when the lengthened syllable is in the arsis, the lengthening being then due in reality to the force of the ictus; or (3) when the apparently lengthened syllable stands in the first or second thesis, the 'freedom' of using a single short syllable for the thesis being a privilege of the first two feet. This is a revival of the theory of Hartel, *Homerische Studien III*, *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien* 1874, lxxviii, pp. 7–87, which Solmsen has extended to include the cases of δF-, Fλ- and Fρ- and for which he has provided a new phonetic interpretation. Solmsen's conclusions have met with the approval among others of Sommer (cf. below) and of Bechtel, *Die Vocalcontraction bei Homer*, p. ix, and have been opposed, so far as I know, only by Danielsson, *Zur Lehre vom homerischen Digamma*, *IF.* xxv, 264–84, if we disregard Blass' incidental protest *Hermes*, xxxvii, 473. Convincing as I find Danielsson's argumentation, it seems to me that it is possible to strengthen it still further, and that it is desirable to do so both because of the bearing of this theory upon the Homeric question, and because the appearance of Sommer's article, *Zur griechischen Prosodie*, *Glotta*, i, 145–240, has since supposedly given new support to Solmsen's theory.

The statistics compiled by Hartel which serve as the foundation of Solmsen's argument may be exhibited in the following table<sup>2</sup>:

<sup>1</sup>See A. J. P. XXVIII 401–410.

<sup>2</sup>That they require correction in the light of our present knowledge of the range of the digamma does not affect the argument, cf. Solmsen, p. 132 n.



## The influence of initial F before a vowel:

| Is manifested |            |                         | Is not manifested |            |
|---------------|------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------------|
| In Arsis.     | In Thesis. |                         | In Arsis.         | In Thesis. |
|               |            | a) by preventing        |                   |            |
| 000           | 2324       | elision of short vowel  |                   | 324        |
| 507           | 164        | shortening of long      |                   |            |
|               |            | vowel or diphthong      | 000               | 78         |
| 359           | (46)       | b) by 'making position' | 000               | 215        |

Of the 46 instances of 'position lengthening' in the thesis 42 belong to the pronominal forms (οἱ 41, εὐ 1); while three others (P 142, Ω 419, γ 472) are in the first thesis, leaving only a single example in the second thesis: θ 215 εὖ μὲν τόξον οἶδα εὐξοον ἀμφαφάσθαι.

To these facts Solmsen demands that we shall no longer close our eyes, but endeavor to understand them scientifically. To be compared with them are the facts exhibited by the following table compiled from Solmsen, pp. 133-136, omitting the examples of λίσσομαι on account of the uncertainty of the etymology.

A short vowel before δF-, Fρ-, Fλ-:

| Is lengthened |                | Remains short |            |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|------------|
| In Arsis.     | In Thesis.     | In Arsis.     | In Thesis. |
| 122           | 4 <sup>2</sup> | 00            | 62 (63)    |

<sup>2</sup> Always in the first thesis.

On these facts Solmsen seems to have reasoned as follows, cf. p. 132: Under a) we find about 3000 cases in which the influence of the digamma is manifested, and only about 400 in which it is 'neglected'; we may therefore conclude with the vast majority of scholars that the verses containing these 400 examples were composed at a time when the digamma had vanished from the living usage of the language. Under b) and in the second table the distribution of the examples is totally different. The examples before the pronoun do not belong here, but are to be explained, p. 130: "aus der enklitischen natur des personal pronomens, kraft deren οἱ, εὐ mit dem vorhergehenden worte zu einer einheit verwachsen, fuer die nicht die behandlungsweise des aus- und anlauts, sondern die des wortinlauts massgebend ist"; the examples in the first thesis may be classed as στίχοι λαγαροί; while various explanations can be given for θ 215. For in the first place emendation -τόξον γ' οἶδα- is extremely easy; or, secondly, the irregularity may be debited to the "spæetling" who composed this part of the Odyssey; or, finally, cf. Rh. M. 60. 492, it may



be taken as an indication that the second foot also has its special privileges. Setting aside these 50 examples we see that 'position is made' 481 times in the arsis, never in the thesis; while 'position is neglected' never in the arsis, but 277 (278) times in the thesis. Under these circumstances it seems proper to ascribe the lengthening in the arsis to the force of the arsis (ictus), and to regard the syllables remaining short in the thesis as representing the language's natural treatment of a syllable ending in a short vowel before the combinations of consonants in question. The problem thus reduces itself to the question: Why do not -ν F-, -ρ F-, -ς F- have the same effect on the preceding syllable which -ν π-, -ρ τ-, -ς κ-, etc., exert.

The explanation is to be found by giving heed to the doctrines long since established by the science of Phonetics. According to Sievers<sup>4</sup>, § 651 (= <sup>5</sup>, § 709) the essential thing in a syllable 'long merely by position' is that one or more consonants belonging to the syllable shall follow after its short vocalic element. Consequently if a group of consonants can be drawn to the following syllable, the quantity of the preceding syllable will remain unaffected. Whether this is possible or not will depend upon the relative 'sonority' of the consonants. For, according to Sievers<sup>4</sup>, § 490 ff. (= <sup>5</sup>, § 527 ff.) there must be a rise of sonority from the beginning of the syllable to its vocalic element. Now the digamma was a semi-vowel *w*, not a spirant *v*; as such it was superior in sonority to *n*, *r*, or *s*, and consequently syllables beginning *nwa*-, *rwa*- or *swa*- are possible. Accordingly the natural pronunciation of κρήνην *Fēinas* was *krēguð-nweipās* and similarly for all other cases in the thesis. But in the arsis the force of articulation was more than usual, and hence (p. 166) it is stated: "Wenn es andererseits *Fēinās Fēnos* heisst, so ist der schliessende consonant hier in der arsis dank der besonders kraeftigen expiration, mit der diese hervorgebracht wurde, bei der vorhergehenden silbe geblieben," with which is to be compared the fuller explanation given on p. 164: "Trat diese silbe aber in die hebung, d. h. wurde der expirationsstrom, mittels dessen sie hervorgebracht wurde, verstaerkt und zugleich verlaengert, so erreichte er sein ende nicht mehr mit dem schliessenden vocale selbst, sondern umfasste auch noch den ersten laut jener verbindungen ganz oder teilweise, die silbe als solche wurde 'positione' lang".

At first sight this theory seems to provide a uniform and



simple solution for a vexatious problem ; on further examination, however, it can in my opinion be shown to be untenable. The phonetic doctrines in the first place, which are put forward with such confidence, cf. p. 161: "Die lautphysiologie hat darueber laengst klarheit geschafft, ihre lehren sind aber bei der beurtheilung metrischer phaenomene bisher nicht immer genuiegend beherzigt worden", are in fact seriously questioned by other phoneticians, as may be seen from a comparison of Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, § 209, and Scripture, *Elements of Experimental Phonetics*, p. 449 ff. The dualism of Sievers' theory which defines the syllable now as the portion of sound uttered with a single puff of breath (so that e. g. *body* may be a single syllable) and again as the portion of sound lying between two sound minima (so that *body must* be two syllables) is justly criticised by Jespersen. For Solmsen's purpose it is, however, indispensable because he must operate both with a division /*nwa*- on the principle of sonority and again with a division *n-wa*- on the breath-puff principle, cf. also the double treatment of  $\pi\alpha/\tau\rho\acute{o}s$  and  $\pi\tau\rho\acute{o}s$ . Furthermore Jespersen states that the principle of sonority can determine only the summits of the syllables, and is not of the least help in determining where one syllable ends and the next begins. Indeed, the reality of such divisions, when there is 'close contact', is to be denied, cf. § 205: "Das einzige was hier (i. e. in *feste*) vorliegt, sind zwei Gipfel mit dazwischenliegender Senkung, aber es ist eben so muessig, sich darueber zu streiten, ob diese Senkung ganz zum ersten Gipfel oder ganz zum zweiten oder halb zu beiden gehoert, wie es muessig ist, in einem Tal in der Natur nach einer bestimmten Scheide zwischen zwei Bergen zu suchen". Upon this subject Scripture is equally definite, cf. p. 450: "I do not believe, however, that a division of the flow of speech into separate blocks (termed 'syllables') has the slightest justification or the slightest phonetic meaning". A corollary—the futility of dividing Homeric Greek into syllables, when we are unable to do the same for languages which we speak and hear daily—is drawn by Jespersen, p. 201, anm. 1, in a form more sarcastic than I care to quote in this connection. Not being a phonetician myself, I must leave to others the further discussion of these phonetic doctrines ; but, even on the basis of the Sievers theory, Solmsen's treatment of the digamma becomes involved in insuperable difficulties.



In the first place the lengthening before *oi* is explained, cf. above, as due to its enclitic nature, thanks to which it fuses with the preceding word, so that the consonant group is treated according to the "behandlungsweise des wortinlauts". On the one hand this takes no account of the passages, B 665 (?), E 338, Z 90, 101, 289, Π 735, γ 282, Ψ 865, Ω 53, 72, ε 234, ν 430, ο 105, in which *oi* 'fails to make position'. On the other hand, if the theory is to be consistent, it must demand 'position lengthening' in the case of all other words which are "zu einer einheit verwachsen". What words are to be considered thus fused, is a question on which scholars differ in practice; and as I know of no definition by Solmsen himself I shall follow that of Sommer, p. 147, though I believe that he has drawn the lines too narrowly. His fifth class enclitics or postpositive particles may be taken first as offering the closest parallel. Here belong κτίλος Fώς Γ 196 and the similar passages, Θ 94, 271, Ν 137, χ 299. Of the article and noun (Class I) we have no examples for the digamma, but under it are to be included (p. 152) examples of adjective and noun, such as μελιηδέος Φοίνου Σ 545, δαίφρονος Φοινείδαο Ε 813, ἐὼν Φοῖκον ψ 8, περιμήκεϊ Φράβδω κ 293, εὐανθεί Φλάχνη λ 320. A weakly accented pronominal subject (Class II) occurs in εἴ τις Φίδοιτο Γ 453, cf. Ω 337; a weakly accented pronominal object (Class III) in οἳ μιν Φίδοντο Δ 374, cf. Ε 845, ψ 91; preposition and noun (Class IV) ἐπὶ Φρυμῶ Ω 271, ἐς Φοῖκον β 52, ξ 318, ρ 84, ἐς Φίλιον Ε 204, Φ 81, 156, ξ 238, ρ 104, ἐς Φέκαστον Ι 180, ἐν Φιλίφ Ω 67, ἐν Φεκάστῃ Β 719, πρὸς Φὸν λείχος Α 609, πρὸς Φὸν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν Δ 403, etc., and presumably Solmsen would read παρ Φίλου Α 166, α 259. Class VI a weakly accented particle which modifies the sentence is too well represented to render full citation profitable, but cf. πρῶτος μὲν Φάναξ Η 162, Ψ 288, and Β 70, 802, Θ 233, Ι 374, Ν 278, etc., etc. To these we should add at least examples of such close syntactic combinations (cf. Ehrlich KZ xl. 393 f.) as, κρήγυον Φεῖπας Α 106, ἱερὰ Φρέξας Α 147, κακὰ Φρέξαι Γ 354, cf. Ε 403, Α 502, 838, γ 186, Φ 214, εἶδος Φιδόντες Γ 224, οὐδὲν ΦεΦοργώς χ 318. And *a fortiori* the cases of compound words like παρΦεῖπη, ὑπΦεῖξομαι, after the treatment of which on p. 159, we must presume that Solmsen also understands ἐσΦιδούσα, εἰσανΦιδών, ἐκκατΦιδών. In all of these cases, in which Solmsen's theory demands 'position lengthening' before the digamma<sup>1</sup>, our text actually shows a short vowel. Danielsson,

<sup>1</sup> Sommer's remark, p. 150, is incomprehensible to me.





who felt this difficulty in part, is of the opinion (p. 274) that it may perhaps be avoided without too great difficulty. I, however, do not see how this can be done, unless it be conceded that the neglect of the digamma is evidence that these verses too were composed at a time when the digamma had vanished from the living usage of the language. Such an explanation would be correct, but it would be permitting the entrance of the wedge which would disrupt the theory.

A minor inconsistency is that to explain  $\pi\alpha/\rho\text{F}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\eta$ , we must regard  $w$  as more sonorous than  $r$ ; while on the other hand  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}/\text{F}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\varsigma$  shows that  $r$  exceeds  $w$  in sonority. Much more significant is the fact that on the principle of 'sonority syllables' divisions such as  $/sma-$ ,  $/sna-$ ,  $/sra-$ ,  $/sla-$  are required, and consequently there should be no 'position lengthening' before  $-s\mu-$ ,  $-s\nu-$ ,  $-s\rho-$ ,  $-s\lambda-$ . Sommer foresaw this objection, but his attempt to obviate it, p. 174, does not seem to me successful. That the difference between  $s$  and  $r$  is negligible, while that between  $r$  and  $w$  is not, seems to me a Procrustean adaptation of the theory to the facts. One who scans  $\pi\acute{\alpha}/\rho\text{F}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\eta$ ,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\eta}\gamma\nu\acute{o}/\nu\text{F}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\varsigma$ , should also demand  $*\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon/\sigma\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$ .

Other objections to the theory—that it assumes syllables beginning  $nwa-$ ,  $rwa-$  such as cannot be proved for the older periods either of Greek or of other Indo-European languages; that it runs counter to what we know of the effect of  $w-$  in making position in Latin and Vedic poetry—may be passed over with a reference to Danielsson, p. 275 ff. The latter scholar has also explained most satisfactorily the points of real significance in Hartel's statistics. The final redaction of our poems (and the composition of parts of them) fell in a period when digamma was no longer spoken in the Ionic dialect. In close combinations of words (Konnexe), however, the resulting hiatus remained; thus  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\text{F}\omicron\iota$  became  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota$  and only later by recomposition  $\delta'\omicron\iota$ , and similarly  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\text{'I}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\upsilon$  were spoken for a time after all traces of the initial consonant had been lost in freer combinations of these words. Cf. also Thumb, IF. ix, 327. Besides hiatus in the verse was justified at certain points by the caesurae and diaereses, and the final vowels of words, such as  $\delta$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}$ ,  $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ ,  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}$ ,  $\tau\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\tau\acute{\iota}$ ,  $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$ ,  $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ , etc., were never or rarely elided. Under these influences the hiatus occasioned in the older text by the subsequent loss of the digamma seemed justified, was perpetuated in the tradition, and imitated in the later compositions. For 'posi-



tion lengthening' in the arsis, similar favorable conditions existed partly in the lengthening before caesurae, partly in the licenses of the first and sixth arses, and partly in the metrical lengthening of antispast and bacchic words. Most of the cases of lengthening in the thesis before (F)oi occur in cretic *Konnexe*; the order of words being unchangeable (cf. Wackernagel, IF. i, 333 ff.) and the metrical lengthening of such words again supplying a justification.

Apart from these cases the possibility of lengthening in the thesis was at the start narrowly limited. When there was a 'real separation of words' it was necessarily confined to the first and second theses, for reasons given briefly and correctly by Danielsson, p. 283, anm. 1, and which will be discussed in detail later. After the loss of the digamma such verses might be regarded as *στίχοι λαγαροί* and remain unchanged. Of them we have eight examples which are perhaps to be increased by emendation, cf. p. 265, anm. 4. The only other possibility for lengthening was in monosyllabic words compounded or closely connected with the following words: as examples Danielsson suggests *παρ Φειπέμεν, δς Φάιον εξαλάπαξε, σὺν Φοῖσι τέκεσσι*. The absence of such *Konnexe* is a fact for which Solmsen's theory can offer no explanation. Danielsson points out that after the loss of the digamma the verses would seem defective in a way without any parallel in Homeric versification, and that therefore such examples as did exist would necessarily be removed in the process of modernization.

There is, however, another point in Hartel's statistics which requires consideration. In some 400 instances there is total or partial elision of a vowel before words which once began with the digamma. Most investigators—including Solmsen, cf. p. 132—agree that these instances are to be explained as due to the fact that the digamma was no longer pronounced when the verses containing these examples were composed or revised into their present form. This being the case it follows that at that time a short syllable ending in a consonant would remain short before these words simply because in their new pronunciation the second consonant required to make the syllable long 'by position' is lacking. These 400 examples of elision demand therefore as their counterpart some instances<sup>1</sup> of what we call "neglected

<sup>1</sup> That *all* of them must fall in the thesis is a fact too obvious to mention.



position". A theory which removes all such examples discredits itself by proving too much.

At first sight it might seem that the instances of 'neglected position' are so numerous (277) as compared with the instances of elision (400) as to afford no prospect of explaining the bulk of them in this fashion; especially when we contrast the 2995 cases in which elision is prevented with the 531 cases in which position is made. However the problem is too complicated to be solved by such a simple proportion; other factors are involved. For in the first place it follows from the facts explained by Danielsson that we can have (apparent) neglect of position because the digamma is not pronounced, and at the same time hiatus, whether real or merely imitative. Secondly, making position in the thesis is turning a possible dactyl into a spondee, a thing which the poet will be inclined to avoid.<sup>1</sup> Finally the position lengthening in the thesis can take place in case of a 'real separation of words' only when there is a diaeresis after a spondee, the limitations on which will concern us later. Neglect of position on the other hand occurs either in a trochaic caesura or a dactylic diaeresis, which are the favorite divisions of the Homeric verse. A statistical solution of the problem is impossible, and we must therefore examine the context in which each example occurs to see whether we are justified in assuming that its author actually spoke initial digamma.

As evidence of the absence of the digamma we are warranted in accepting a single passage which shows elision and does not require emendation. Such a principle may be deduced from the practice of Bechtel, and if a theoretic justification of it is desired it can be found in Danielsson's article. Still this leaves the practical question of when emendation is required. On this subject Sommer, p. 149, lays down the principle "so wenig wie moeglich herumzudoktern", and Solmsen is ready with terms like "mit conjecturen heimsuchen", p. 157, for emendations of which he does not approve. Convenient as it would be to follow this practice, I prefer to take a more objective standard. Bechtel has shown that contraction (under certain limitations), iteratives, the use of *ἐς*, *ἄν*, the article, the loss of intervocalic *ι*, and the use of the short forms of the dative plural of the first and second declensions, are phenomena which go hand in hand with the ab-

<sup>1</sup>In this connection cf. Witte, *Glotta*, ii. 8-18.

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sence of initial digamma. An emendation made simply to restore a digamma is necessary only when the context shows none of these peculiarities, excepting of course such instances as are also to be removed by emendation. Furthermore some of the instances of 'neglected position' are in themselves sufficient proof. In the first place are to be counted as such the examples before the pronoun *oi*; and we have seen above that consistency requires the same for compounds, and for word groups, because in these the digamma if present must according to Solmsen produce lengthening as the "behandlungsweise des wortinlauts". In citing the examples I shall therefore print these with an asterisk prefixed but without further comment.

Even when such evidence is not available the absence of the digamma can sometimes be established more indirectly. As an example I shall take the Glaukos episode Z 119-236, which in spite of its length contains no evidence of the loss of the digamma unless it be Z 151 *ἡμετέρην γενεήν πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἴσασιν*. That we must so regard it and not read *ἄνδρες* *ἴσασι* or reject the line with Bentley follows not merely from the other evidences of late date, cf. Bechtel, p. 18, *γνώσι, ἦν, θάρσει, ἡγορίην, ὕος, ἔσκειν*;<sup>1</sup> but even more from the fact that this episode is shown by its contents to be the latest of the episodes in which the Lycians figure, cf. Robert, p. 402 ff., while these older episodes, cf. below, show the absence of the digamma.

I shall begin by selecting from the Iliad<sup>2</sup> the strata for which the absence of the digamma can be established with ease, and then see how many examples of 'neglected position' re-

<sup>1</sup> For the substitution of *ἦεν* there is here no need.

<sup>2</sup> I have not examined the Odyssey because I consider it proved that the oldest parts of the Odyssey are not earlier than late parts of the Iliad. In reading Jacobsohn's interesting, but in its main contention unconvincing, article I note, Hermes xliv. 101, that on account of Solmsen, Unters., p. 160, I should have included instances of *δυσφηχέος* where clearly the "behandlungsweise des wortinlauts" must be demanded. The instances of *δύσηχέος* are all in late passages (B 686, H 376, 395, A 590, N 535, Π 442, Σ 307, 464, X 180) except A 524, where *πολέμου δυσφηχέος* should be read for *πολέμοιο δύσηχέος*. Witte, Singular and Plural, p. 79, anm. 1, adheres to the Hartel-Solmsen theory and operates with *λαδς Φεῦμμελίω Πριάμοιο*. In Homer—contrast *δφρ' ἐν εἰδῆς*—the word is without trace of digamma so that a direct equation with *vasu* is most improbable, cf. Leo Meyer, and Prellwitz, s. v. This illustrates a weakness of the theory—the way in which it permits the assumption of a digamma where such a sound does not exist.



- \* 813 ..... δαίφρονος Οἰνείδαο
- \* 845 ..... μή μιν ἰδοι.....
- \* 885 ..... ἥ τέ κε δηρόν
- \* 895 ἀλλ' οὐ μάν σ' ἔτι δηρόν .....

These examples all come from portions recognized by Robert, p. 177 ff., as belonging to the original stock of the *Διομήδους ἀριστεία*. This stratum contains also *ἵππους δ' οἷς ἐτάροισι* (165), *οὐτ' ἔπει* (879), and other indications of later date collected by Bechtel, pp. 43, 53.

- \* E 204 ..... πεζὸς ἐς Ἴλιον εἰλήλουθα

In an interpolation (192-208) made to establish a connection with the *Ὀρκίων σύγχυσις*, cf. Robert, p. 182, Bechtel, p. 50.

- \* E 338 .... πέπλου, δν οἱ Χάριτες κάμον αὐταί
- \* 403 ..... αἰσυλα ῥέζων
- \* 353 τὴν μὲν ἄρ' Ἴρις ....

The last example is cited because on Solmsen's theory it could be read *ἄρ Fῖρις*; that it really proves the loss of digamma for this passage is shown by *παρ δέ οἱ Ἴρις* (365). The passages are from the Aphrodite episode (311-444), on which cf. Robert, p. 183, Bechtel, p. 156.

- \* E 451 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' εἰδῶλφ .....

The short episode of the 'wraith' of Aineias (446-53, 512-18) is obviously still later; for its language cf. Bechtel, p. 195. We must therefore consider this passage as an instance of elision, and not read *ἄρ Fειδῶλφ*.

E 470=792 ὥς εἰπὼν ὤτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστων.

The first of these lines has been shown by Robert to be connected with the introduction of the Sarpedon episode to which we are coming; the second is in the episode 711-92 of the visit of Hera and Athene to the battlefield. For the latter passage it is sufficient to refer to Robert, p. 189 f.

E 683 Σαρπηδὼν Διὸς υἱός, ἔπος δ' ὀλοφυνδὸν ἔειπε.

That the combat of Sarpedon the Lycian and Tlepolemos the Heraklid must belong to the latest additions to the Iliad, hardly requires discussion, but reference may be made to the linguistic evidence collected by Bechtel, pp. 189, 304. The digamma is



neglected in τ' ἔλδεται (481) in a passage intended to lead up to this episode, cf. Robert, p. 186.<sup>1</sup>

- \* Z 90 πέπλον δς οἱ δοκέει . . . . .
- \* 101 . . . . . οὐδέ τις οἱ δύναται μένος ἰσοφαρίζειν.
- \* 289 ἐνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν

Further evidence is not required, but cf. Robert, p. 194 f., Bechtel, p. 120.

- Z 386 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πύργον ἔβη μέγαν Ἴλίου . . . .
- 403 . . . . . οἶος γὰρ ἔρύετο Ἴλιον Ἑκτωρ.

From the Ἑκτορος καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης ὁμιλία (365-502). Even when 367 is emended οὐ γάρ [τ'] Φοῖδα, and μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί is accepted in 493 on the strength of Ox. Pap. 445, there still remains Ἴλίου ἱφι (478) as proof of the loss of the digamma which harmonizes well with the other evidence of later date adduced by Robert, p. 198, and Bechtel, p. 111.

- \* H 21 Περγάμου ἐκκατιδῶν . . . . .
- 108 δεξιτερῆς ἔλε χειρός, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ(ο) . . . .
- \* 162 ὦρτο πολὺν πρῶτος μὲν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
- 277 . . . . σκῆπτρα σχέθον, εἶπέ τε μῦθον.

None of the examples come from the battle of Hector and Aias, but all are in the material added to turn this battle into a formal duel, cf. Robert, p. 169 ff. From the same part come also ὄφρ' εἴπω (68), ὄφρα τις ᾧδ' εἴησιν (300); for other linguistic evidence of later date, cf. Bechtel, p. 16 f.

- H 467 νῆες δ' ἐκ Δήμνοιο παρέστασαν οἶνον ἄγουσαι

For the loss of the digamma cf. γένετ' Ἴλίου (345), ὄφρ' εἴπω (369), καὶ ἔτ' οἴκοθεν (364 = 391), καὶ δὲ τόδ' εἰπόμεναι (375); and for other evidence of the age of H 313-482, cf. Robert, p. 168 f., Bechtel, pp. 126, 165.

- \* Θ 94 . . . . . κακὸς ὧς ἐν ὁμίλῳ
- \* 133 βροντήσας δ' ἄρα δεινὸν . . . . .
- \* 143 . . . . . Διὸς νόον εἰρύσσαιτο
- \* 233 . . . . ἑκατόν τε διηκοσίων τε . . . . .
- \* 271 . . . . . πάϊς ὧς ὑπὸ μητέρα . . . . .

The late date of the Κόλος μάχη Θ 1-484 is established both by its contents, cf. Robert, p. 164 ff., and by its language, cf. Bechtel,

<sup>1</sup> Solmsen, p. 250, suggests that this form is the later Ionic continuation of ἐφέλδεται; but this is merely exchanging one evidence of late date for another.



p. 24. The loss of the initial digamma is seen in *μοι ἔωθεν* (408=422).

\* I 73 ..... πόλεσιν γὰρ ἀνάσσεις

Reported as the reading of Aristarchus for the *πολέεσσι δ' ἀνάσσεις* of our manuscripts. The introduction to the Embassy is not older than the Embassy itself to which we are now coming.

I 123=265 ..... ἐείκοσι, δώδεκα .....

142 ..... τίσω δέ μιν ἴσον Ὀρέστη

\* 180 δενδίλλων ἐς ἑκαστον .....

203 ..... ἐντυνον ἑκάστω

\* 374 ..... οὐδὲ μὲν ἔργον

383 ..... εἰσί, διηκόσιοι δ' ἂν' ἑκάστας (ἂν *Ῥεκάστας*?)

\* 392 ..... ἐπέοικε .....

396 ..... πτολίεθρα ῥύονται

\* 548 ..... δέρματι λαχνήντι

Aristarchus also read in 128=270 *γυναῖκας ἀμύμονας ἔργ' εἰδυίας*. Of elision we have the following examples: *ἔργ' εἰδυίας* (128=270), *πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο* (224), *δαιτὸς ἐπηράτου ἔργα* (228), *ἐξαπάφοιτ' ἐπέεσσι* (376), *δεκάκισ τε καὶ εἰκοσάκισ* (379), *παράρρητοί τ' ἐπέεσσι* (526), *πόλλ' ἔρδεσκε* (540), *τάδ' εἰπέμεν* (688); note also *ἔρεξα* (453), *ἔρεξεν* (647). For other evidence cf. Bechtel, pp. 8, 62, 90 f., 148, 164.

K 134 (=B 219) ..... ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη

\* 146 ..... ἐπέοικε

503 ..... ὃ τι κύντατον ἔρδοι.

For the loss of the digamma in the Doloneia cf. *θεὸς δ' ὥς* (33), *ἔργα δ' ἔρεξ(ε)* (51), *ἦλυθ' ἰωή* (139), *διασκοπιᾶσθαι ἑκαστα* (388), *δίειπε* (425), *τὴν νύκτ' Οἰνείδαο πᾶϊς* (497); for the other evidence cf. Bechtel, p. 3.

\* Δ 502 ..... μέρμερα ῥέζων

The episode of the wounding of Machaon (499-520) contains also *αὐτίκα δ' ὦν ὀχέων* (517). It is the introduction to the close of the book (597-848) in which occur :

\* Δ 673, 686, 698 ..... ἐν Ἥλιδι .....

838 ..... τί ῥέξομεν .....

Loss of the digamma is seen in *ὁπότ' Ἥλείοισι* (671), *ἡδὲ καὶ ἔργων* (703), *ἀμφίσταντο δὴ ἄστυ* (733), *ταῦτ' εἶποις* (791). Corroborative evidence in Bechtel, pp. 98, 209.

M 367 ..... ὁτρύνετον ἰφι μάχεσθαι

464 ..... τὸν ἔεστο περὶ χροῖ, δοιὰ δὲ χερσὶ



That the *Τειχομαχία* is a unit has been shown by Robert, p. 149 ff., while for its language reference to Bechtel, pp. 30 f., 161 f. will suffice. The loss of the digamma is shown in *ἔδ' εἶπη* (317), *τιν' ἴδοιτο* (333), *δέ τοι ἔργον* (412), even if *τε καὶ δ* (162) be explained with Bechtel as containing the continuation of *εἶFω*.

\* N 137 ..... ὀλοοίτροχος ὤς .....  
155 ὥς εἰπὼν ὤτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστον.

That the opening of the thirteenth book as far as line 155, with the exception of some embedded fragments of older poetry, is late, has been shown by Robert, p. 123, and is supported by Bechtel's analysis of the language, cf. pp. 191, 201, 25, 105. Loss of the digamma is seen in *μετεισάμενος* (90), which cannot be explained by apocope.

N 277 f. ἐς λόχον, ἐνθα μάλιστ' ἀρετὴ διαίδεται ἀνδρῶν—  
ἐνθ' ὃ τε δειλὸς ἀνὴρ, ὃς τ' ἀλκιμος ἐξεφαάνθη.

The second line is rightly pronounced by Leaf a gloss and a terribly flat one on the preceding line; it is sufficiently characterized by *δειλός* as a dissyllable, cf. Bechtel, p. 150, and in the sense of *cowardly*. It is therefore hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that N 210-401 is a later stratum, cf. Robert, p. 110, Bechtel, p. 11.

N 349 ..... Ἀχαιικὸν Ἰλιόθι πρό

In the same stratum and furthermore in the generally condemned passage N 345-60, of which Leaf says that there is "no other case of such a lengthy and superfluous recapitulation in Homer".

Ξ 346 ..... Κρόνου πάϊς ἦν παράκοιτιν.

One who would interpret this as *πάϊς Fῆν* must emend *λωτόν θ'* *ἔρσηεντα* (348), and then reckon with *αἶμ' ἐμέων* (O 11) in the sequel. For the language of the *Διὸς ἀπάτη* Ξ 153-362 cf. Bechtel, pp. 78, 204.

\* O 209 ὁππότ' ἂν ἰσάμορον .....

The example itself involves the Ionic particle *ἂν* and refers back to the story of the partition of the world, in which *δείδασται ἐκάστος* (189) occurs. For proof that O 1-404 is in the main late, cf. Robert, p. 135 ff.

O 288 ..... ἔλπετο θυμὸς ἐκάστον

In the same stratum and more particularly in the Thoas episode O 281-305, on which cf. Bechtel, pp. 185, 274. It presup-



poses the restoration of Hector by Apollo, so that I may cite as evidence of the loss of the digamma *φωνήσας' ἔπεια* (145), *ῥκ' ἐπέεσσι* (156).

O 500=514 ὥς εἰπὼν ὦτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου  
505 ..... ἦν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἑκάστος

The section O 484-559 contains also *ἔτι δ' ἔλπετο* (539); for its age cf. Robert, p. 141, Bechtel, p. 31.

Π 210 ὥς εἰπὼν ὦτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου.

On account of *ἔης* (208) the loss of digamma is inferred by Solmsen, p. 254, anm. 1; cf. also Robert, p. 96, Bechtel, p. 165.

\* Π 232 οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδῶν .....

Included here as occurring in a compound; on the age of the digression Π 218-256 which includes three iteratives, cf. Robert, p. 96.

Π 464 ..... Σαρπηδόνοσ ἦεν ἀνακτοσ  
481 ..... ἐνθ' ἄρα τε φρένες ἐρχαται .....

\* 643 ὥρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ.....

On the Sarpedon episode Π 419-683 cf. Robert, p. 100 f., p. 395, Bechtel, pp. 5, 204, which afford sufficient evidence to reject the various emendations, cf. Solmsen, p. 160, which have been suggested to remove cases of elision: *ἄρματ' ἀνάκτων* (507), *οὐδ' οὐ* (522), *σύ πέρ μοι ἄναξ* (523), *θεὸς δ' ῥς* (605).

P 41 ἀλλ' οὐ μὰν ἔτι δηρόν .....

\* 70 ἐνθα κε ρεῖα .....

\* 90 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς δν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν.

On P 1-131 cf. Robert, p. 78 f., and for its instances of contraction Bechtel, p. 147 f., p. 172, p. 193; the loss of the digamma is evident in *δ θ' ἄλις* (54).

P 327 Αἰνεΐα πῶς ἂν καὶ ὑπὲρ θεὸν εἰρύσσαισθε

\* 354 ..... σάκεσσι γὰρ ἐρχατο πάντη

On the section P 319-365 cf. Robert, p. 82; loss of the digamma in *δ' ἐκατηβόλον* (333).

P 635=713 ..... ὅπως τὸν νεκρὸν ἐρύσσομεν .....

645 ..... ἀλλὰ σὺ ῥῦσαι .....

On the close of the battle over Patroklos (P 543-761), cf. Robert, p. 85, and Bechtel, p. 50; loss of the digamma is clear from *ἐπιβρέμει ἴς* (739).

\* Σ 258 τόφρα δὲ ρηίτεροι .....

274 ..... σθένος ἐξομεν, ἄστυ δὲ πύργοι

\* 367 ..... κακὰ ῥάψαι



The section Σ 239–368 is preparatory for the Ὀπλοποιία, cf. Robert, p. 92. Its first part, the bivouac of the Trojans (243–314) contains two of our examples and also ἀφίξεται Ἴλιον (270), τ' ἔλσαι (294), cf. also Bechtel, p. 31. The last example is from the conversation of Zeus and Hera (356–368), for which reference to Leaf will suffice.

\* Σ 415 ..... καὶ στήθεα λαχνήεντα

In the Ὀπλοποιία proper; for the language of this section cf. Bechtel, p. 119, and note θ' ἑλικας (401).

\* Σ 545 ..... δέπας μελιηδέος οἶνον

In the description of Achilles' shield (481–608). The section contains also δ' ἰέσθην (501), ἴζοντ' εἰλυμένοι (522). Bechtel's decision (p. 114) to leave this unchanged is far better than Solmsen's (p. 237) "ohne weiteres ἴζον".

Τ 4 εὔρε δὲ Πατρόκλῳ περικείμενον δν φίλον υἱόν

The bringing of the arms to Achilles (Τ 3–39) cannot be older than the Ὀπλοποιία.

\* Τ 75 μῆνιν ἀπειπόντος .....  
 124 ..... οὐ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀναστέμεν .....  
 244 ..... εἰκοσι, δώδεκα ..... (= I 123)  
 332 ..... καὶ οἱ δείξειας ἕκαστα

The Μήνιδος ἀπόρρησις cannot be older than the Πρεσβεία; it contains ὄφρ' εἴπω (102) besides ἔπειτ' ἱκέλη (282), εἶδον (292), κήδε' ἐκάστη (302) in the lament of Briseis (282–303). Even if the latter portion be set aside, the evidence for late date is sufficient, cf. Bechtel, p. 9 f.

\* Υ 67 ..... Ποσειδάωνος ἀνακτος  
 186 ..... χαλεπῶς δέ σ' ἐολπα τὸ ῥέξειν  
 \* 195 ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν ΣΕΡΥΕΣΘΑΙ .....  
 214 ..... πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἴσασιν (= Z 151)  
 \* 282 ..... καὶ δ' ἄχος οἱ χύτο .....  
 \* 311 ..... ἥ κέν μιν ἐρύσσειαι .....  
 \* 343 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς δν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν.

The examples are from the council of the gods and the Aineias episode, on which cf. Robert, p. 233, p. 224 ff. Elision is seen in 186 (quoted above) and in δ' εἰσάμενος (224); for other evidence of the date of the language cf. Bechtel, pp. 162, 48.

Υ 371 f. .... καὶ εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικεν  
 εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικε .....  
 \* 450 ..... νῦν αὐτὲ ΣΕΡΥΣΑΤΟ .....



On the close of  $\gamma$  cf. Bechtel, p. 192; the only case of elision is the easily emended  $\mu'$  *ἐπέεσσι* (431), but it must be remembered that parts of the next two books must also be included in forming our estimate.

- \*  $\Phi$  53 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς δὴν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν
- \* 81 ..... δτ' ἐς Ἴλιον εἰλήλουθα
- \* 128 ..... εἰς δ' κεν ἄστυ κιχήμεν Ἴλίου ἱρῆς

From the Lykaon episode  $\Phi$  1-16, 34-138, on which cf. Bechtel, p. 206; neglect of the digamma is seen in *μεγάλ' ἱαχον* (10).

- \*  $\Phi$  156 .. δτ' ἐς Ἴλιον εἰλήλουθα
- 194 ..... Ἀχελῷος ἰσοφαρίζει
- \* 214 ..... αἰσυλα ῥέζει
- \* 217 ..... μέρμερα ῥέζε

From the Asteropaios episode  $\Phi$  139-227, which is clearly younger than the Ὀπλοποιία, cf. Robert, p. 230 f., and gives other slight evidence of its date in *βαθείης* (213), *παῖς* (216), cf. Bechtel, p. 225.

- $\Phi$  236=344 .... οἱ ῥα κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλις ἔσαν ....
- \* 379 ..... οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν
- 391 ἐνθ' οἱ γ' οὐκέτι δηρὸν .....
- 411 ..... ὅτι μοι μένος ἰσοφαρίζεις<sup>1</sup>
- \* 509 τίς νύ σε τοιαδέρεξε .....

The examples are from the Battle with the Skamander and the Θεομαχία,  $\Phi$  228-514; for the analysis of which, cf. Robert, p. 231 ff., and for its language, Bechtel, pp. 56, 32. Loss of digamma is clearly shown by *καίετο δ' ἱς* (356), after which it is unnecessary to emend *πτελέαι τε καὶ ἱγείαι* (350), *ἐπιστώσαντ' ἐπέεσσι* (286), and even the variant *δύνατ' ἰσοφαρίζειν* (357) has some claim to consideration.

- \*  $\Phi$  552 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς δὴν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν. = X 98
- 588 Ἴλιον εἰρυνόμεσθα .....
- \* X 23 δς ῥά τε ῥεῖα θέησι .....
- \* 61 ..... ἐπιδόντα
- \* 71 ..... ἐπέοικεν
- 259 ..... ὧς δὲ σὺ ῥέζειν

The Ἑκτορος ἀναίρεσις,  $\Phi$  515-X 394, contains two certain instances of the loss of digamma *μάλ' ἰολπας* ( $\Phi$  583), *χέουσ' ἔπεα* (X 81); its language is sufficiently characterized by the evidence collected by Bechtel, pp. 9, 162.

- \* X 407 ..... ἐσιδοῦσα
- 450 δεῦτε, δόω μοι ἔπεσθον ἰδωμ' ὅτιν' ἔργα τέτυκται

<sup>1</sup> Var. lect. *ἀντιφερίζεις* which in 488 is the better attested reading.



No one can think of claiming a greater age for the close of the book, and so it is unnecessary to emend the close of 450, while Bechtel's (p. 90) conjecture *έμει' έπος* (454) wins greater probability, cf. also Bechtel, p. 270.

- Ψ 49 ..... δτρνον, άναξ .....  
 55 ..... έφοπλίσσαντες έκαστοι  
 \* 288 ..... πρῶτος μὲν άναξ..... (cf. H 162)  
 320 ..... έπὶ πολλὸν έλίσσεται .....  
 370 ..... θυμὸς έκάστου  
 393 ..... έπὶ γαῖαν έλύσθη  
 \* 434 ..... αὐτὸς γὰρ έκῶν .....  
 \* 494 ..... τοιαῦτά γε ρέζοι  
 \* 585 ..... μὴ μὲν έκῶν .....  
 741 ..... τετυγμένον· έξ .....  
 748 ..... άέθλιον οὐ έτάροιο  
 \* 865 ..... μέγηρε γάρ οἱ .....

A closer analysis of the parts of this book is unnecessary for our purpose. The digamma is lost in *δεῦρ' έρύσας* (21), *κάλ' έικυῖα* (66), *τίπτε μοι ήθειή* (94), *καί μοι έκαστα* (107), *εργ' ειδυῖαν* (263), *τέρμαθ' έλίσσέμεν* (309), *πάντεσσ' εργοισι* (671), *δ' ισα* (736), *υμμ' έρέω* (787). The language is analyzed by Bechtel, pp. 117, 18, 129, 55, 293, 299, 175.<sup>1</sup>

- Ω Ι ..... θοὰς έπὶ νῆας έκαστοι  
 \* 53 ..... νεμεσσηθῶμέν οἱ ήμεῖς  
 \* 67 ..... οἱ έν 'Ιλίῳ είσίν  
 \* 72 ..... ή γάρ οἱ αἰεί  
 \* 271 ..... ένξέστῳ έπὶ ρυμῶ  
 \* 307 ..... είσανιδῶν .....  
 \* 337 ..... ὥς μήτ' άρ τις ιδη  
 449 ..... ποίησαν άνακτι  
 452 ..... ποίησαν άνακτι  
 462 ..... πάλιν είσομαι .....  
 510 ..... προπάροιθε ποδῶν 'Αχιλῆος έλυσθείς  
 \* 595 ..... επέοικεν

The loss of the digamma is seen in *τρῖς δ' έρύσας* (16), *τρῖς δ' έκάτερθεν* (273), *ήλθ' Έκάβη* (283), *έπί τ' ελπεται* (491), *αὐθ' Έκάβη* (747). Other evidence in abundance may be found in Bechtel, p. ix., p. 42 f.

In the Iliad there are something over two hundred instances which may be claimed to show 'neglect of position' before digamma. Of these we have now found over 160 in parts of the

<sup>1</sup> The gladiatorial combat 798-825 is of interest as showing how successful imitation could be for a short time. It contains no contracted forms, nor any offences against the digamma.



poem for which we must assume composition at a time when initial digamma was no longer pronounced. Over half of these examples furthermore refute themselves, for in them, had the digamma been pronounced, we must have found lengthening as the "behandlungsweise des wortinlauts". In view of these facts we may proceed with the examination of the remaining passages in the conviction that there is a presumption of late date against a passage which shows 'neglect of position' before digamma.

Π 275 ὥς εἰπὼν ὠτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου.

At the close of Patroklos' speech (269-274), a cento in which only the words ὥς ἂν Πηλεΐδην τιμήσομεν are original. That we have no early poetry here is obvious, cf. Robert, p. 97.

Ο 667 the same formula.

The following lines were questioned in antiquity and Leaf says 'the only doubt is whether the athetesis should not extend to Nestor's speech as well'. Linguistically it is characterized by a plural *k*-perfect, found otherwise only in the Embassy.<sup>1</sup> The formula may be left unemended in such surroundings. Compare also Robert, p. 143.

Ο 639 Κοπρῆος φίλον υἱόν, δς Εὐρυσθέος ἀνακτος

To the variant ἀέθλων, preferred by Leaf to save the digamma, I attach no importance. Robert, p. 144, has shown that the account of Periphetes' parentage 639-644 is an interpolation. The Heracles myth and the iterative οἴχνεσκε (640) harmonize with the loss of the digamma.

\* Ο 626 ..... ἀνέμοιο δὲ δεινὸς ἀήτη

In the simile 624-629, of which we have here three in succession. We must follow Robert, p. 145, in regarding this line as evidence of the date of the simile.

Ο 453 κείν' ὄχεα κροτέοντες. ἀναξ δ' ἐνόησε τάχιστα

The account of the slaying of Kleitos, Ο 444-457, caused difficulty to the Alexandrian critics. We may note in the first place that he is the charioteer of Polydamas, the Ionic counterpart of Helenos (cf. Robert, p. 388 f.), and secondly that there could be no driving of chariots in the crowded battle about the ships. Robert's conclusion (p. 141) that the lines have supplanted some other exploit of Teucer's seems to me necessary. The only other

<sup>1</sup> Such evidence is valid in spite of Scott's article, *Classical Philology*, VI. 159 ff.



linguistic evidence against the lines is dissyllabic βέλσα (444), which has been emended to βελος. Bechtel—who accepts Solmsen's theory—endorses the emendation, p. 47, but after seeing the company in which 'neglected position' elsewhere appears the plural should be allowed to stand.

\* Ξ 437 ἐζόμενος δ' ἐπὶ γούνα κελαινεφές αἶμ' ἀπέμεσεν  
472 ἄξιος ; οὐ μέν μοι κακὸς εἶδεται οὐδὲ κακῶν ἐξ

The first line would itself condemn this section were it not for the ease with which it can be emended. Robert has shown, however, p. 134, that with line 425 there is a sudden shift from Mycenaean to Ionic weapons, and with the latter appear heroes who figure prominently only in the younger strata of the poem. The language of ll. 440–507 has been analyzed by Bechtel, p. 275, with the result that οἶω (454) is the only certain indication of later date, but that this is sufficient. With his view of the age of the passage we must agree and accept the two cases of 'neglected position' as corroborative evidence.

N 191 ..... ἀλλ' οὐ πῃ χροὸς εἶσατο ....  
204 ἦκε δέ μιν σφαιρηδὸν ἐλιξάμενος δι' ὀμίλου

The first line is included merely for the sake of completeness, as Zenodotos' reading χρώς is clearly to be preferred. In N 182–205 the weapons are Ionic, and we must follow Robert, p. 110, in regarding the 'neglected position' as evidence of late date.

N 163 ..... σχέθ' ἀπὸ το δεῖσε δὲ θυμῷ

Robert, p. 109, has shown that N 162<sup>b</sup>–164<sup>a</sup> is an interpolation, describing an Ionic parry made with a Mycenaean shield after the opponent's spear had already broken.

\* Δ 166 οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἴλου σῆμα

If we read παρ Φίλου σῆμα we must demand lengthening as the "behandlungsweise des wortinlauts", we are therefore forced to recognize the absence of the digamma, and to regard 166–9 as an "ionische Erweiterung" with Robert, p. 158.

Θ 512 ..... ἐπιβαῖεν ἐκῆλοι  
535 σῆριον ἦν .....

Robert, p. 132, has shown how much Hector's speech gains by the excision of 512–516, and by stopping with 527. Its close is



pretty generally condemned, and an additional reason in the faulty use of *αῦριον* may be found in *AJPh.* xxiii., p. 434.<sup>1</sup>

- \* Δ 508 Περγάμου ἐκκατιδών .....
- \* 516 ..... ὅθι μεθιέντας ἰδοίτο.

The examples prove of themselves the absence of the digamma. They stand in a short passage 507-516 in which Apollo and Athene interfere with the battle causelessly and ineffectively. Robert, p. 176 f., regards the interpolation as extending back as far as 473, but in my opinion on insufficient grounds. There are three grounds of suspicion: *αἰολοθώρηξ* (489) which may, however, be merely a substitution for *αἰολομίτρης*; the neglect of the digamma in *ἐτέρωσ' ἐρύοντα* (492), for which we may read *ἐτέρωσε Φερύοντα* with Schulze, *Q. E.*, p. 317; and the appearance of iron in the close of the simile 485-7, which offers other difficulties (cf. Leaf) and may well be dispensed with. On the other hand the helmet of Demokoon is presumably if not conclusively Mycenaean, and the Greek warriors distinguish themselves in the order to be expected in the first Iliad. First blood is given to Antilochus as the youngest member of the expedition, then Aias and Odysseus slay their men. Upon line 506 can follow immediately line 517 so that we gain a larger connected portion of the first Iliad, in which a later poet has thrust an account of supernatural interference more in accord with the fifth book than with the close of the fourth.<sup>2</sup>

- \* B 802 ..... ὧδε δὲ ῥέξαι

A word group which itself proves the loss of the digamma. The close of the Iris-Polites' speech, B 802-6, is intended to pave the way for the Catalogue of the Trojans. Reference to Robert, p. 221, Bechtel, p. 174, will suffice.

- B 518 νῆες Ἰφίτοο .....
- 626 νήων αἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἄλός, Ἥλιδος ἄντα
- \* 665 ..... ἀπείλησαν γάρ οἱ ἄλλοι
- \* 719 ..... ἐν ἐκάσῃ .....

<sup>1</sup> My tendency to follow Croiset in the interpretation of Σ 269 was a mistake. The *Ἑκτορος ἀναίρεσις* begins four lines later than Robert indicates, p. 503, and the speech of Polydamas is made before sunset.

<sup>2</sup> In the arrangement of the following fragments I should also differ from Robert, for closely after this portion I would place the Aineias-Menelaos-Antilochos episode. Then when Aineias retreats he calls for Hector, and the first meeting of the latter with Aias occurs.



720 ..... τόξων ἐν εἰδότες ἴφι μάχεσθαι  
 743 ..... ὅτε φῆρας ἐτίσατο λαχνήεντας  
 750 οἱ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχείμερον οἰκίεθοντο,  
 751 οἱ τ' ἀμφ' ἱμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο.

Both Robert, p. 220, and Bechtel, pp. 164, 170, 233, summarily reject the Catalogue of the Ships; on the other hand Solmsen, Rh. M. liii. 146 f., maintains that it is old. That the view of the latter scholar is correct, at least as far as the kernel of the Catalogue is concerned, should in my opinion be conceded. Granting this, however, it is obvious that the Catalogue has been expanded, as it provides for heroes who figure only in the latest parts of the poem. Presumably the examples of 'neglected position' belong to these later additions, and there is something to be said in support of this presumption. Line 626 is a gloss with faulty geography on 'Εχινάων θ' ἱεράων (625). Line 665 might also be accented γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι; in either case the language would be late, but that is only to be expected in a section dealing with Tlepolemos. The word group in line 719 carries its own conviction, and with it line 720 must fall. Line 743 deals with the Lapithae myth. Lines 750-1 are in the section on the troops of Gouneus, who does not reappear in the Iliad, but was known in the Nostoi, cf. Robert, p. 573. Finally line 518 is the filling out of the family tree of Schedios; emendation is easy, but unnecessary.<sup>1</sup>

B 435 μηκέτι νῦν δὴ ταῦτα λεγόμεθα, μηδ' ἐτι δηρὸν

The army's meal and the sacrifice offered by the kings, B 399-440, delay the action of the poem, and must be considered, with Robert, p. 220, as an interpolation. Linguistic evidence is ἄλλος

<sup>1</sup> The other evidences of late date are also confined to parts of the Catalogue which may be regarded as additions. Short datives are confined to τοῖς δέ (516, 524, 733, 747) in the summary statements of the numbers of the ships; the systematic carrying out of this is probably late, and a formula beginning τῷ δέ has been pluralized; here also occurs ὀγδῶκοντα (568, 652). Contraction is found Μηκιστέως, ἡγεῖτο in the lines dealing with Euryalos (565-568) and with Machaon ἡγείσθην (731); elsewhere only καλεῖντο (684) in a line which could well be spared, and in ἡγεῖτο (638) where a line like 645 has been altered to introduce 'Ανδραίμονος υἱός. σφέας (704) is a doubtful form, but if the assembling of the fleet at Aulis was originally described in the Catalogue lines 700-4 are a later addition. The iteratives occur only 539, 758 and 770; on the last cf. Schulze, Q. E., p. 349, while ἄν is found only in the story of Thamyris (597).



δ' ἄλλω ἔρεζε (400), where emendation is unnecessary, the iterative in 404, λεγόμεθα = *converse*, and Ἑφαιστος = *fire* (426.)

A 203 ἢ ἵνα ὑβριν ἰδῆς

For the difficulties connected with this short speech, cf. Leaf, Robert, p. 214, Bechtel, p. vii. The only doubt is whether the athetesis should begin with line 201 or line 203.

The outcome of our examination so far has been that about 190 of the alleged cases of 'neglected position' stand in portions of the poem for which we are justified in assuming composition at a time when the digamma was no longer actually spoken. When these are set aside there remain but seventeen examples to which such an explanation cannot apply:

- A 21 ἀζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα
- \* 106 . . . . . οὐ πῶ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυνον εἶπας
- \* 126 λαοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐπέοικε . . . . .
- \* 147 . . . . . ἱερὰ ῥέξας
- \* 216 . . . . . ἔπος εἰρύσασθαι
- 230 . . . . . ὅς τις σέθεν ἀντίον εἶπη
- \* 294 εἰ δὲ σοὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπείξομαι . . . . .
- \* B 471 ὦρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ . . . . .
- Z 72=Δ 291 ὥς εἰπὼν ὠτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστων
- \* Δ 363 . . . . . νῦν αὐτὲ ΣΕΡΥΣΑΤΟ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
- \* Δ 403=Σ 5 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς δν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν
- \* N 555 Νέστορος υἱὸν ἔρυτο . . . . .
- \* Π 735 μάρμαρον ὀκρίοντα, τὸν οἱ περὶ χεῖρ ἐκάλυψε
- \* P 518 ἢ δ' οὐκ ἐγχοῦς ἔρυτο . . . . .
- Υ 422 δηρὸν ἐκὰς στρωφᾶσθαι . . . . .

It might fairly be questioned whether these examples as they stand do not constitute too slender a basis for the erection of Solmsen's theory. However twelve of the examples are word groups demanding lengthening as the "behandlungsweise des wortinlauts". For them another explanation is imperative and they must carry the remaining five examples with them.

In the first place four of the examples are of ἔρυμαι *protect*, and in view of their age I consider it necessary to abandon definitely the attempt to connect this verb with Sanskrit *varātā*, and look upon its relationship to Latin *servare* as definitely established; for the opposite view and the literature of the question, cf. Solmsen, p. 245 ff.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Similarly on account of the age of Π 46 ὥς φάτο λισσόμενος, 47 καὶ κῆρα λιτέσθαι we must deny an initial digamma to λίσσομαι.



For the other passages acceptable emendations have long since been proposed, which it is needless to repeat here.<sup>1</sup> I will call attention to the fact that they furnish instances of lengthening in word groups in the third thesis *πρὸς F δὲν μεγάλητορα θυμόν; δὲν F οι περὶ χεῖρ ἐκάλυψεν*. For the absence of such cases Solmsen's theory had no explanation to offer, while Danielsson had been lead theoretically to the assumption that they had been removed in the course of the modernization of the poems. It is also noteworthy that other examples B 471, Z 72, A 403 had been used by poets who did not pronounce the digamma. The Iliad therefore must have once contained two versions of these lines, and the assimilation of the older to the later form is only what was to be expected. These include the two cases in which it is necessary to depart farthest from the traditional text; elsewhere we have merely the substitution of forms which stop a hiatus for readings which seemed to leave an objectionable one. Corruption to this extent seems to me most probable in view of the vicissitudes the text is known to have undergone.

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<sup>1</sup> An exception might be made for A 106 which contains a suspicious use of the article. The line may be a later addition, Agamemnon beginning his speech with the abruptness which is in evidence in the later speeches of the council.

[*To be continued.*]



### III.—ON THE USE OF OTAN WITH CAUSAL IMPLICATION.

The object of this paper is to show that the conjunction *ὅταν* in its normal combination with a verb in the subjunctive mood not infrequently bears a causal signification varying in strength according to the circumstances, and that in such cases the temporal meaning is more or less evanescent, and sometimes entirely disappears. With the use of the conjunction where the verb refers to future time (Goodwin, § 529; Kuehner-Gerth, § 567, 3) I am not at present concerned. It is rather my purpose to establish that the classification which sums up the other occurrences of the construction as necessarily expressing 'indefinite frequency' (Goodwin, § 532; Kuehner-Gerth, § 567, 4) is incomplete; and that a rigorous insistence on its universal applicability has vitiated the interpretation of numerous passages.

My attention was originally directed to this question by the impossibility of bringing Eur. Ion 743 f. within the compass of the ordinary rule: ΚΡ. βάκτρῳ δ' ἐρείδου περιφερῇ στίβον χθονός. ΠΑ. καὶ τοῦτο τυφλόν, ὅταν ἐγὼ βλέπω βραχύ. The meaning of *περιφερῇ* is disputed, but there can be no doubt as to the general drift: Cr. 'Guide yourself by your staff' . . . Paed. 'That is a blind guide, *now that* my sight is dim.' The editors either ignore the difficulty, or, recognising that *ὅταν* must be causal, fail to perceive that they are defending an anomaly. Now consider Thuc. i. 141 μάχη μὲν γὰρ μιᾷ πρὸς ἅπαντας Ἕλληνας δυνατοὶ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀντισχεῖν, πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀδύνατοι, ὅταν μήτε βουλευτηρίῳ ἐνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρῆμά τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελῶσι, πάντες τε ἰσόψηφοι ὄντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος σπεύδῃ. The Peloponnesians and their allies cannot carry on a war successfully, *because*, being an aggregation of independent units, they fail in common initiative. How can *ὅταν* be translated otherwise than by some phrase which preserves the causal nexus? The translators who are free from grammatical shackles do not hesitate to express it, as may be seen (ex. gr.) from the versions of Bloomfield and Dale. Mr. Marchant, following Krueger, Poppo-Stahl,



Classen-Steup and Forbes, renders 'so long as'; but that is really an equivocal, which affects to preserve the temporal meaning, while in accordance with English idiom it approximates to 'provided that'. If *ὅταν* is admitted to possess the same flexibility, *cadit quaestio*. Shilleto, with characteristic clearness of vision, maintained that there was a blending of the particular with the general: 'The Peloponnesians are unable . . ., i. e. men are unable when . . .'. And he translated the passage in the *Ion*, 'when one like me is short-sighted'. But why should we so torture the language, 'when' (or 'so long as') nothing is more certain than the assumption of a causal bearing by temporal conjunctions in various languages? The progress of the English *when* from time to cause is illustrated by Prof. W. G. Hale in his *Cum-Constructions*, at p. 155. It is the merest prejudice to refuse to *ὅταν* a development which is freely conceded to *ἐπεὶ* and *ὅτε*. Whether the time-force of *ὅταν* is entirely lost in Thucydides I am not concerned to argue; but it is strongly maintained that the sentence has nothing in common with the clause of general assumption, which monopolizes the attention of the grammarians.

Before proceeding with the general body of evidence, I wish to call attention to Soph. *Ai.* 134 ff. *Τελαμώνιε παῖ . . . σέ μὲν εὖ πράσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω | σέ δ' ὅταν πληγὴ Διὸς ἢ ζαμενῆς | λόγος ἐκ Δαναῶν κακόθρους ἐπιβῇ, | μέγαν ὄκνον ἔχω καὶ πεφόβημαι | πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας*, where I believe that grammatical preconception has blinded the critics to the true sequence of thought. I interpret thus: 'As I rejoice ever at your good fortune, so *now that* you are assailed either by a stroke of Zeus or an envious slander, I am scared. *For* the story we have heard, etc.' (141). The facts, in the view of the Salaminians, are capable of two explanations only: either 1) Ajax is divinely distraught, or 2) he has been slandered. It is only by degrees that the truth of the former—and fatal—alternative is forced upon the chorus. So in 186: 'It may be *θεία νόσος*,—but God forbid; but if, on the other hand, the story is false, up and repel it.' At last, after hearing the account of Tecmessa, they are obliged sorrowfully to admit the truth: *δίδοικα μὴ 'κ θεοῦ | πληγὴ τις ἦκη* (278). The current view treats *ὅταν* . . . *ἐπιβῇ* as a clause of general assumption: 'Whenever a stroke from Zeus . . . assails you, I am always in fear.' Paley alone betrays his uneasiness by the curious remark, 'The subjunctive implies that such a slander may happen again.' But that is not the way in which men express themselves when they find that *for the first time*



they are face to face with a frightful calamity. Or are we to suppose that Ajax was subject to attacks of madness, or has suffered at other times from the malicious plots of his companions? The supposition is neither justified by tradition nor credible in itself. But the weightiest consideration remains to be stated. *πληγὴ Διός*, as Sophocles himself will testify, brings with it destruction, final and crushing: *θεοῦ δὲ πληγὴν οὐχ ὑπερπηδᾷ βροτός* (fr. 876). So in Aesch. Ag. 379 *Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν* is the mournful sentence pronounced over the downfall of Troy. How then can we contemplate its recurrence? I hardly think that critics have seriously pondered the results which flow from their adherence to established convention.

We must now proceed to show that there is sufficient support in the extant classical literature to justify the view to which general considerations seem to point in the three cases hitherto discussed. It is common ground that *ὅτε* is frequently causal (Goodwin, § 713; Kuehner-Gerth, § 569); and I suppose it is admitted that the use springs naturally from its employment as a temporal conjunction. Exactly the same thing has occurred with *ὅταν*, which originally expressed merely the temporal iteration of an action. Both are limited to the cause of the *judgment* as opposed to that of the fact, as was pointed out in reference to *ὅτε* by Starkie on Ar. Vesp. 1134. It is important to bear this limitation in mind; for it is comparatively seldom that the effect of *ὅταν* can be bluntly reproduced in English by the rendering 'because'.

We will start with a very simple case,—Eur. Hec. 306 ff. *ἐν τῷδε γὰρ κάμνουσιν αἱ πολλαὶ πόλεις, | ὅταν τις ἐσθλὸς καὶ πρόθυμος ὦν ἀνὴρ | μηδὲν φέρηται τῶν κακίωνων πλέον.* Here opinions may differ as to the precise value of the temporal conjunction; but it is obviously explanatory of what goes before, and gives the reason for the assertion of *κάμνουσιν*. The lines are exactly parallel to Soph. fr. 74 *ἐνταῦθα μέντοι πάντα τὰνθρώπων νοσεῖ, | κακοῖς ὅταν θέλωσιν ἰᾶσθαι κακά.* Observe that in both cases the passage from the clause of general assumption to the qualitative (causal) clause is marked by the introductory pronominal phrase (*ἐν τῷδε, ἐνταῦθα*). There is a different *nuance* in the purely conditional clause of time, as may be seen by contrasting Ant. 580 *φεύγουσι γὰρ τοὶ χολὲ θρασεῖς, ὅταν πέλας | ἤδη τὸν Ἄϊδην εἰσορῶσι τοῦ βίου.* This explicative *ὅταν* occurs again in Ar. Vesp. 606 *ὁ δὲ γ' ἡδιστον τούτων ἐστὶν πάντων . . . ὅταν οἴκαδ' ἴω τὸν μισθὸν ἔχων, κατ' εἰσελθόνθ' ἅμα πάντες | ἀσπάζονται κτέ.* Cf.



Isocr. 15. 23 ὁ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ὅταν τις αὐτὸς μὲν κινδυνεύων κατηγορῇ τῶν διαβαλλόντων, ἐτέρῳ δὲ δικάζων μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχῃ γνώμην. And of course the list might be considerably extended. In the following examples the temporal force is vanishing if not already extinct: Lycurg. 142 καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν καὶ σχέτλιον, ὅταν νομίζῃ δεῖν Λεωκράτης ἴσον ἔχειν ὁ φυγὼν κτέ. Isocr. 4. 124 (of the Asiatic Greeks) μέγιστον δὲ τῶν κακῶν, ὅταν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς δουλείας ἀναγκάζονται συστρατεύεσθαι. ib. 128 ὁ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ὅταν τις ἴδῃ τοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν ἀξιούοντας (sc. the Spartans) ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνας . . . στρατευομένους, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους . . . συμμαχίαν πεποιημένους. Isocr. 14. 49 ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀλγιστον, ὅταν τις ἴδῃ χωριζομένους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων . . . πολίτας κτέ. With these should be classed Lycurg. 145 οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ φεύγοντες κατέρχονται, ὅταν ὁ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὴν πόλιν . . . ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ . . . ἀναστρέφῃται (it is not merely a case of *exiles* returning, but of a traitor living in our midst). [Dem.] 25. 68 ὁ δ' ἀναιδὴς ἐκ τίνος ὀνομάσθη τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλ' ἢ ὅταν τὰ μήτε ὄντα μήτ' ἂν γενόμενα ταῦτα τολμᾷ λέγειν δι' ἀναισχυντίαν; Isocr. 6. 60 οὐκ ἄξιον διὰ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι πολλοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἐκείνοις θαρρεῖν, ὅταν ὁρῶμεν ἡμᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἐνηνοχότας τὰς συμφοράς κτέ. Here again we have the introductory pronoun. For there is no doubt that ἐπ' ἐκείνοις is neuter and looks forward to ὅταν, balancing διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι. The grounds of confidence are not the repetition of the visual acts, but the various things seen. Observe the awkwardness of the idiom, owing to the Greek tendency to throw the substantive into the verb. I have commented on a similar development in Class. Rev. XX 99. Aeschin. 2. 49 ἀμφοτέρων ἔφη θαυμάζειν . . . ὅταν παρέντες τὸν χρόνον . . . ἀπυδιατρίβωσι τὴν ὑπερόριον λαλιὰν ἀγαπῶντες ('quod moram facerent').

There is a very clear example of causal ὅτε in Ar. Vesp. 1134 ἔπειτα παῖδας χρὴ φυτεύειν καὶ τρέφειν, | ὅθ' οὕτοσί με νῦν ἀποπνίξαι βούλεται; Why should we hesitate to apply the same interpretation to the following precisely similar instances of ὅταν? Soph. fr. 81 κοῦκ οἶδ' ὅτι χρὴ πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν, | ὅταν οἱ γ' ἀγαθοὶ πρὸς τῶν ἀγενῶν | κατανικῶνται. | ποία πόλις ἂν τὰδ' ἐνέγκοι; (so I read and punctuate, but the illustration is equally to the point with Nauck's text.) Phil. 451 ποῦ χρὴ τίθεσθαι ταῦτα, ποῦ δ' αἰνεῖν, ὅταν | τὰ θεῖ' ἐπαινῶν τοὺς θεοὺς εὖρω κακοὺς; (Jebb in his note renders 'seeing that . . .', Campbell 'since'). Aeschin. 1. 187 τί δ' ὄφελος παιδαγωγοὺς τρέφειν . . . ὅταν οἱ τὴν τῶν νόμων παρακαταθήκην ἔχοντες πρὸς τὰς αἰσχύνας κατακάμπτονται; Lys. 27. 3 καίτοι τίνα χρὴ ἐλπίδα ἔχειν σωτηρίας, ὅποταν ἐν χρήμασιν ᾗ . . . σωθῆναι . . . ταῦτα δὲ οὗτοι . . . κλέπτωσι; Theophr. *de sensu* 71 (Diels, Vorsokr.<sup>2</sup> 377, 11) καίτοι τό γε βαρὺ καὶ κοῦφον ὅταν διορίζῃ (*cum*



*definiat*, not *quoties definit*) τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, ἀνίγκη τὰ ἀπλᾶ πάντα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν ὁρμὴν τῆς φορᾶς. The passages in Sophocles are parallel in thought, as well as in language, to Theogn. 747 ff. τίς δὲ κεν βροτὸς ἄλλος . . . ἄζοιτ' ἀθανάτους . . . ὅπποτ' ἀνὴρ ἄδικος καὶ ἀτάσθαλος . . . ὑβρίζῃ πλούτῳ κεκορημένος, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι | τρύχονται κτέ. The reason for the shift to the indicative does not concern us here, and I do not wish to lay much stress on the example itself, which is ambiguous. But the type of sentence is a link which carries us back to Hom. υ 195 ἀλλὰ θεοὶ δυόωσι πολυπλάγκτους ἀνθρώπους, | ὅπποτε καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπικλώσωνται ὀϊζύν, and it will perhaps be conceded that Ernesti's rendering of the subordinate clause 'cum etiam regibus decernant atque immittant miseriam' deserves more consideration than it has received from Monro.

It frequently happens that, when the clause introduced by *ὅταν* is in the nature of a modal or instrumental (rather than a temporal or strictly causal) adjunct to the principal verb, the most suitable method of rendering it is to employ the English present participle. A good example will be found in Thuc. 1. 36 γνῶτω . . . οὐ τὰ κράτιστα αὐταῖς (sc. Athens) προνοῶν *ὅταν* . . . ἐνδοιάξῃ χωρίον προσλαβεῖν ('in hesitating to welcome a state' . . .). Arist. eth. N. 6. 7. 1141<sup>b</sup> 6 Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Θαλῆν . . . σοφοὺς μὲν φρονίμους δ' οὐ φασιν εἶναι, *ὅταν* ἴδωσιν ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ συμφέρονθ' ἑαυτοῖς ('seeing how ignorant they are' . . ., Welldon). Isocr. 7. 54 τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις τῶν εὐφρονούντων ἀλγήσειεν, *ὅταν* ἴδῃ κτέ. 9. 6 νῦν δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀθυμήσειεν, *ὅταν* ὁρᾷ, . . . αὐτὸν δὲ προειδῇ κτέ. Lys. 19. 1 πολλὴν μοι ἀπορίαν παρέχει ὁ ἀγὼν οὕτοσί, *ὅταν* ἐνθυμηθῶ ὅτι κτέ. ('considering, as I do, that' . . .). The force of this statement would be very much impaired, if it could not be taken as a reflection by the speaker on his *present* perplexity. Xen. Hier. 6. 14 ἐχθροὺς δ' αὖ πῶς ἂν φαίης μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις ἐξεῖναι χειροῦσθαι, *ὅταν* εὖ εἰδῶσι ('knowing as they do' . . .) ὅτι ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν εἰσι πάντες οἱ τυραννοῦμενοι; Now compare with these Soph. O. T. 658 εὖ νυν ἐπίστω, ταῦθ' *ὅταν* ζητῇς, ἐμοὶ | ζητῶν ὄλεθρον ἢ φυγὴν ἐκ τῆσδε γῆς. Oedipus is answering a request of the chorus that he should not condemn Creon. The request has been made, and we should translate ταῦθ' *ὅταν* ζητῇς 'in seeking this': it is impossible to think of a reiteration of the demand.

This example from Sophocles may be put at the head of a list of similar cases, for which I know of no better description than Prof. Hale's (op. cit., p. 223), that they serve to *identify* two acts, through an identification of the times of action: 'when you say A (in the saying of A), you mean B'. Plat. Men. 74 E *ὅταν* οὕτω



λέγῃς, τότε οὐδὲν μᾶλλον φῆς τὸ στρογγύλον εἶναι στρογγύλον ἢ εὐθύ; Theact. 146 D ὅταν λέγῃς σκυτικήν, μή τι ἄλλο φράξεις...; Dem. 18. 88 τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. 7. 7 ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ... ὡς ἐθέλει διαδικάσασθαι, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ χλευάζει ὑμᾶς. 20. 99 ὅταν ταῦτα λέγῃ δήπου, ὁμολογεῖ κτέ. 44. 49 ἀλλὰ μὴν γνησίων γ' ὅταν λέγῃ καὶ κυρίως κατὰ τὸν θεσμόν, παρακρούεται παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. ib. 64 ὅταν εἴπῃ υἱὸν γνήσιον ἐγκαταλείποντα ἐπανιέναι, δηλοῖ δήπου κτέ. 56. 23 τὸ ῥαγῆναι τὴν ναῦν ὅταν λέγῃ... ψεύδεται. ib. 25 τὴν μίσθωσιν τῶν πλοίων ὅταν λέγῃς, οὐ τοῦ ῥαγῆναι τὴν ναῦν τεκμήριον λέγεις. Lys. 30. 17 ὅταν ἐμὲ φάσκῃ ἀσεβεῖν... καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατηγορεῖ. Aeschin. 3. 237 ὅταν δὲ τῆς πρὸς Θηβαίους συμμαχίας τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθῇ Δημοσθένης, τοὺς μὲν ἀγνοοῦντας ἐξαπατᾷς κτέ. The cogency of these examples cannot be demonstrated in a short space, or without an examination of the whole of the context in every case; but, even as quoted above, they are manifestly similar to the following from Latin (cited with many others by Prof. Hale): Cic. Quinct. 81 *malo: si enim illud diceres, improbe mentiri viderere: quom hoc confiteris, id te admisisse concedis, quod ne mendacio quidem tegere possis*. Ter. Andr. prol. 18 *qui quom hunc accusant, Naevium, Plautum, Ennium | accusant, quos hic voster auctores habet*. The inference is obvious that, as no one dreams of supposing that repeated action is expressed by the Latin idiom, it is unnecessary and unjustifiable to import any such idea into our interpretation of the Greek. A special case of this category arises, when ὅταν λέγῃ and the like are used to introduce a literary quotation. This is so common in later Greek as to need no illustration. It is the regular, if not the only formula in scholia, and in such writers as Athenaeus, Strabo, Hephaestion, Clement of Alexandria, and others who deal largely in quotation. We will content ourselves with two examples from Philodemus of Gadara, who belongs to an earlier age: *περὶ ποιημάτων* II 20 (ed. Hausrath in *Jahrb. Phil. Suppl.* XVII 249) *οἶον ὅταν ἐπὶ τοῦ πλευσιδιᾶν Σοφοκλῆς εἴπῃ 'ναῦται δ' ἐμηρύσαντο νηὸς ἰσχάδα'* (fr. 694). *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 9, 7, p. 75 G. *Περσαῖος δὲ δηλὸς ἐστίν... ἀφανίζων τὸ δαιμόνιον ἢ μηθὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γινώσκων, ὅταν ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεῶν... λέγῃ κτέ*. It is usual to brush aside the evidence of Hellenistic writers, as having little or no bearing upon the usage of the classical era. The proceeding is always of doubtful value, but for the present purpose we are not obliged to rely on inference alone, for there are extant instances which show that the same formula prevailed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C. See Aeschin. 1. 128 *εὐρήσετε... τὸν Εὐριπίδην*



ἀποφαινόμενον τὴν θεὸν ταύτην οὐ μόνον τοὺς ζῶντας ἐμφανίζειν δυναμένην, ὅποιοί τινες ἂν τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ὅταν λέγῃ, 'φήμη τὸν ἐσθλὸν κὰν μυχῶ δείκνυσι γῆς' (fr. 865). Plat. Ion 538 B τί δὲ δῆ, ὅταν Ὅμηρος λέγῃ, ὡς τετρωμένῳ τῷ Μαχάονι Ἑκαμήδη ἢ Νέστορος παλλακὴ κυκεῶνα πίνειν δίδωσι; ib. C τί δὲ ὅταν λέγῃ Ὅμηρος (quoting Ω 80 ff.), ταῦτα πότερον φῶμεν ἀλειτουργικῆς εἶναι τέχνης κτέ.; Cf. Rep. 383 A πολλὰ ἄρα Ὀμήρου ἐπαινοῦντες ἄλλα τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπαινεσόμεθα, τὴν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου πομπὴν ὑπὸ Διὸς τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι · οὐδὲ Αἰσχύλου, ὅταν φῇ ἡ Θέτις τὸν Ἀπόλλω (fr. 350). In the last example it should be observed that the clause ὅταν φῇ κτέ. balances the accusative τοῦτο in the first member of the sentence, and is equivalent to 'the speech of Thetis'.

So far I have endeavored to group together passages which are similar in structure or intention, and to show how the appearance of the conjunction in certain combinations tended to invest it with a meaning which did not originally belong to it. The examples now to be quoted are among those where the development is complete, and where no other relation than that of causality appears to exist between the subordinate and principal clauses. Isocr. 20. 3: the existence of a law in restraint of abusive language proves the serious nature of an actual assault. καίτοι πηλίκας τινὰς χρὴ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τιμωρίας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔργῳ παθόντων κακῶς, ὅταν ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγῳ μόνον ἀκηκοότων οὕτως ὀργιζόμενοι φαίνεσθε; Isocr. 5. 79 ἴσως οὖν ὑπολαμβάνεις μικροψυχίαν εἶναι τὸ τῶν βλασφημούντων καὶ φλυαρούντων καὶ τῶν πειθομένων τούτοις φροντίζειν, ἄλλως θ' ὅταν (= *praesertim cum*) καὶ μηδὲν σαυτῷ συνειδῆς ἐξαμαρτάνων. Cf. the corresponding use of ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ in 2. 51, 4. 66. ib. 140: those who are capable both as politicians and as generals receive the highest praise. ὅταν οὖν ὁρᾷς (*cum igitur videas*) τοὺς ἐν μιᾷ πόλει ταύτην ἔχοντας τὴν φύσιν εὐδοκιμοῦντας, ποίους τινὰς χρὴ προσδοκᾶν τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς περὶ σοῦ ῥηθησομένους; Lys. 8. 2 ἀνιερὸν μὲν οὖν ἀναγκάζεσθαι λέγειν περὶ τούτων, ἀδύνατον δὲ μὴ λέγειν, ὅταν ἐναντίον τῆς ἐλπίδος κακῶς πάσχω καὶ τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι φίλους ἀδικοῦντας εὐρίσκω ('qui indignis modis acceptus sim', Reiske). 28. 2 καίτοι πῶς αὐτοῖς χρὴ συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ὅταν ὁρᾶτε τὰς μὲν ναῦς, ὧν ἤρχον οὗτοι, δι' ἀπορίαν χρημάτων καταλυόμενας κτέ. Aeschin. 3. 45 ὅταν οὖν ἀποδείξῃ (sc. ὁ νομοθέτης) τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς στεφανουμένοις εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἀναρρηθῆναι . . . 'Since there are definite legal enactments applying to other cases, the law in question must apply to ξενικοὶ στέφανοι'. Plat. Soph. 241 A is an admirable example. The Eleatic Stranger puts forward a definition of ψευδὴς λόγος as τὰ τε ὄντα λέγων μὴ εἶναι καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα



εἶναι, and then proceeds to point out that the Sophist will not accept it. ἢ τίς μηχανὴ συγχωρεῖν τινα τῶν εὖ φρονούντων, ὅταν ἀφθεγκτα καὶ ἄρρητα καὶ ἄλογα καὶ ἀδιανόητα προδιωμολογημένα ἢ τὰ πρὸ τούτων ὁμολογηθέντα; 'and indeed how can any rational man assent to them, *seeing that* the very expressions which we have just used were before acknowledged by us to be unutterable', etc. (Jowett). Dem. 27. 33 καίτοι πόσον τινὰ χρὴ τὸν καταλειφθέντα (sc. ivory and iron—the stock-in-trade) νομίζειν εἶναι, ὅταν φαίνεται τηλικούτοις τε ἐργαστηρίοις ἐξαρκῶν κτέ. 'Since it is proved to have sufficed for factories of a certain size . . . ' 33. 31 ὅταν δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς ἠφανικῶς φαίνεται τὰ γράμματα . . . πῶς ἂν . . . δικαίως ἐμὲ ἀπολέσαιτε; 'Since he is proved to have destroyed the documents . . . ' 34. 17 τίνα οὖν ἄλλον χρὴ περιμένειν υμᾶς μάρτυρα, ὅταν τηλικαύτην μαρτυρίαν παρ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἔχητε; Dem. 45. 84: it is alleged against the speaker that Pasicles, his brother, takes the side of Phormio, his opponent. He replies by suggesting that Pasicles was really Phormio's son. ὅταν γὰρ τῷ δούλῳ συνδικῇ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀτιμῶν, καὶ παραπεπτωκῶς θαυμάζη τούτους ὑφ' ὧν αὐτῷ θαυμάζεσθαι προσῆκε, τίν' ἔχει δικαίαν ταῦθ' ὑποψίαν; 15. 31: it is difficult for you to adopt the right policy owing to the opposition of traitors. ὅταν οὖν μηδὲν ἢ διὰ τούτους ἀκονιτεῖ τῶν δεόντων γενέσθαι, πολλῶν διαμαρτάνειν υμᾶς εἰκότως συμβαίνει. [Dem.] *prooem.* 51: my opponents object to any further investigation of their conduct. καίτοι ὅταν τοὺς ἐξελέγχειν βουλομένους δεινὰ ποιεῖν αἰτιᾶσθε, τί ἡμεῖς τοὺς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐξηπατηκότας τηλικαῦτα λέγωμεν; 'Since you say that a desire to investigate is monstrous, what are we to call the deceit that has been practised upon us'? Ep. III 51 ὅταν οὖν τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα πᾶσιν ἰδεῖν ἢ παραδείγματα (i. e. of the prosperity of traitors) . . . φοβοῦμαι μήποτ' ἔρημοι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐρούντων γένησθε, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅταν κτέ. Lycurg. 116: if there had been only a single precedent, it might have been said that your ancestors acted in anger. ὅταν δὲ παρὰ πάντων ὁμοίως εἰληφότες ὦσι τὴν αὐτὴν τιμωρίαν, πῶς οὐκ εὐδηλον ὅτι φύσει πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπολέμουν; Aeschin. 3. 16 ὅταν . . . ὁ νομοθέτης ἀρχὰς ὀνομάζη, οὗτοι δὲ προσαγορεύωσι πραγματείας καὶ ἐπιμελείας, ὑμέτερον ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀπομνημονεύειν καὶ ἀντιτάττειν τὸν νόμον πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀναίδειαν. Dinarch. 3. 9 is a remarkable instance. The reference is to the office of στρατηγός εἰς τὴν Μουνιχίαν (cf. Arist. resp. Ath. 61, 1), to which Philocles *had already been appointed*. τί γὰρ τοῦτον οὐκ ἂν οἶεσθ' ἀποδόσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει σπουδαιωτάτων, ὅταν ὑμεῖς ὡς πιστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ δίκαιον φύλακα καταστήσητε; ('quando constituistis' is the old Latin version). Lys. 28. 15 is of interest, as an example of adversative rather than of strictly causal bearing.



The defendent Ergocles claims consideration as one of the democrats who returned from Phyle. Lysias argues that this makes his misdeeds in office all the worse, because he was appointed as a champion of freedom. *ὅταν γὰρ ἡγησώμεθα σωτηρίας ἀντειληφθαι, δεινότερα ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀρχόντων πάσχομεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.* Reiske conjectured *ὅτε . . . ἡγησάμεθα*, which does not fit *πάσχομεν*, and Kayser accordingly introduced a further change to *ἐπάσχομεν*. But the text is much better as it stands. Translate, 'Now that we have come to believe that . . .'; or 'Despite our conviction that . . .'. Plat. rep. 339 E οἷον τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ τὸ ἀξύμφορον ποιεῖν τοῖς ἀρχουσί τε καὶ κρείττοσι δίκαιον εἶναι ὁμολογήσθαι σοι, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀρχοντες ἄκοντες κακὰ αὐτοῖς προστάττωσιν, τοῖς δὲ δίκαιον εἶναι φῆς ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἃ ἐκεῖνοι προσέταξαν. Adam's note labors under the bias of the assumption that *ὅταν* must always mean 'whenever'. He starts by saying 'these two clauses depend, not on *ὁμολογήσθαι*, but on *ποιεῖν*'; but his paraphrase shows that he really understands them as belonging to *δίκαιον εἶναι*. Afterwards candor forces him to admit that Plato has failed to express what he means. "Desire for brevity and balance leads Plato to put both clauses under the government of *ὅταν*, although 'since' rather than 'whenever' is the more appropriate conjunction for introducing the second: for Thrasymachus does not sometimes but always assert that it is just to obey the rulers." But, if we are prepared to allow that *ὅταν* means 'inasmuch as', there is no difficulty whatever in attaching the clauses to *ὁμολογήσθαι*, especially if we bear in mind that the *μὲν*-clause is logically subordinate<sup>1</sup>, and that the real connection is *ὁμολογήσθαι ὅταν φῆς*. Thus we return to the category of identification. 'You have admitted that justice is not the interest of the stronger *in your assertion* that, even though they unwittingly prescribe their own injury, it is just to obey them.'

I will conclude by quoting a few examples—taken quite at random—from later Greek, for the purpose of showing that the same type of construction continued to prevail, although the conjunction was gradually losing its distinctive character, and was even combined with the indicative (e. g. Plut. comm. not. 30, p. 1074 D: see also Moulton, N. T. Gramm., § 168). Plut.

<sup>1</sup> The principle is familiar, but the preference given to grammatical antithesis often extends so far as to obscure the meaning: see e. g. Jebb on Soph. O. T. 419.



Demosth. 11 μὴ θαυμάζετε τὰς γινομένας κλοπὰς, ὅταν τοὺς μὲν κλέπτας χαλκοῦς, τοὺς δὲ τοίχους πηλίνους ἔχωμεν. Qu. conv. viii 6. 1, p. 726 A θάττον γὰρ ἢ βάδην ἐπειγόμενον, ὅταν βραδύνη ('because he has loitered'), φαίνεσθαι—an explanation of τρεχέδειπνος. [Arist.] de mund. 4: lightning is seen before thunder is heard, ὅταν τὸ μὲν τάχιστον ἢ τῶν ὄντων, λέγω δὲ τὸ πυρῶδες. Epict. diss. IV 1. 51 ὅταν οὖν μήτε οἱ βασιλεῖς λεγόμενοι ζῶσιν ὡς θέλουσι . . . τίνες ἔτι εἰσὶν ἐλεύθεροι; Cebes Tab. 39 οὐδὲ συμφέρει ἄρα ἐνίοις πλουτεῖν, ὅταν μὴ ἐπίστανται τῷ πλούτῳ χρῆσθαι. Aristid. I 746 πῶς ὑμῖν γε θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔξεστιν, ὅταν μὴδὲ δουλεύειν ἀλλήλοις ἐξῇ. Galen de Hipp. et Plat. plac. II 8, p. 246 M. ἔταν ταῦτα ὁ Διογένης γράφῃ . . . οὐδὲν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι φήσομεν ἀμφισβητεῖν.

I do not wish to lengthen this article by dealing with ἐπειδάν, which is properly regarded as the congener of ὅταν. A clear example of its causal application will be found in Xen. Hier. 8. 7.

A. C. PEARSON.



#### IV.—IMAGINATION AND WILL IN MH.

##### I.

The two functions of μή offer a constant challenge. What was the relation between them? There is no reason to suppose that μή had a double origin. To the Greek mind the word was one ; all its uses must have seemed to them closely akin. From the point of view of Sanskrit, in which mā is limited to expressions of will, it certainly appears as if the original function of μή were to present the negation as willed. Yet it is hard to see how the other function, as the negation of a conception, in contrast with οὐ as the negation of fact, can have grown out of that. No one has made such a process appear plausible. One can only say, it must have been so, because willed negation was the earlier function, since that alone appears in Sanskrit and the other is purely Greek.

And then there is that curious extension of μή at the cost of οὐ, which was so marked in post-classical times. Long before Homer, but not until Greek had set up for itself as a distinct language, the speakers of Greek began to develop the latent possibilities of μή and extend its range. They had carried the process far by Homer's time, still farther in the Athens of Plato ; Lucian and the rest, in taking μή beyond the range allowed by Plato, were but following an impulse that had been active much longer than a millennium. The interplay of μή and οὐ from Homer down offers a succession of challenges. My own interest in the negatives was greatly stimulated by the endeavor to follow Plato's delicate shadings of thought as he passes from one to the other. Of course in most cases there is no difficulty ; the general differences are clear. And where the point is more subtle, since we have in English no ready means of marking it, we can often glide around it, with no sense of loss. But not always ; the reader now and again finds himself puzzling over the question, Just what did he mean by choosing here this negative and not that ?



The classic differences between  $\omicron\upsilon$  and  $\mu\eta$ , said the editor of this Journal in the first number (p. 48) "are sufficiently well known, if not sufficiently well formulated, nor referred to sufficiently satisfactory causes. The view which considers  $\omicron\upsilon$  as the negative of statement,  $\mu\eta$  as originally the negative of the will, I am content to accept. How the negative of the will comes to be used in all its varied relations, this is not the place to develop. Suffice it that we find these two negatives in the very beginning so clearly distinguished, so accurately used, that we can recognize in them a sharper modality than obtains even in the moods. . . . Still there is a certain borderland, which in the classic period was occasionally invaded by  $\mu\eta$ ; and it is just this borderland on which  $\mu\eta$  has squatted so resolutely in the post-classic times". The present paper is an attempt, by closer analysis of early usage, to connect more rationally the classical uses of  $\mu\eta$ , in the hope of throwing a little more light on that borderland where  $\mu\eta$  and  $\omicron\upsilon$  are in the classic period both at home, each carrying with it, presumably, a shade or a tone which the other did not have. It is not claimed that the resulting illumination is all we could desire. We must operate with hypotheses rather than proof; from the nature of the problem we must be content if we can frame a hypothesis that seems to fit the facts, and in a sense explain them, better than other hypotheses. And readers of this Journal do not need to be told that the paper could never have been written without the frequent discussions by the editor in these pages, beginning with the above mentioned first number. It is the more proper to emphasize this relation, because at the outset I adopt a different view from that accepted in the paragraph quoted.

## II.

To assume that willed negation was the primary force of  $\mu\eta$  is to assume a long and hitherto unexplained leap at some time from this to the other function. Such a difficulty is commonly taken as a good indication of something dubious in a hypothesis. And then, must we at all hazards take Sanskrit usage as the starting-point? Sanskrit is not, after all, the parent tongue of Greek, but an older and rather distant cousin. If we could trace each of them back to the unknown date before their lines began to diverge, we should pass, along each line, through many stages, deserving each to be distinguished by a distinct name. It is our



complete ignorance of those intermediate stages that permits us to imagine anything resembling a descent of Greek linguistic phenomena from Sanskrit phenomena that distantly, or even closely, correspond. We must beware of allowing ourselves to be thus unconsciously misled. No doubt *mā* and *μή* are related, and retain points of resemblance from their remote common ancestor. But great differences have come in. These are no more to be ignored than is the partial resemblance. They point to different lines of development. There is no positive ground for assuming that *mā* has retained all of the original force while *μή* has in Homer taken on additions. As Greek has retained an earlier fulness of vowel scheme, *a*, *e*, *o*, which Sanskrit has reduced to *a* alone, why may not *μή* have retained a fuller semantic content while *mā* has lost something—has shrunk or been crowded back? I am not trying to prove that *mā* has lost something or been crowded back; I only protest against the assumption, as if it needed no evidence, that the narrow use of *mā* is and must be the whole primitive word, out of which *μή* has been developed. We know nothing about that. A corresponding belief once prevailed about Sanskrit *a* and Greek *a*, *e*, *o*; but we have learned better. What the Hellenist as such desires to know is the Greek atmosphere of *μή*. No Greek of Homer's day was conscious of the remote origin either of his words or of their semantic atmosphere. Homeric Greek is the earliest that later Greeks knew—to them the beginning of development. We must find their primitive thought of *μή* in Homer, and must beware of trying to cross waters where there is neither bridge nor ferry.

If now we leave *mā* out of the question and start from early Greek usage, some things wear a different look. First, as a negative of will we note that *μή* occupies a far wider field than *mā*. Even on that side the two have long parted company. But the other function is no less firmly established in Homer, and has there just as primitive a look. Was that the real starting-point? G. Hermann thought it was: "quum particula *μή* negationi exprimendae inserviat, quam philosophi subjectivam vocant; usurpatur de ea re, quae tota in cogitatione versatur".<sup>1</sup> Matthiae took the same view,<sup>2</sup> regarding the negative of will as a form of the negative of conception. Similarly Aken, who says: <sup>3</sup> "Sonach bezeichnet *μή* eine Negirung für das Reich des Ab-

<sup>1</sup> Opusc. I, p. 229 f.<sup>2</sup> Gr. Gram. § 608 ff.<sup>3</sup> Temp. u. Mod. § 315.



stracken oder Ideellen, *οὐ* für das des Realen d. h. das diesem als irgendwie angehörig behauptete. Von jenem ist das prohibitive *μή* nur eine Anwendung". But obviously these views have not prevailed. Can they be restated in more convincing form? The attempt is perhaps worth while, and I shall venture to set forth the line of thought by which, while unfortunately ignorant of the views of more distinguished predecessors, I arrived at similar conclusions.

Few have that gift of divination which enables one to discern confidently and describe with precision several distinct stages of pre-Homeric growth. But putting aside all claim to have discovered the precise order of historical development in the period before we know the language, we may, by approaching the matter from this side, discover at least logical relations that make historical development of the prohibitive function from the other seem not only possible but probable. We meet no such difficulty in conceiving the unity of the two functions as we do in starting from the prohibitive. The categories, if the term steps of development must be excluded, may be distinguished and their relations indicated as follows.

1. The imperative is a verb-form expressing will on the part of the speaker, primarily will that something be or be done. That is, an action or state is imagined—a conception, not yet a reality—realizable in the future, if at all; and the speaker expresses his will that it be realized. If now that imagined state or act is negated, the negative should naturally be, not the one which denies a fact, but that which negatives a conception, if the language habitually makes that distinction. In the combined expression each part performs its proper office; the whole becomes a willed negative conception. But in the primitive *μή* *ἐπέθιζε* we are not to see in the *μή* any trace of will. That is fully contained in the verb-form, without *μή* as distinctly as with it; *μή* is fully accounted for on the other basis. So if *μή* is connected with an independent optative, like elements of thought are conveyed, with variations in detail as command shades into wish, advice, prayer, curse. The verb-form expresses wish; *μή* simply negatives a conception.

2. With an independent subjunctive, however, *μή* begins to exhibit a semantic change. The verb by its mode indicates a conception (perhaps originally a willed conception?) which may hereafter become a fact. With *οὐ*, the negative of the concrete,



the expression becomes in Homer a negative statement in reference to the future, a denial that the conception will be realized—*οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι and I shall not see*. With *μή* on the other hand the conception expressed in the verb is negated without emerging from the realm of imagination. In *μή σε κιχέω*, by the choice of *μή*, the speaker refuses to contemplate as a future fact the thought of his again meeting Chryses there; he proposes that the conception shall not so emerge into reality. The whole can therefore be nothing else than an expression of will; verb and negative cooperate, more subtly, but in essentially the same way, as do *μή* and an imperative or *μή* and an optative. Only, with an imperative *οὐ* could not be used, if *οὐ* denies a fact and *μή* is the conceptual negative, while with the subjunctive either *οὐ* or *μή* could stand, with a sharp difference in total meaning. In the far less frequent case of an optative without *ἄν* or *κεν* but with *οὐ* a like difference was felt. It was the choice between *μή* and *οὐ* that made the difference. The prohibitive force inevitably appeared, in such cases, to reside in the *μή*.

3. When now many expressions of this type were associated with numerous imperatives and optatives negated by *μή*, the whole in each case expressing will, it was inevitable that *μή* itself should acquire a prohibitive, rejecting, deprecatory tone. Thus it became ready for extension, in that sense, to the indicative.

4. Hence for example Hera's passionate protestation,

*μή δὲ ἐμὴν ἰότητα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων  
πημαίνει Τρῶάς τε καὶ Ἑκτορα. Ο 41 f.*

The note of Ameis-Hentze on this passage covers the ground and cites the parallels; so do Liddell and Scott under *μή*, and Monro's Homeric Grammar § 358. In each case the appeal of the oath precedes; then in a grammatically independent clause follows the protestation, *μή* with an indicative, here present, in K 330 future, in T 261 aorist.<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes could still use future and aorist so. Closely akin is the deprecatory question,

*ἢ μή τις σευ μῆλα βροτῶν ἀέκοντος ἐλάβναι; ι 405.*

These various uses of *μή* with finite verb lead easily to its use as a subordinating conjunction.

5. With the infinitive meantime *μή* was apparently undergoing a like treatment. A *for* dative, syntactically the original status (at least the prevailing status) of the infinitive, implies an aim, is

<sup>1</sup> True, the indicative is an emendation, but a practically certain one.



an expression of a goal toward which some one is urging, or at least a goal toward which something is tending. There is no reason to doubt that the Homeric infinitive is primarily an expression of purpose or of "quasi-purpose",<sup>1</sup> whether without a negative or with it. Here too therefore we need not look to the negative to find the expression of will. But an infinitive is first of all a *nomen actionis*, an abstract noun, freed, in primitive usage, from specific circumstances of person and number and time. It has no future; *aktionsart* is implied in the stem, but no *zeitstufe*, until later. As an abstract noun, therefore, without reference to the will suggested by the case, it should take μή as its negative. It is true that Greek infinitives of this earlier type are not found with a negative in Homer. Such infinitives are there regularly positive—*ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι*, *λείπε φορῆναι*, *ἀργαλέος ἀντιφέρεσθαι*, and the like. But the infinitive in the so-called "imperative sense" was common enough with μή, without subject or with a nominative—*μή τι διατρίβειν* Δ 42, *μή μοι πρὶν ἰέναι*, *Πατρόκλεις* Π 839, *μή τι σύ γ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἀντικρὺ μάχεσθαι* Ε 130. If one maintains that such infinitives with μή were not used until μή had already taken on its prohibitive tone, we cannot confute him historically. But we still have to account for the fact that μή soon became, if it was not already, the regular conceptual negative with infinitives, where no trace of will remains. Absence from the conventional style of Homer does not quite prove absence from speech. The hypothesis here offered accords with analogies and contradicts none. To me it seems more probable than the leap required by the other starting-point. And such a course of development would be another influence tending to impart to μή itself that tone of will which it had fully acquired before Homer.

All I can claim to have shown so far is that the acquisition of this meaning, if we conceive the process in the way indicated, is not only natural, but inevitable. So conceived the functions which we naturally think of as two are seen to be at bottom one. So clear and so clarifying did this appear to me that I ventured in 1902 to say in an elementary grammar, "Both meanings are in so far one that both represent a negative as conceived rather than as fact." And of course this is but restating what Hermann, Matthiae, and Aken had stated before.

<sup>1</sup> Gildersleeve, A. J. P. XXXI, p. 78.



## III.

Meantime the unquestionable *μή* of imagination is also in Homer. It is not very abundant; the range is narrow as compared with that in Plato; the Homeric man had little leaning toward abstraction. He readily conceived the imaginary as real, the abstract or general as concrete or individual, and was far more inclined to do so than the subtle Athenian. Homer and Plato are at the opposite ends of the scale in that regard. But there are enough typical cases in Homer where there is no shade of will.

We will not dwell on *εἰ* clauses with optative and *μή*, because one may insist on wish as the foundation of such conditions. Nor on *εἰ* clauses with subjunctives and *μή*, although they seem to me good cases. But how shall we regard *εἰ μή* with the indicative? In *εἰ μή τις θεός ἐστι κοτεσσάμενος Τρώεσσιν* E177, if it stood alone, one might indeed take *μή* as deprecatory; Aineias clearly hopes the warrior is not an angered god. But that will not fit *εἰ μή τις γρηῦς ἐστι παλαιή, κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα* τ 346. Odysseus knows there is one; his plan is to get speech with her; nothing suggests that he is going so far as to adopt a deprecatory tone; he merely puts the possibility in the simplest logical form. In *εἰ μὲν δὴ μή τις σε βιάζεται* ι 410 *μή* does indeed emphasize the jest, but not in violation of idiom. Again, in *εἰ μή νύξ ἔλθοῦσα διακρινέει μένος ἀνδρῶν* B 387 one might fancy a deprecatory tone. But not in *εἰ μή τις Δαναῶν νῦν Ἑκτορος ἀντίος εἴσιν* H 98, nor in *εἰ μή σύ γε δύσεαι ἀλκήν* I 231. As to the latter, Odysseus desires above all that Achilles shall put on might. Similarly in *εἰ δὴ μή παίδων τε κασιγνήτων τε φονῆας τισόμεθ'* ω 434 f. All together these clauses can be taken only as the ordinary conditional forms that became later so abundant, negative suppositions in which *μή* exhibits no trace of will, but negatives a conception, precisely as we have suggested was the case originally with imperative, optative, subjunctive, and infinitive.

Still more clearly in unreal conditions. Ebeling's lexicon cites from the Iliad thirtyfive unreal conditions of the form *εἰ μή* with the aorist, and eleven from the Odyssey. Two of these (Γ 374, E 312) are *εἰ μή ἄρ' ὁξὺ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη*, and four more begin the same, varying the subject only. Call these one, and we shall have thirty and eleven. In none of the fortyone is there any trace of a wishing origin. The type *δεῖδω μή δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν* ε 300 would compel us to assume as an earlier stage,



if it were not extant, deprecatory *μή* with the indicative in an independent sentence. But the *μή* of these unreal conditions has no such antecedents; it is the pure conceptual negative, in the most unmistakably imaginary conditions. Its presence there is natural on the hypothesis here defended, inexplicable on the other. No unreal condition in Homer has *οὐ*. Much has been made of the fact that *εἰ* clauses regularly take *οὐ* in Homer if they precede the main clause. But if we examine the dozen cases cited by Monro,<sup>1</sup> we find that some would regularly, and others might, take *οὐ* in Attic, so strong is the tone of reality in them. So in *εἰ περ γάρ τε καὶ αὐτίκ' Ὀλύμπιος οὐκ ἐτέλεσσε* Δ 160. Why should not an *εἰπερ* clause take *οὐ*? Neither in Homer nor later was there any rule that all *εἰ* clauses represent pure conceptions; all depends on the situation and the tone. That *μή* has in Attic pushed *οὐ* out from some of its Homeric seats only illustrates the tendency, ages long. But whenever, at any period, one chooses to put in any kind of a clause a concrete negative fact, *οὐ* is always at hand. Homer and his people do that oftener than the Athenians a few centuries later; that is all.

And one<sup>2</sup> clear case of the generalizing relative clause in the indicative occurs:

*ἔσθ' δὲ πάντες | μάρτυροι, οὓς μή κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι* B 302.

No will is conceivable here, no passionate protest, nothing to differentiate this from the Attic idiom. *οὐ* might just as easily have been used, even to the meter, only with different tone, lacking the generalization.

We find then that in our earliest Greek the conceptual *μή* is quite at home, as primitive-looking as the *μή* of will, whose development from conceptual *μή* is easily traceable. The *μή* of will has in Homer come nearer to its later Attic range. But the other is there; it has ample root and stock for the later growth to meet the need of less objective, more reflective poets, and of thinkers, Ionic and Athenian.

One plausible objection to the foregoing account should be faced. One may say that primitive man does not feel the need of a negative for the abstract, while full expression of will is an early desire. That kind of argument once had a large place in linguistic discussion, and the fallacy of it has been detected. It is one form of the assumption that races who are different from

<sup>1</sup> Hom. Gram.<sup>2</sup>, §§ 316, 359.

<sup>2</sup> And only one (Monro, l. c., § 359 b). B. L. G.



ourselves are therefore inferior, in an earlier stage of advancement in every particular—an assumption that we consider comic when made by another folk about us. Where are the “primitive” races who already possess a highly developed language and a literature? Whenever we catch a race it is old, its language the product of uncounted generations of change, and full of fragments that seem anomalous because they are remnants from an earlier stage. We need to remind ourselves that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the culmination of a long period of literature, as well as the beginning of a new one. As for subtlety, the “man in the street” of Shakspeare’s *London* seems to have distinguished shall and will instinctively—a distinction that we are losing, and that Scotchmen are said to be incapable of learning—which so delicate a stylist as R. L. Stevenson never could master. Early Greek minds felt constantly the need of durative and aorist stems, a distinction which we feel no need for outside of the indicative, and can express but imperfectly. The question is always one of fact. Were μή and οὐ in fact so distinguished, and did μή conceptual dominate the sphere of μή? If so, it was because the pre-Homeric mind felt the utility of such forms of expression, though we do not. So far as our needs and those of our English-speaking predecessors are concerned, a negative of will is as subtle and foreign as a negative of conception.

#### IV.

We will not here attempt to follow the steps by which the infinitive came to accept οὐ, and μή spread to its Platonic limits. Nor is it necessary to repeat the description of those limits. Perhaps the only positive gain for interpretation to be gathered from this view of μή is a little greater readiness to see conceptual μή instead of searching for an elusive will.

The feeling seems never to have been wholly lost that μή was rather more at home with the infinitive than οὐ, and a slight excuse might revive it in place of οὐ. δμνυμι always called for μή, which Homer and Aristophanes put even with the indicative, in passionate protestations after an oath. μαρτυρῶ, πιστεύω, πείσμαι usually follow the same principle. ἐξεπίσταμαι the same in Soph. El. 907 f.; occasionally οἶμαι, νομίζω, even φημί and λέγω. In most of these cases, and others like them, no doubt the sense of will is the determining thing. So too in oracular responses. Perhaps δμολογῶ and συγχωρῶ belong with these. Yet with these



last, as with *φημι, λέγω, νομίζω*, it is noteworthy that a large proportion of the dependent infinitives with *μή* contain a general principle rather than a specific fact. So *ἄρτι ἔλεγον μηδένα ἐθέλειν ἐκόντα ἄρχειν* Plat. Rep. 346 e. The direct form was *ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει ἄρχειν ἐκόν* 345 e. Does not the generalization offer a better ground for *μή* conceptual than any hint of will does for the other *μή*. So *φήσομεν, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἂν μείζον μηδὲ ἔλαττον γενέσθαι μήτε ὄγκῳ μήτε ἀριθμῷ, ἕως ἴσον εἴη αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ* Theaet. 155 a. Here is emphatic assertion certainly, but philosophic coolness rather than emotion. Is will a determining influence on the statement of a general philosophical principle? In *τί γὰρ καὶ φήσομεν οἳ γε καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν περὶ αὐτῶν μηδὲν εἰδέναι* Euthyph. 6 b is not the thought "we admit complete ignorance on the subject"? As in many such cases our free use of abstract nouns offers a ready equivalent of *μή*. In Phaedo 94 c *ὡμολογήσαμεν*, in 93 d *προωμολόγηται* is followed by a negative philosophical generalization about the soul. It is hard to see any influence of will in these. Beside them we may put *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστήμης μηδὲν εἶναι κρεῖττον ὁμολογοῦσιν, τὸ δὲ μηδένα πράττειν παρὰ τὸ δόξαν βέλτιον οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσιν* Arist. N. E. 1145 b 32 f. Here the infinitive clauses are unmistakably generalized by the article; but is the tone essentially different? Beside these may be placed *ὡμολόγει γὰρ οὐκ εἰδέναι* Arist. Soph. El. 183 b 8, *he used to admit that he didn't know*—specific over against the general. In the following, *ἀλλ' ὅρα δὴ εἰ οὕτως ὀρίζῃ, μή μόνον τὸ ἐναντίον τὸ ἐναντίον μὴ δέχεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο . . . . . μηδέποτε δέξασθαι* Phaed. 105 a, one may feel that *οὕτως* helps out a bit, making the infinitive stand in a sort of apposition, but if *οὕτως* were not there, the negative would be the same. So in *λέγω γὰρ αὐτὸ τῇδε, μηδένα δοξάζειν ὡς τὸ αἰσχροὺν καλὸν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων* Theaet. 190 cd, it is hardly *τῇδε* that determines the negative, and reminiscence of will is surely more remote than the obvious generalization, which of itself is so constantly associated with *μή*.

Leaving infinitives, a few other passages will illustrate the principle. First the well known lines Soph. Ant. 685 f.

*ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὀρθῶς τάδε  
οὐτ' ἂν δυναίμην μήτ' ἐπισταίμην λέγειν.*

In simple and unemotional prose this might be *ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ταῦτα λέγεις οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην λέγειν*. But this contains, though so put only to repudiate it, the statement *οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεις*. By substituting *ὅπως μὴ λέγεις* Haimon delicately puts the matter as a pure con-



ception, with no suggestion of fact. *ὅπως* perhaps contributes to the softening of tone, but conceptual *μή* is the central thing.

Two other disputed and puzzling cases appear to receive some light from such considerations. The first is Thuk. I 90, 1, *ἥδιον ἂν ὁρῶντες μήτ' ἐκείνους μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τεῖχος ἔχοντα*. Here one may say truly that *μή* is virtually conditional. This is equivalent to saying that it is *μή* conceptual. The Spartans would have preferred to see a non-existent state of affairs, entire absence of fortifications around Greek cities. *μή* with a predicate participle, in the right context, is sufficiently compact of imagination to carry a suggestion of non-existence as well as any other form of supposition. The other is really a group of passages, beginning with Phaedo 106 d *σχολῇ γὰρ ἂν τι ἄλλο φθορὰν μὴ δέχοιτο, εἰ τό γε ἀθάνατον αἰδίων ὂν φθορὰν δέξεται*. Archer-Hind comments: "It is easier to feel the correctness of *μή* than to explain it grammatically. The meaning is, 'hardly could there be anything else incapable of admitting destruction, if the immortal, being eternal, will admit it'. *μὴ δέχοιτο φθορὰν* is in fact equivalent to *εἴη τό μὴ δεχόμενον φθορὰν*. Wohlrab compares Crat. 429 d *πῶς γὰρ ἂν . . . . . λέγων γέ τις τοῦτο, ὃ λέγει, μὴ τὸ ὂν λέγοι*; Add Gorg. 510 d *τίνα ἂν τρόπον ἐγὼ μέγα δυναίμην καὶ μηδεὶς με ἀδικοίη*; Also Thuc. VI 18 *ὥστε τί ἂν λέγοντες εἰκὸς ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀποκνοῖμεν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχους σκηπτόμενοι μὴ βοηθοῖμεν*". This is clearly right. In these four passages<sup>1</sup> *μή* with a hypothetical optative (potential if one prefers), an independent clause, adds that tone of generalization or characterization with which we are so familiar in relative clauses and with participles. It is plain conceptual *μή* in a less usual setting. To say that *σχολῇ* is virtually equivalent to *οὐ* is perhaps an approximation to the same statement; but it is less accurate, and rather avoids the real point than states it, and cannot be applied to the Gorgias passage.<sup>2</sup>

This is enough to indicate the direction in which, as I think, one may look to find a little practical gain from this view of *μή*. The two phases of the word being really one, naturally they cannot always be disentangled. But the conceptual tone was ever ready to come to the front, and was more often brought into play than is commonly supposed.

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<sup>1</sup> Rather in three; the Gorgias passage by itself strongly suggests wish.

<sup>2</sup> Which supports the preceding note. <Cf. A. J. P. XIX 233. B. L. G.>



the anticipatory or legal condition, as the wish for or against is the source of the ideal and unreal conditions. In the Homeric indicative conditional sentence we have *εἰ οὐ* in prior clauses, *εἰ μὴ* in posterior clauses (Monro, H. G. § 359), a difference which reposes on the difference between a *res iudicata* and a matter still mooted. 'To understand *οὐ* and *μὴ* a certain mobility is necessary' (A. J. P. XIII 259). A dramatic shifting of the point of view is always possible.

In the history of the negatives there are two deep lines. One is the use of *μὴ* with the participle (A. J. P. XXIII 135), the other the triumphant encroachment of *μὴ* upon the domain of *οὐ* (A. J. P. I 45 foll.). *μὴ* with the participle was not possible until the participle began to avail itself of its rights as a predicate, and so began to represent all the forms of the conditional proposition. This was done in conscious opposition to *οὐ*. All this generic business of *μὴ* comes from that. So it will be seen that I have not repented of my paper on the encroachments of *μὴ* upon *οὐ* in the very first number of the Journal, the beginning of my various published notes on the negative.

I am too old to change. 'At fourscore it is too late a week'. Indeed, for me the Carlsbad process which coats the rose of language with the salts of grammar was completed long ago, when I wrote the articles on *οὐ* and *μὴ* for Liddell and Scott—articles sadly marred in the editing (A. J. P. XIX 233).

According to Professor Goodell, the conceptual has come to its own. According to my view there is only an extension based on the primal volitive. Well, grammatical theories are often made to work either way, and I have often compared them in my mind to a certain fresh-water polyp which was once alleged to digest equally well when turned inside out. Unfortunately for my comparison, I have been informed by competent authority that the hydra does not really behave in this Theramenes fashion, but I am not going to give up my comparison on that account. Why, Sir Thomas Browne proved in his *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (published in 1646) that the elephant has joints in his legs, and yet Disraeli in one of his novels, written nearly two hundred years afterwards, tells us of politicians who used the jointless elephant as a type of the unbending statesman. And so my comparison, like the jointless elephant, must stand.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE



## VI.—ALBIUS AND TIBULLUS.

The fittest acknowledgment that I can make for the complimentary epithets 'very clever' and 'very plausible' bestowed by Mr. B. L. Ullman (A. J. P. XXXIII 149 sq.) on the discussion in my Selections from Tibullus, Appendix A, of the question, 'Was Tibullus the *Albius* of Horace'? will be to show that they may have more justification in its substance than readers of Mr. Ullman's paper would be apt to infer. I will not attempt to traverse the whole ground again. I will confine myself to considering certain points which are vital ones to his own solution of the problem.

If our investigation is to escape the 'flaws' so prevalent 'in classical research' at the present day, especially where a matter of literary criticism or history is in dispute, it is necessary that every portion of the evidence should be examined by itself, without prepossession and without reference to any deductions, that may be made from any other piece of evidence not at the moment before us. If this is done, and only if it be done, can we have any security that our final combination is the real resultant of its components. Does Mr. Ullman's treatment of the crucial passage Hor. Carm. I. 33. 1-4 conform to this condition? Let us see.

I quote the whole of the ode for a reason that will presently appear :

Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor  
immitis *Glyceræ*, neu miserabilis  
decantes elegos cur tibi iunior  
laesa praeniteat fide.  
insignem tenui fronte *Lycorida*  
Cyri torret amor, Cyrus in asperam  
declinat *Pholœn*: sed prius Apulis  
iungentur capreae lupis  
quam turpi Pholœ peccet adultero.  
sic uisum Veneri cui placet imparis  
formas atque animos sub iuga aenea  
saeuo mittere cum ioco.  
ipsum me melior cum peteret Venus,  
grata detinuit compede *Myrtale*  
libertina, fretis acrior Hadriae  
curuantis Calabros sinus.



The interpretation of the words must engage us first; and here Mr. Ullman has a novelty. Believing that by the *Glycera* of Albius is meant the *Nemesis* of Tibullus, he would smooth the way to the identification by treating the proper name as a common one. He says:

It was one of the most common names of *hetaerae*, and Horace might just as well have used the common noun *meretrix*, except that it would be less refined and romantic. Horace himself uses the name a number of times for no particular individual but for the class. *Glycera* is, therefore, hardly a proper noun at all. Its use corresponds to that of *Gaia*, commonly used as a synonym for *mulier*.<sup>1</sup> Similar instances are common in all languages; cf. Jezebel (in. French *Mégère*), Jehu, etc.

It is here said that Horace uses the name 'a number of times for no particular individual, but for the class'. This is throwing dust in the eyes of the reader who has no *index nominum* to his Horace. Apart from the present passage the word occurs *thrice* in the poems. C. I. 19. 5 'urit *me Glycerae* nitor | splendentis Pario marmore purius' and III 19. 28 '*me lentus Glycerae* torret amor *meae*' may be taken together. Does Mr. Ullman really hope to convince anyone that *Glycera* is a mere substitute for *meretrix* here, or in I. 30. 3 'O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique, | sperne dilectam Cypron et uocantis | ture te multo *Glycerae* decoram | transfer in aedem?' If a real person is here referred to, why should *Glycera* not have been her real name? and if but a figure of shadow, why should not the phantom have received a proper name from its maker? If some one says, 'Oh, then, the *Glycera* of these passages is different from the *Glycera* of Albius', what objection can Mr. Ullman raise? Has he not already said 'it was one of the most common names of *hetaerae*?' But even if Mr. Ullman had shown that *Glycera* was a synonym for *meretrix*, this would be of no use to him here. The topic of

<sup>1</sup> What are we to make of this? Has Mr. Ullman forgotten the ridicule which the unfortunate *iuris periti* incurred from Cicero for a far less sweeping assertion? 'in omni denique iure ciuili aequitatem reliquerunt, uerba ipsa tenuerunt ut, quia in alicuius libris exempli causa id nomen inueniant, putarent omnes mulieres, quae coemptionem facerent, Gaias uocari' *Murena* § 27. To take a familiar example, would he contend that because John Doe and Richard Roe are frequently put for names of persons in legal language an English writer would refer to the laments of the *immitis Shylock* as the lamentations of the 'ruthless *Roe*' and expect to be understood? His modern parallels do not help him, as he has left out of sight the obvious consideration that Latin has no means of distinguishing between 'Jehu' and 'a jehu' or 'the jehu'.



consolation addressed to the subject of this ode is that the course of love is never smooth. And for this purpose *particular* instances are cited, and cited by name. As Lycoris finds Cyrus, as Cyrus finds Pholoe, as Horace finds Myrtale, so does Albius find Glycera. If Cyrus, Pholoe and Myrtale are names of persons then Glycera also should be the name of a person. If Glycera is a synonym of *meretrix*, then Pholoe and Myrtale should be synonyms of *meretrix* too.

The ground thus cleared of Mr. Ullman's unauthorized intruder, the common name "Glycera", we can ask what Horace intends us to understand by what he says in this ode. His words are plain; and when set out yield the following results: A certain friend of his (1) Albius by name, has been (2) writing piteous elegies because (3) his mistress 'Glycera' has (4) cast him off for a younger rival. Now apart from (1) the matter at issue, there are three statements here and Mr. Ullman rejects two of them. He says, contradicting Horace, that the mistress of Horace's Albius was not Glycera, and he says, again contradicting Horace, that his rival was a richer (not a younger) man. But he fails to see where this method should carry him. If we disbelieve that this elegiac writer's mistress was Glycera, why should we believe that his own name was Albius? And why should Horace not have been as 'inexact' in reporting his metre as he has been in describing his rival? In our haste to show that Tibullus was the Albius of Horace, we have destroyed the credit of the witness on whose testimony we wish to rely. And after all, what is gained by the proceeding? Suppose for the moment that Tibullus *was* called Albius. There is only one way of proving that he is referred to in the ode. And that is for some person with the proper credentials to come forward and say 'I have acquainted myself with the whole of the facts as they were known to the poet's contemporaries, and I can aver with certainty that the *only* 'Albius' who wrote 'elegies' at that time was 'Albius Tibullus', and consequently that his friend and co-eval Horace has grievously misstated matters upon which he professed to be informed'.

There are unfortunately other scholars who identify Glycera and Nemesis. So, to put the matter in a nutshell, I would challenge them, all and singly, to produce a single instance from ancient or modern literature in which the inamorata of any writer has in any published writing, and without an accompanying ex-



planation, been assigned any other name than that by which she was known to the public. When they have done so, they will have put themselves within the pale of argument.

It is possible to maintain, though Mr. Ullman does not maintain it, that, though the Albius of the ode is not Tibullus, the Albius of the Epistle (I. 4) may be. I have argued against this identification, *op. cit.* p. 182, and I have nothing to add here.<sup>1</sup> I am sorry to note that Mr. Ullman cannot see that there *is* a difference, and a considerable difference, between comparing the work of the chief elegiac poet of Rome whom his contemporary Marsus associated with Vergil to that of a Cassius Parmensis and doing the same for that of a 'rich literary amateur.' Even in jests proportion and τὸ πρέπον must be observed.

Mr. Ullman fills some five pages with an attempt to show that the description of Albius in the Epistle *is* appropriate to Tibullus. His interpretation appears to me fantastical. But I do not care to pursue it in detail. I will however give reasons for my judgment, so far as it concerns his exegesis of a single line: 'an *tacitum* siluas inter *reptare salubris*.' Mr. Ullman says that 'verse 4 shows what is the matter with Tibullus: *tacitum* shows that he is brooding, melancholy; *reptare* suggests the dragging steps of a dejected individual; *salubris* . . . suggests that Tibullus was looking for . . . mental health'. But *tacitum* does not mean 'brooding, melancholy,' but simply 'not inclined to talk', 'in mood for meditation, pensive, musing,' as it does at S. I. 3. 63. sq. 'simplicior quis et est qualem me saepe libenter | obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte *legentem* | aut *tacitum* impellat quouis sermone' and so in the other place where Horace uses it, *ib.* 6. 123. Nor is there any more 'dejection' about *reptare* here than in Pliny Ep. 1. 24. 4 'scholasticis porro dominis, ut hic est, sufficit abunde tantum soli ut releuare caput, reficere oculos, *reptare* per limitem unamque semitam terere omnisque uiteculas suas nosse et numerare arbusculas possint', where it depicts the leisurely movement of a scholar who saunters or, if you like, potters about his little country estate. And it is perverse to limit *salubris* to the sense of giving 'mental health'. Though Albius might have 'ualetudo abunde', there was no need for him to risk it by strolling in insalubrious woods.

<sup>1</sup>It may be noted that both identifications are in Porphyrio's commentary.



To come to the next point, the actual evidence that our poet's name was Albius. It is of course possible to hold that it was, without holding that its owner was the Albius of Horace's Ode and Epistle. And those who do this will ask what testimony, independent of that identification, can be discovered. They will find the statement that he was thus called in three existing sources—Diomedes, Porphyrio and the anonymous *Vita Tibulli*. But they will also find that in the two first it is *coupled with the identification*, and that therefore, in our ignorance of the sources which these writers actually employed, we are not entitled to take for granted that it is independent of that identification. Whether Porphyrio, the elder of the two (though he cannot have lived earlier than the second century A. D.), made it himself, or derived it from others, we cannot tell, though it is at least a plausible conjecture that he got it from one of the literary busybodies 'who wrote on the characters of Horace' (Porph. on Sat. 1. 3. 21 and 91). The *Life* is left. As regards this Mr. Ullman says that I admit 'for the sake of the argument' that 'Suetonius is the ultimate source of this life' and he complains that 'this surprising generosity rather takes one off one's guard', p. 150. I will therefore take the opportunity of stating anew the impression which this document left and leaves upon my mind. It is that of a patchwork, with some bits older than others. Some bits look as if they were Suetonian in origin, and this they may be, although I cannot, even 'to shorten the discussion', admit that they *must*. Others again seem to belong to a much less classical period. In the first words of it 'Albius Tibullus', with which alone we are now concerned, there is nothing to indicate their source. Anyone who could decline a Latin noun might have written them. My 'generosity' then amounted to granting that the statement they contain *may* have come from Suetonius; but may equally well have come from some other, later or inferior, source. It was therefore 'necessary to examine the life itself before pronouncing on its credibility'. And I examined its contents with the result set out by Mr. Ullman (though he ought not to say that I attributed the identification of Albius with Tibullus to Suetonius). The analysis showed, and as far as I know Mr. Ullman does not dispute this, that the *Vita* contains nothing about Tibullus that its compiler might not have got from the use of sources which we have as well as he. It is quite useless to argue against this that *in other cases* we know that Suetonius had 'a



considerable amount of material which is not accessible to us'. What we are concerned with is Tibullus and Tibullus alone.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Ullman's argument raises the questions of the trustworthiness of Suetonius and his critical competence. If his reputation for either stood higher than it does, I might be tempted to examine it further. As it is, I will ask Mr. Ullman some questions about a passage in another literary life, believed to have come from the same pen, that should cause him some serious reflexion either on the credibility of biographers or on the sources and composition of 'Lives'.

The following sentence is from *Suetoni Vita Horati a Porphyryone commentariopraemissa* (Vollmer Hor. p. 7):

Ad res uenereas intemperantior traditur, nam specula toto cubiculo dicitur habuisse disposita ita ut quocumque respexisset sibi imago coitus referretur.

I will ask Mr. Ullman to compare this statement about Q. Horatius Flaccus with the account given by Seneca N. Q. I. 16 of a certain Hostius Quadra, whose character was of such a kind that, when he was murdered by his slaves, Horace's intimate friend and patron Augustus declined to punish them; and then to say 1. whether he accepts the statement; 2. whether he believes that Suetonius wrote it; 3. whether he is now quite comfortable in his mind as to the value of 'Suetonian' or other identifications.

J. P. POSTGATE.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL, August, 1912.

<sup>1</sup> May I here explain why I have omitted 'Albius' from the title page of the editions of the whole or parts of the poet's works that I have published, so causing concern to some whom I am sorry to disquiet? I do not claim that I have shown that he was not called Albius: that is a negative which from the nature of the case it is impossible to prove. But, in view of the 'weighty reasons for doubting this statement' (Tibullus Selections, p. xviii), I felt that prudence demanded that he should be given only that name which was certainly his, lest the 'Albius' of current appellation and traditional biography should prove to have no better warrant than the 'Aurelius' which, itself the figment of an identification, disfigured, even in the edition of Lachmann, the title page of our poet's contemporary Propertius.



## VII.—REJOINDER TO MR. POSTGATE.

Gladly availing myself of the courtesy extended by the editor of this Journal, I shall reply to Mr. Postgate's remarks on my paper "Horace and Tibullus" (A. J. P. XXXIII 149 f.).

The main part of my paper—the interpretation of Horace's Epistle to Albius—Mr. Postgate scarcely touches upon. Many of his remarks are based, as I shall attempt to show, on misunderstanding of my words, due largely, it seems to me, to hasty reading on his part, and made easier by my intentional brevity in a portion of my paper that was, as I stated, chiefly introductory.

Mr. Postgate is inexact in stating that I "treat the proper name (Glycera) as a common one". I do not go so far, as my words show. The quotation from Cicero does not affect my point. It is true, Cicero and Mr. Postgate notwithstanding, that Gaia is commonly used in inscriptions merely to indicate that the person referred to without specific name is a woman and not a man; in fact, *mulieris* is sometimes used in exactly the same way.<sup>1</sup> So there is a general similarity between the use of Gaia and that of Glycera as I see it; i. e., Gaia stands to *mulier* about as Glycera to *meretrix*. Of course the similarity is only a general one, as I tried to indicate without lengthy explanation by saying that "the use of Glycera *corresponds* to that of Gaia". Mr. Postgate's argument concerning Richard Roe and Shylock seems to me irrelevant. I do not see what it has to do with the matter in hand, and can account for it only by supposing that in a hasty reading of my words he assumed that I meant that Glycera = mulier = Gaia. Mr. Postgate asserts that Latin has no means of distinguishing between 'Jehu' and 'a jehu' or 'the jehu'. But is this altogether correct? Latin can often distinguish by the context. And after all I do not maintain that Horace's use of Glycera is *exactly* like that of jehu. I did not think it necessary to state that in this phenomenon of making proper nouns common there were various degrees. The extreme stage would be the use of an original proper noun as a

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e. g., Egbert, Latin Inscriptions, p. 101.



common noun alone. Next would be its use as a common noun most of the time. Jehu is in this class perhaps. Then come various stages in which the proper name approaches a common noun in force, where it is a type-name. Here Glycera belongs. A closer English parallel than any I gave is Hodge (American 'Rube') in which the proper name has been almost completely sunk in the appellative—caprimulgus aut fossor. My idea as to Glycera is best indicated by the interpretation I gave of Horace's line—though of course Horace puts it much more tactfully—"Albius, do not grieve overmuch when you think of the bitter-sweet Glycera, for she is only a *meretrix* after all".

Perhaps, however, Mr. Postgate will not be satisfied without Latin parallels. I therefore append a few. The use, for example, of Charybdis as a general term for a monstrous female being, as in Horace, Carm. I. 27. 19, belongs to the same general phenomenon. So also Martial's Penelope venit, abiit Helene (I. 62. 6). But an exact parallel is to be found in the use of Neaera (one of the names, by the way, that Horace uses) by Prudentius *Περὶ στεφανῶν* 10. 239:

Fusos rotantem cernimus Tirynthium:  
Cur, si Neerae non fuit ludibrio?

Contra Symmach. Or. I. 135 f.:

. . . . temulentus adulter  
Invenit . . . scortum . . .  
Hanc iubet assumptam . . . Neeram  
Secum in deliciis fluitantis stare triumph.

In the first passage Iole is contemptuously alluded to, in the second, Ariadne. On the first passage the Delphin edition has the note: Neaera communi vocabulo dicitur quaevis mulier lasciva et infamis. For Glycera, we may compare Ausonius, Epigr. 39 (18): Laidas et Glyceras, lascivae nomina famae. Horace, therefore, uses the term Glycera in place of Nemesis, not with the intention of naming the girl, but of characterizing her—in order to show Albius that she was not worth weeping over forever.

Horace uses the name Glycera four times. The reader may judge for himself whether I was justified in saying 'a number of times'. What is Mr. Postgate's minimum number for this phrase? I do *not* believe nor did I state that Horace always



uses the word *Glycera* as a *substitute* for the word *meretrix*. Even Jehu sometimes refers to the biblical character. I think, however, that in each case it is apparent that Horace uses *Glycera* as a *designation* for a *meretrix*. Thus, it seems to me, there is justification for the statement that *Glycera* is used by Horace as a class name. Mr. Postgate seems to believe that all four *Glyceras* were one and the same person. I certainly do not. Are we to assume that Horace and Albius were rivals for the same girl and that Horace was trying to persuade Albius to leave the field to himself? *Pholoe* and *Myrtale* are mere names too, and I distinctly called *Pholoe* a type-name. Does Mr. Postgate believe that all the persons mentioned by Horace under Greek names were real? In I. 17 Cyrus loves Tyndaris, in I. 33, *Pholoe*. Shall we write a biography of Cyrus and try to determine which sweetheart preceded the other? Shall we puzzle over the identity of Opuntian Megilla's brother?

Mr. Postgate attacks an ode of Horace as if it were a legal document: to him Horace either must mean just exactly what he says or must be convicted of perjury. Will this method of treating poetry find favor with admirers of the Odes? I gave reasons why Horace chose to use the name *Glycera* instead of *Nemesis* and to say *iunior* for *ditior*.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Postgate's challenge is impressive, but proves nothing. My whole point is that the name *Glycera*, with its connotation, is itself an explanation of Horace's failure to use the name *Nemesis*.

To support his assertion that my interpretation of Horace's Epistle I. 4 is fantastical, Mr. Postgate examines my treatment of a single line—a manifestly unfair procedure. I grant that a detail here and there in my treatment may not strike all as plausible, but that need not invalidate my interpretation as a whole—and it is this that is important. Let us see, however, how matters stand with regard to this line. Of course none of the words in it has the connotation I suggest in every passage in which it occurs. Few words have absolutely fixed meanings in themselves—context is very important. Mr. Postgate thinks that *reptare* here means the same as in Pliny, Ep. I. 24. 4: to saunter. But how does he know, except by the context, that it has that meaning in Pliny? I could quote plenty of passages in

<sup>1</sup> If my explanation does not please, one can still fall back on the defence that the rival may have been both richer and younger than Tibullus.



which *reptare* means to crawl—how can Mr. Postgate prove, except by the context, that Pliny does not mean that the gentleman crawls along on hands and knees—or on his paunch? As for *salubris*, Mr. Postgate's interpretation would make the word otiose and worthless in its context. I endeavored to explain *tacitum*, *reptare* and all the other words in such a way that they would form a harmonious conception. The only way in which my interpretation can be refuted is by offering a more plausible one *for the whole poem*, or by showing that I have given *impossible* meanings to words, or have failed to indicate the thought connections. Mr. Postgate does not say that the meanings I give to *reptare* and *salubris* are impossible. I am quite willing to admit that they do not *always* have the connotation I see in them in the Epistle.<sup>1</sup>

That Mr. Postgate believed that Porphyrio got his information from Suetonius seemed to me a fair inference from a reading of the first paragraph of page 180 of his "Selections", especially the last sentence: "We may thus dismiss Diomedes and Porphyrio as the historian of the Caesars is a much older witness". And, furthermore, if the author of the *Vita* derived his information from Suetonius, as Mr. Postgate assumed in his "Selections", and if, as Mr. Postgate believes, Suetonius used only the sources which we have, he must himself have identified Albius with Tibullus.

Mr. Postgate misinterprets my attitude towards the *Vita* and Suetonius. It was Mr. Postgate's *method* that I objected to. The impression that one is apt to get from this method of reasoning is 1) that the evidence of the *Vita* is much more important (being older in origin) than that of Porphyrio and Diomedes; 2) that this importance is nil; 3) that, therefore, Porphyrio and Diomedes are minus quantities. I would much prefer to have the *Vita* dismissed with the charge that it is late and worthless. Personally I do not feel at all sure, though I am inclined to that view, that it goes back to antiquity, much less that we can definitely assign it to Suetonius or any other individual. Even if it comes ultimately from Suetonius, it does not follow that it reproduces all that Suetonius wrote. But if we leave it out of con-

<sup>1</sup> When I say "*tacitum* shows that he is brooding, melancholy", I do not mean that *tacitum* means melancholy. As Mr. Postgate says, *tacitum* means "not inclined to talk", which shows, in this particular context, that Albius was melancholy.



sideration entirely, the question then becomes a plain one as to where Porphyrio got the identification. Mr. Postgate's explanation of its origin does not strike me as plausible.

So far as the present question is concerned I have no interest in Suetonius' credibility, and Mr. Postgate's diatribe against him is wasted. Nor do I follow the logic in the queries with which Mr. Postgate concludes. Supposing that we concede 1) that the statement which he quotes cannot be true, and that we agree 2) that Suetonius wrote it, how does that prove 3) that the identification of Albius and Tibullus is wrong?<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In his third query Mr. Postgate asks whether I am now quite comfortable in my mind as to the value of Suetonius *or other* identifications. The 'or other' is, unfortunately for his logic, an admission that I did not hold that Suetonius was the source of all our information. As a matter of fact, I do not know whether he was the source of any of it.



## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**Römische Säkularpoesie : Neue Studien zu Horaz' XVI. Epodus und Vergils IV. Ekloge. Von R. C. KUKULA. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1911. 97 pp.**

Under the title 'Römische Säkularpoesie' Professor R. C. Kukula, of Graz, has set forth two new studies, on Horace's Sixteenth Epode and on Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.

His interpretation of the famous Epode is not very convincing. He finds that it is a satire on a political Utopia of that day, possibly a pamphlet directed against Antonius (who was suspected of a design to transfer the government from Rome to Alexandria). The description of the Blessed Fields is caricature, the treatment of the oracle in the closing lines (63-66) is all irony and satire. The chief model of the poem is the speech in the Iliad, B 110-141, where Agamemnon speaks only to try his men, while his friends speak to hold them back. It is Archilochian in tone, and it is a genuine 'iambus'. It even contains a couple of verbal echoes of Archilochus: the *ἀδύνατον* of line 34 comes from fr. 71 (31), and 'muliebrem tollite luctum' (39) is a translation of *τλήτε γυναικεῖον πένθος ἀπώσάμενοι*, fr. 9 (55) 10. <But was everything 'Archilochian' necessarily satiric? And surely something should have been said about the ethical effect of Horace's unusual metre.>

Some of the arguments on which this interpretation rests need not be taken very seriously. For example, Horace could not have really expected, or wished, an affirmative answer to his 'sic placet'? (23); a serious proposal to leave his country would be inconsistent with his 'patriae quis exsul se quoque fugit'? (Carm. 2, 16, 19) and with his 'caelum, non animum, mutant', etc. (Ep. 1, 11, 27). <The inconsistency is not very obvious.> Again, 'pluraque felices mirabimur' (53) is inconsistent with the 'nil admirari' of Ep. 1, 6, 1. <As if Horace could not write anything, at any time or in any context, which would be inconsistent with what he had once written in the year 40.> The 'pii' of line 66 cannot be Horace's political party; 'dagegen protestieren ebenso seine Dichtung wie seine Philosophie (vgl. besonders die Episteln I, 6 und 11) und seine politische Gesinnung'. 'Me vate', in the same line, is irony; the oracle was not Horace's own, and, besides, educated men of Horace's day were skeptical about oracles and such things. 'Iuppiter illa pia secrevit litora genti' (66) is *σαρκασμός*. Horace's conception of Roman 'pietas' may be seen in his Carmen Saeculare: 'Alme Sol, possis nihil



urbe Roma visere maius', and any different wish would be 'nefas'. 'Pii' (66), then is ironical, 'volate' (40) is 'schmählich', and there is something about as bad in the closing word 'fuga' (66). <But when did 'volare' become 'schmählich'? Catullus did not hesitate to say of himself and his friends (46. 6) 'ad claras Asiae *volemus* urbes'.> Even lines 35-36 are tortured into confessing their part in the general satire: 'auf diese salzige Flut und auf den Pfad, der uns die süsse Heimkehr wehren mag, lasst uns die Schritte lenken, die ganze fluchbeladene Gemeinde' ('haec et quae poterunt reditus abscindere dulcis | eamus omnis exsecrata civitas'). That is, 'haec' (35) refers to the 'salsa aequora' of line 34, and before 'quae' one should supply 'ea'—for Horace is thinking of the θαυματὰν ὁδὸν of Pindar, Pyth. 10. 29.

The interpretation of the Fourth Eclogue is equally novel—and equally unconvincing. That is, it is not a λόγος γενεθλιακός, but a 'hymnus' written in honor of Octavianus, an ἐγκώμιον 'Οκταβιανού. It is an official 'praeludium' of the secular festival which was planned for the year 39, and it was probably written at Octavianus' command. The 'puer' of the poem is no other than Octavianus himself (who was then twenty-three years old). Virgil's model is Theocritus (xvi, xvii, xxiv), but he has also adapted to his purpose a Sibylline oracle then current, an oracle which plainly shows Jewish influence.

Professor Kukula removes lines 60-63 from the end of the poem, and inserts them between lines 25 and 26. This, he remarks, brings the poem into conformity with some of the Idylls of Theocritus and with sundry other ancient poems. He makes the Eclogue 'amoebaeon' ('zwischen *vates* und Sibylle'); lines 1-3 form the prooemium; lines 4-10 and 18-25 (60-63) 26-45 are Virgil's version of a Sibylline oracle; lines 11-17 and 46-59 are sung by the poet in his own person. <He makes no comment on the fact that the rules of 'amoebaeon' singing are less strictly observed than in Virgil's other Eclogues.>

Having thus assigned lines 8-10, 'tu modo nascenti puero', etc., to the 'oracle', he insists that 'nascenti' does not necessarily refer to the year in which the poem was written. And he can see in line 48, 'adgrederet o magnos (aderit iam tempus) honores', that the poet is not addressing a child, but a youth already mature enough for the 'cursus honorum' ('ein für den *cursus honorum* herangereifter Jüngling'). The 'puer' of the 'oracle', then, cannot be a child born in the year 40; he must have been immediately recognized as Octavianus, 'puer κατ' ἐξοχήν' to the people of that day. Cicero had actually called him 'puer egregius' in a letter written in March, 43. Indeed, whom could Virgil have meant by the hero of his new 'saeculum', if not the 'puer divinus' of his First Eclogue? <But 'Tityrus', in the First Eclogue, does not call his benefactor 'puer divinus', or 'puer'; the only hint of his age is in line 43, 'hic illum vidi *iuvenem*'.>



Unfortunately, some unprincipled person took liberties with Virgil's ἐγκώμιον Ὀκταβιανοῦ, a few years after his death, and by cunningly changing the order of four lines, 'incipie, parve puer', etc., made it available for the propaganda for a different 'Erlöser'. Whether this was done in the interest of Pollio's son, Asinius Gallus, or in the interest of Christian proselytizing, it is hard to guess—and 'im Grunde recht nebensächlich'. The fact of the dedication to Pollio means little or nothing as to the identity of the 'puer'; the person really honored is a greater than Pollio. Its chief significance is that it shows how completely harmony had been restored by the Peace of Brundisium. For the Eclogue was written after the Peace of Brundisium, the Sixteenth Epode, before that event. Neither Pollio nor Antonius could now be offended by a hymn in honor of Octavianus. <This prudently anticipates any such objection as was naturally raised to Professor Skutsch's discovery that the Sixth Eclogue is one long compliment to Gallus, though it is formally dedicated to Varus.>

In his discussion of the identity of the 'puer', Professor Kukula draws several impressive parallels between Virgil and other ancient poets, but the parallels are not always as complete as he implies. For example, in lines 60-63, 'incipie, parve puer', etc., Virgil's 'oracle' announces a sign by which 'der vom Schicksal bestimmte' founder of a better time may be recognized in the hour of his birth. Like 'der vom Schicksal erbetene *Torquatus parvulus*' (Catull. 61. 216 ff.) he is to smile at his parent. <But why assume that Catullus is thinking of the 'little Torquatus' at the hour of his birth? And where does Catullus say that he was 'der vom Schicksal erbetene'?> On p. 64 the passage about the smiling of the infant and of his parents is said to be modeled on Theocritus, xxiv 54-59, where the infant Heracles on the first day of his life ('am ersten Tage seines Lebens') laughs, and by his behavior makes his parents laugh. <But Theocritus does not say that the parents laughed. And he does not say that this midnight adventure took place on the first day of Heracles' life. If it had, how could his brother Iphicles have assisted at it—Iphicles who was 'younger by a night' (νυκτὶ νεώτερος)? Even if Professor Kukula does not shrink from an impossible translation of Ἡρακλῆα δεκάμηνον ἑόντα, he should not forget the little Iphicles. Yet on p. 65 he repeats his double misstatement: 'Wem eben die Eltern nicht wie einst dem kleinen Herakles gleich nach seiner Geburt zulachen', etc.> On p. 67 the key to the meaning of line 61, 'matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses', is produced from the same Idyll (xxiv). That is, Theocritus emphasizes the fact that Heracles was born in the tenth month ('v. 31 ὀψίγονον, vgl. 1 δεκάμηνον'). <But, whatever may be the meaning of ὀψίγονον, this fact is not very clearly emphasized in δεκάμηνον—in its context.> On p. 68 there is a further comparison with Idyll xxiv. That is, as Virgil sings of the birth of a 'magnum Iovis incre-



mentum', so Theocritus speaks of the birth of Heracles. <But Idyll xxiv does not mention the birth of Heracles.>

On p. 69 great stress is laid on still another parallel with Theocritus. That is, line 3, 'si canimus silvas, silvae *sunt* consule dignae'—as Professor Kukula writes it—means, 'wenn ich vom Wald jetzt singe, so geschieht's, weil nur ein Wald sich für den Konsul schickt'. And it is definitely intended to remind the reader of Idyll xvii 9-12, ἴδαν ἐς πολύδενδρον ἀνὴρ ὑλατόμος ἐλθὼν | παπταίνει παρεόντος ἄδην, πόθεν ἄρξεται ἔργου | τί πρῶτον καταλέξω; ἐπεὶ πάρα μυρία εἰπεῖν κ. τ. λ. <But this parallel is hardly close enough, or important enough, to justify a deliberate change in Virgil's text. Most students of the Eclogues will be content to think of 'silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena' (i 2) or of 'nostra neque erubuit silvas habitare Thalia' (vi 2). To go to Theocritus for an explanation is to go farther and fare worse.>

Professor Kukula is convinced that Virgil's whole treatment of his oracle is determined by his desire to glorify Octavianus, and that therefore the allegory of the poem deserves a closer study than it has received in modern times. And having once begun to explain the allegory, he resolutely carries it through to the end. 'Tuus iam regnat Apollo' (10) must have suggested to contemporary readers the young Octavianus—who in the year 40 took part in a 'cena δωδεκάθεος' as Apollo (Sueton. Aug. 70). 'Patriis virtutibus' (17) could then be understood only of the Divus Iulius, and 'facta parentis iam legere' (26) would naturally suggest Caesar's own Commentaries. <Had the Gallic War taken its place as a First Latin Reader even in Virgil's day?> The parenthesis 'matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses' fits in with a statement recorded by Suetonius (Aug. 94. 4), 'Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existimatum'. 'Temptare Thetis ratibus' (32) means the struggle with Sextus Pompeius, who was then threatening the coast of Italy; 'cingere muris oppida' may refer to the military operations about Mutina and Perusia; 'telluri infindere sulcos' must refer to the agrimensores who were charged with assigning lands to the veteran soldiers after Philippi (!). 'Alter Tiphys' (34) perhaps means Brutus; 'delectos heroas' (35) must mean the slayers of Caesar—for does not Cicero call them 'nostros ἥρωας', Att. xv 12. 2? Line 36, 'atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles' manifestly refers to Antonius and his eastern tour after the battle of Philippi. And line 22, 'nec magnos metuent armenta leones', has more point when one knows that Antonius' σύμβολον was the lion. <Most of Virgil's readers must have expected something better than this, after his 'paulo maiora canamus'.>

This is a long review of a very small book, but its length is perhaps justified by the general interest of the subject. Perhaps it is only fair to add that some of Professor Kukula's arguments are much more impressive in his own periodic language than



when they are baldly stated by a frankly skeptical reviewer. He is rather fond of the old-fashioned 'omnibus' sentence—with long riotous relative clauses, and many parentheses and quotations imbedded even in these. Even after a long practice in reporting *Germanorum obscura reperta* for the readers of this Journal, I have found it hard at times to make out his precise meaning. Still, I have tried not to misrepresent or misquote. Perhaps his study of Virgil—like Tennyson's famous hexameters—is 'no worse than' some recent studies of the Eclogues that 'daring Germany sent us'. But neither is it any better, and, like them, it should be 'used with caution'.

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Centaurs in Ancient Art. The Archaic Period. By PAUL V. C. BAUR. Berlin, Karl Curtius, 1912.

This book is another illustration of the fact that cataloguing is one of the most important tasks of the archaeologist as well as the best training for him. Professor Baur's book is not a catalogue of any particular collection or museum, but of the various types of centaur from the earliest times down to the end of the archaic period, 480 B. C. Three classes are distinguished: centaurs with equine forelegs, centaurs with human forelegs, and centaurs with human forelegs ending in hoofs—the last type, an Aeolic invention, short-lived and represented by only eight examples (Nos. 318–326). The unique case of a statuette of a centaur with human hindlegs as well as forelegs (No. 300) is explained as a mere artist's whim. The examples are arranged according to locality and in chronological order, but groups are formed of various mythological subjects. In some cases monuments later than 480 B. C. have been included, where the types were important for an understanding of earlier times. The earliest representations, of which three are given, are in Babylonia, where they are either purely decorative or have power to ward off evil. In the Minoan monuments no centaur is found, strange to say. Not until the geometric period is the centaur introduced into Greece, derived probably from the Hittites, to whom Baur traces much oriental influence in the representation of centaurs, thinking that the Etruscan and Greek representations often drew directly from a common oriental source which was Hittite (cf. pp. 112, 119, 120, 121 et passim). In the early geometric period (900–750) the centaur has not yet mythological significance. By the end of the eighth century (cf. No. 203) we have the first mythological subject connected with the centaurs, and from that time on legends concerning the centaurs become more and more wide-spread,



until we have the stories of Heracles and the centaurs, the adventure with Nessus, which was very popular, Pholus welcoming Heracles, the opening of the *pithos*, Pholus entertaining Heracles, the centauromachy on Mt. Pholoe, the Thessalian centauromachy, especially the episode with Caeneus, Peleus wrestling with Thetis before Chiron, the wedding of Peleus and Thetis with Chiron offering congratulations, Peleus bringing the child Achilles to Chiron, Hermes bringing the child Achilles to Chiron, Chiron teaching Achilles to throw the lance, Chiron sacrificing, centaurs hunting, combat between two centaurs, and purely decorative centaurs. The exact origin of the centaur as well as the etymology of the word is not known, although Baur frequently speaks of the Hittites as the originators. But we cannot be sure of this until we know more about the Hittites. The main value of Baur's catalogue, aside from the fact that it is the first exhaustive study of the centaur in archaic art, consists in proving that the earliest type of centaur is not that with human forelegs, but rather that with equine forelegs—a statement repeated over and over again throughout the book. Both types were known to the Greeks from the beginning, and occur together on a geometric stamped gold band from Corinth (No. 5), for which, as well as for No. 199, a reference might have been given also to Furtwängler's *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 458 f. (pls. 15, 16).

The book is well illustrated with thirty-eight figures and fifteen plates, all good except fig. 17 and pl. iv, 308, which are not clear. Several unpublished monuments are included; that on pl. xiii, 219, with no acknowledgment to Maraghiannis or the discoverers. Many reproductions are due to Dr. Sieveking of Munich, and considerable material was contributed by Professor Zahn, who had also made a collection of centaurs. It is remarkable that of the 326 numbers in the catalogue, over three-fourths are vases; and in discussing these Professor Baur has shown a thorough mastery of the history of Greek vase-painting and the various styles.

There are some points about which one might differ from Professor Baur, but the book is unusually free from errors of fact. The confusion of right and left, which is so frequent in archaeological publications, occurs often. A few instances which I have noticed are p. 32, No. 83, left hand for right hand; p. 33, No. 84, the one to the right, for the one to the left; p. 73, No. 191, right arm for left arm, and left arm for right arm; p. 82, No. 211, in first sentence, right for left and left for right; p. 85, No. 217, left for right hand and right for left; p. 106, No. 257, left hand for right hand; p. 122, No. 307, Baur has uplifted right and extended left arm, where the new catalogue of the vases in Munich, p. 103, has just the opposite, and the second centaur has a branch in his right hand rather than in the left; p. 75, second paragraph, the reference should be to p. 508, not 506; and for Hollaux read Holleaux, and or Homolle *dis* read Holleaux. Misprints also are rare, but



p. 65, l. 6, read *Monuments funéraires* for *Monuments funéraire*; pp. 66 and 74 butt end would be better than "but end"; p. 73 read *Macdonald* for *MacDonald bis*; and *Babelon Traité* ii, 1, p. 1115, for *Babelon Traité* p. 1115; p. 101 read about to receive for "about the receive"; p. 124, No. 308, the poor illustration on pl. iv seems to show that *Heracles* is not in the background and is not concealed by the equine back of the centaur; p. 124, No. 310, *Heracles'* right knee is almost touching the ground, rather than actually touching it; p. 129 read 'his arguments seem' for 'his arguments seems'. Despite some Germanisms (cf. p. 89, 'Rosette form'; p. 102, 'Herakles and Achilles episodes'; p. 135, cf. the many similar formations and 'the earliest centaur type', etc., all without even hyphens to connect them), and despite a few rather bad expressions, such as 'the equine legged centaurs', or 'the equine forelegged centaurs', or 'a human forelegged centaur', or 'the change from human to equine forelegged centaurs', or 'hind-and left foreleg' (cf. pp. 7, 76, 86, 89, 99, et passim), the book is very readable, considering that it is a catalogue, and extremely suggestive. It is right up-to-date, referring on p. 84 to the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum* for April, 1912, and to the fine new catalogue by Sieveking-Hackl, of the *Münchener Vasensammlung*. We should also prefer references to the second edition of *Head's Hist. Num.* (cf. pp. 72, 73, 83, etc.); and to *Reinach, Rép. Stat. IV*, pp. 320, 441; and for No. 21 we should like a reference to *Nicole, Cat. des Vases Peints du Musée Nat. d'Athènes, Suppl.*, No. 907. We should also like consistency in referring to plates, Arabic numerals now being used and Roman at other times; and the lack of consecutiveness in the numbers on the plates is confusing (so, for example, No. 311 is on pl. I, and No. 14 on pl. xii). Even the recent dissertation of Oelschig, *De centauromachiae in arte graeca figuris* (1911) was available, and on pp. 138 f. Baur gives his additions. Baur's list is unusually complete. I have noticed few omissions. *Leroux, Vases de Madrid*, p. 24; *Reinach, Rép. Stat. IV*, p. 441, 1; *BSA XIV*, p. 297; an unedited terra-cotta Centaur with human forelegs in Baltimore. But it would not be fair to continue such strictures. Professor Baur deserves praise for this excellent piece of research, and this catalogue should be in every library of archaeology and art and in every important museum. The price, ten dollars, which is too much for a book of only 140 pages and with no expensive reproductions, will prevent most private individuals from purchasing it. Let us hope that Professor Baur will continue this valuable study from archaic times down to the Roman period, and conclude with a good index, which is lacking in the present volume.

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NILSSON, MARTIN P. Die Causalsätze im Griechischen bis Aristoteles. I. Die Poesie. Beiträge zur historischen Syntax der griechischen Sprache. Herausg. v. M. v. Schanz. Heft. 18. Würzburg: Stuber. 1907.

A quarterly is not the best conceivable field for a philological tourney. There is too long an interval between thrusts, and in the present number I have tried to bring the contestants face to face, instead of separating them by a distance of three months. But in the case of Mr. Pearson's article on ὅταν causal, an adequate consideration of the scores of examples by which he has undertaken to fortify his position would require more space than is occupied by his paper, and I will content myself with a few remarks on the general topic; and as Mr. Pearson has made no reference to Nilsson's Causalsätze, Nilsson's Causalsätze will at least serve the purpose of a heading, although No. 18 of the Schanz Beiträge has already received a Brief Mention in A. J. P. XXVIII 354 ff.

Temporal particles lend themselves readily to the expression or intimation of causal relations. The chief causal particle in Greek is a temporal particle, ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδὴ, and this takes up most of the space. 'Post hoc, ergo propter hoc', is good enough logic for unlogical Language, with a capital L. In fact, all temporal particles in Greek with present indicative are causal, not only ἐπεὶ and ἐπειδὴ, ὅτε and ὁπότε, but temporal particles of limit. So ἕως. In Plat. Parmen. 135 D. (ἕως ἔτι βίος εἶ) ἕως is causal. 'While' English is 'weil' German. (A. J. P. XXVIII 355.)

As for ὅταν with the subj., the causal connotation, or, if you choose, explicative-causal connotation, does not give the slightest trouble, when the sentence is generic or futural; and the multiplication of examples is utterly needless. The trouble arises when we have to deal with a single definite situation, a situation in which we might expect ὅτε with the indicative. True, ὅταν λέγῃ in quotations is very common in later Greek (cf. Just. Mart., Apol. I, 38, 8; 48, 10, where I have several examples), and the natural cry is 'encroachment'. Natural, because the history of syntax is a history of encroachments. μὴ encroaches upon οὐ, ἄν the definite absorbs κεν the indefinite, the dull accusative crushes out clinging genitive and airy dative, ἀμφί succumbs to περὶ, aggressive εἰς pushes its way into the domain of the peaceful ἐν, εἰάν with the subj. ousts εἰ with the subj., ὅταν with the subj. ousts ὅτε with the subj., and dominates futural and generic spheres. In later Greek εἰάν forces itself on the indicative, and there are freakish ὅταν's with the indicative. No wonder, then, that when we find ὅταν with the subj. used where we expect ὅτε with the indicative,



the cry of encroachment is set up. And as the *ὅταν* group is the only group regularly employed for all future relations—particular and generic—by reason of the exactness of its tenses, *ὅταν* *ὁρῶ* and *ὅταν* *ἴδω* being used almost to the total exclusion of *ὅτε* *ὀψομαι*, the encroachment of *ὅταν* particular, so to speak, upon the sphere of the present is not inconceivable; but the trend of usage is too strong to admit such an extension in what one may still be allowed to call the classical period of the language, and the most familiar example is no example at all. For *ὅταν* *λέγῃ* for *ὅτε* *λέγει*, if an encroachment, is an early encroachment, as Mr. Pearson has shewn; and may be explained without any extraordinary feats of mental posturing. In the first place, reference to a text involves the notion of recurrence; and in the second place, verbs of saying belong to a class of their own. *Nescit vox missa reverti*. The *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* continue to swirl about us. *τὰ δ' αἰεὶ*, it is said of the oracles, *ζῶντα περιποτᾶται*. Hence the frequency of the imperfect of verbs of saying, hence the inadmissibility of an aoristic imperfect (A. J. P. XXIV 180; XXIX 344), based on verbs of saying, which are notoriously exceptional; comp. if need be, Kühner-Gerth II 1, 144. So also the image of the present *λόγος* reaches into the future and we have *ὅταν*.

As for the other examples, it may be well to see what Nilsson has to tell us in the above cited Causalsätze. Nilsson also recognizes causal *ὅταν*, which is summarily dismissed by a competent critic, Hans Meltzer, in his Jahresbericht on Greek Syntax (1904-1910), p. 375, without argument. About *ὅτε* in Homer Nilsson does not go into great detail, because the subject of *ὅτε* in Homer had been treated exhaustively by Friedländer long before. Suffice it to say that Homer makes comparatively little use of *ὅτε* as a causal particle or as a particle with causal connotation, and no example is cited that falls under the head with which we are concerned here. According to Nilsson, Aischylos makes no use of *ὅτε* in a causal sense.

The trouble begins with Sophokles—a very breedbate in the matter of syntax, as all syntacticians know; and the great example of causal *ὅταν* adduced by Nilsson is the notorious one in Ai. 137, cited by Mr. Pearson. The causal connotation is unmistakable, the case is a specific case, but the mood puzzles Nilsson, as it has puzzled others; and, unwilling to give up the rights of the mood, which would be appropriate only in a generic or futural sentence, he says that the causal connotation is faint, as if that helped matters at all. The difficulty would abide, if *ὅταν* were only temporal. But as Nilsson takes his flight, he cites a number of passages from Sophokles which to his mind present similar difficulties: Phil. 519, 641, 903, 1080; O. T. 422, 618; O. C. [301] 659, 1218; Ant. 91, 424, 580, 1046, 1165; Ai. 392, 513; El. 696, 1056, 1299; and these may possibly furnish grist for Mr. Pearson's mill. To me they present no difficulty whatever. The *ὅταν*'s are all generic or futural. The connota-



tion is the connotation of the English 'when', but one of them (O. T. 618) furnishes an apt illustration of the particular application of a general statement, of which I shall have something to say presently : *ὅταν ταχύς τις οὐπιβουλεύων λάθρα | χωρῇ, ταχὺν δεῖ καὶ ἐβουλεύειν πάλιν*. *ὅταν*, says Nilsson, with causal connotation occurs often in Euripides, but said connotation is faint. Still he cites a long string, among them Mr. Pearson's *Ion* 743. Pindar uses *ὅτε* as a causal particle, but no example of causal *ὅταν* is given. In Bakchylides *ὅτε* is always purely temporal.

In point of fact, Nilsson's treatise is chiefly concerned with *ἐπεὶ* and *ἐπειδὴ*, and even there he ignores some important literature; and if this section of his study is intended to embrace all the poetical side, one misses Theognis and the Theognidea, in which I have found six or seven *ἐπεὶ*'s and no *ὅτε*'s.

But it is unfair to judge a work by a section, and I turn to Mr. Pearson, who has given us something to think about, even if his treatment of the subject is not systematic. Unlike Nilsson, Mr. Pearson, with British downrightness, has no respect for the feelings of the subjunctive; and whenever a causal translation makes good sense, he assumes causal connotation, whether the sentence is generic or specific, though he is not satisfied with the coarse English 'because'—a dissatisfaction I myself have expressed. The multisignificant participle suits him better, and he takes refuge in the analogy of Latin *cum* w. subj., which the Romans used freely to supply the lack of participles in their translations and imitations of their Greek originals (A. J. P. IX 155-6). I will not reiterate the warning that translation is a fallacious test (A. J. P. XIX 231), nor repeat my protest against mixing up Latin subj. and Greek subj. (A. J. P. XXV 481, XXXI 112). The latest theory of Brugmann is that the Latin imperf. subj. is really an imperf. indic. (I. G. F. XXX 338), sad news for parallel-drivers.

Instead, then, of bewailing the perversity of my fellow-grammarians and the failure of my own protests, I shall be better employed in trying to find some way of meeting the conditions of the problem without sacrificing the meaning of the mood on the one hand, and the distinct connotation of cause on the other. I have, however, nothing new to suggest. The way is the way pointed out by Shilleto, as cited by Mr. Pearson, but some further road-building might be of service, although there is no more common phenomenon than the use of the generic when the particular is meant. To this category belongs the familiar phenomenon of the plural for the singular, of the generic *δοῖς* for the particular *δοῦ*, of *μή* for *οὐ* with relative and participle, of the ideal second person singular when the real second person is meant, and the individual *ἀνὴρ* becomes a universal *ἄνθρωπος*. So the confidential *τοί* which appeals to humanity can be used in connection with an actual *σύ*. In leisurely discourse the process is spelt out. You argue from the universal to the particular.



You start with *ἐάν* w. subj., and wind up with *εἰ* w. indic. St. Paul uses Greek to some purpose when he says (Gal. 1, 8): *ἐάν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίσηται παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*, and follows it up by the two-edged sword of *εἴ τις εὐαγγελίζεται παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*. In the *Midiana*, Demosthenes furnishes a fine example of a transition from a generic to a particular, as I have pointed out A. J. P. XXVIII 236, where I explain, I trust convincingly, the change from *ὅς ἄν* to *εἴ τις* (D. 21, 139). There is an illuminating passage in Dem. 40, 1. It is the second speech against Boiotos. This second speech is not equal to the first, which is to my mind a crushing refutation of the charge that Demosthenes had no sense of humour. It may not be by Demosthenes, but like so many of the non-Demosthenean speeches in the Corpus, it is Attic to the core. *Πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνιάρωτον*, says the luckless Mantitheos, *ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅταν τις ὀνόματι μὲν ἀδελφὸς προσαγορευθῇ τινων, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ ἐχθροὺς ἔχῃ τούτους, καὶ ἀναγκάζεται πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθὼν ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰσιέναι εἰς δικαστήριον*—a general proposition which is made to fit his own case, and then he goes on to say *ὃ νῦν ἐμοὶ συμβέβηκεν*. It is not necessary, however, to spell out the connexion so plainly. You may use *οἵτινες ἄν* with your eye on the villain. You may have a generic *ὅταν* when you mean a specific *ὅτε*, and the *ὃ νῦν συμβέβηκεν* may be supplied. As to the notorious passage in the *Aias* on which Mr. Pearson enlarges, the *πληγὴ Διός*, the *ζαμενὴς λόγος κακόθρους*, these, it is said, are disasters that carry with them no notion of recurrence. On the contrary, they seem to stand in distinct opposition to the preceding *σὲ μὲν εὖ πράσσουντ' ἐπιχαίρω*, which cannot be otherwise resolved than by *ὅταν εὖ πράσσης ἐπιχαίρω*, a generic conditional. The best solution seems to be the 'polare Ausdrucksweise', of which so much has been made of late (A. J. P. XXIV 361-2). But to go through every example of *ὅταν* with causal connotation that Mr. Pearson has cited would be a serious matter, and transcend the bounds of the present issue of the Journal.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen, von LUDWIG TRAUBE Herausgegeben von FRANZ BOLL. Zweiter Band, Einleitung in die Lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters, Herausgegeben von PAUL LEHMANN. München, 1911. C. H. Beck, pp. x; 176.

The editors of the unpublished lectures and treatises of Traube have acted wisely in publishing separately the lectures on mediæval Latin philology, even if they form a volume smaller in



size than that planned for the series. They have thereby made more accessible a book by a master-hand that fills a long-felt want, an introduction to a little-known period of literature, for the presentation of which the author was so peculiarly fitted. His publications and researches in diverse fields enabled him to speak with authority of the many problems which present themselves in a study of the transition from classical to mediaeval literature, and in the part the mediaeval period took in the preservation of the classical tradition. For those to whom the subject is new the book opens up unexpected perspectives, not only of a long neglected province of human interests, but also of the activity of modern scholars in exploiting it, as is evidenced by the well selected bibliography of the different phases of the subject. Those who are interested in any branch of mediaeval literature will find every page helpful and suggestive.

Traube (p. 36) emphasizes the fact that autograph copies of some of the most important mediaeval compositions have come down to us; he himself discovered some of the works of Johannes Scotus either in original manuscripts or in copies which had been studied and annotated by him. The sketch of Traube's uncompleted treatment of his discovery, prepared in 1905, has just been published by the Munich Academy in its *Abhandlungen* as the fifth part of his *Palaeographische Forschungen*, under the editorship of Professor E. K. Rand. The latter's own researches on the writings of Johannes (A. J. P. xxviii, 141) appear to advantage in the adequate introductory remarks on the twelve facsimiles which prove so well Traube's thesis. Meanwhile the series founded by Traube, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* keeps up its high standard. The first parts of the third and fourth volumes, *Franciscus Modius als Handschriftenforscher*, and *Johannes Sichardus und die von ihm benutzten Bibliotheken und Handschriften* are the first fruits of promising investigations of P. Lehmann. He has undertaken to study the work of the German humanists in discovering and using mediaeval collections of manuscripts. The author is contributing not only to the history of libraries and manuscript collections; he is perhaps doing more service in pointing out the original value of forgotten sixteenth century editions of classical and patristic authors, due to the large use of good manuscripts, now lost.

G. L. HAMILTON.



## REPORTS.

Glotta : II Band, 1910.

Pp. 1-8. J. Wackernagel, Zur griech. Wortlehre. 1) ἀβληχρός, ἄκνηστις (on Bechtel, Glotta I 71 f.). 2) ἀννήμαρ (Critique of Brugmann I. F. 20 : 225 ff.); the form is a "Zusammenrückung" of the numeral ἑνῆα (more likely than ἐννέ with later synizesis) with the noun ἡμαρ, with which it originally formed a phrase. ἡμαρ could be plural, cf. νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμαρ. 3) Μυησσός. 4) παιδίσκος, παιδίσκη, παιδισκεῖον. The masc. was probably Spartan, and "ausserhalb Lakedaimons haben wir keinen Grund, das lebendige Dasein dieses Masc. vorauszusetzen". (But cf. below, pp. 218 and 315).

Pp. 8-22. K. Witte, Zur homerischen Sprache. III. ἡμιν und ὕμιν. Combats Sommer's view (Glotta I 219 ff.) that the ι was originally short. Finds that spondaic words tend strongly to be placed in the last foot of the hexameter, while trochaic words are generally placed in the interior of the verse and followed by another short syllable, so as to form dactyls. But out of 119 cases of ὕμιν and ἡμιν in Homer 33 occur in the sixth foot and 78, in the interior of the verse, form spondees (whether followed by vowel or consonant), while only 8 cases of ἡμιν and none of ὕμιν must be read as trochees! The occasional shortening of the ι is probably analogical to the (Aeolic) forms ἄμμι(ν), ὄμμι(ν). These two forms occur 38 times in Homer; only 5 times in the 6th foot, and only once (ὄμμιν) before a following consonant forming a spondee.

IV. Miscellen. a) ὀδύναι orig. plurale tantum; ὀδύνη (only twice) "Neubildung". b) μένος orig. singular.

Pp. 22-26. M. Niedermann, Kontamination bei Homer (cf. Glotta I 140 ff.).

Pp. 26-28. A. Meillet, Sur le digamma en pamphylien. On the different treatment of digamma in different positions; testimony afforded by different writings for surd and sonant digamma in Pamph.

Pp. 28-38. E. Fraenkel, Zur griech. Laut- und Formenlehre. I. Zum dissimilatorischen Silbenschwund. More cases of haplology (Glotta I 272 ff.). II. Zum gen. pl. von ἰέρεια. This plur. occurs once as ἰερεῖαν in an Attic inscription. The Doric form introduced to differentiate ἰερεῖων from ἰερέων, gen. pl. of ἰερεύς. (Rather simply an orthographic mistake?) III. Zur Dissimilation zweier gleicher Verschlusslaute.

Pp. 38-49. J. Janko, *Melca*. Name of a preparation of sour milk. Not of Germanic origin (Müllenhoff, Walde, et al.), but



an old popular Latin word (though not recorded in literature till 2d century A. D.). May have been originally loanword (Etruscan or Punic?), but probably connected with *mulceo* and meaning "gestrichene, geriebene Speise".

Pp. 49-51. ANDOVARTO (Gallic inscriptional name, see Rev. Celt. 23, p. 276), not goddess as Blanchet proposes, but name of a person, cf. ANDOVARTO CIL. V 5955.

Pp. 51-54. M. Niedermann, Vulgärlateinische Miscellen.

Pp. 54-56. F. Kluge, Nachlese zu Walde.

Pp. 56-75. F. Pradel, Bemerkungen zu der Sprache und Technik der römischen Daktyliker. I. *De:ex*. Even in classical prose the distinction between them breaks down, and in dactylic poetry they may be used interchangeably according to the demands of the meter. Copious illustrations of both in all sorts of phrases.—II. *Ex* und *in ordine*. Same principle applies; after long syllable *ex*, after short *in* (*ordine*). Similarly also III. *Imprimis* und *cum primis*.—Such considerations are of importance also in investigating later Roman prose writers, whose style was much influenced by preceding poets.

Pp. 75-81. F. Solmsen, Zu lat. *nūbo*. On Kretschmer's etymology (cf. Glotta I 325 ff.). Agrees with K. in separating *nūbō* from *obnūbo* and *nūbēs*, and finds additional ground therefor in different conjugation of *nūbō* (perf. *nupsī*) and *obnūbo*, perf. *obnūbī* according to the few cases which actually occur, though the lexica give *obnupsī*. Dissents however from K.'s idea that *obnūbo* is denom. from *nūbēs*; from an i-stem one would expect \**obnūbiō*. *Obnūbō* S. holds to be an old formation; connects it with Av. *snaoda*, etc.

Pp. 82-83. P. Kretschmer, Nochmals lat. *nūbō*. Comments on the foregoing; defends denom. origin of *obnūbō* from *nūbēs*; *nūbēs* was not felt as an i-stem for such a purpose as forming denominatives, and there was opportunity for influence of such analogies as *caedo* : *caedes*, etc.

Pp. 83-110, and 181-200. G. Herbig, Falisca. Grammatical conjectures dealing with the interpretation of certain "etrusco-faliscan" inscriptions.

Pp. 111-12. E. Lattes, Per l'interpretazione dei numerali etruschi. "... malgrado le gravi obiezioni forse non errano del tutto coloro che ragguagliano etr. *ci* a 'cinque'".

P. 112. O. Probst, Ἐπιγλωσσίς. Appears in a late Latin gloss in the form *ipiclo* (wrongly explained by Niedermann, Glotta I 261 as = *ἐπίπλοον*). Cf. below, p. 169.

Pp. 113-118. G. N. Hatzidakis, Über die Bedeutungsentwicklung des lokalen Suffixes -θεν. -θε(ν) originally local; could contain the idea of "where?" as well as "whence?" in



Homer and early inscriptions. It became appropriated to the idea of "whence?" presumably by extension from forms which contained the suffix and for other reasons had an ablative meaning.

Pp. 118-124. Nīkos A. Bēns, Ueber die Konstruktion von διαφέρειν ("gehören") mit dem Genetiv. Occurs in grave inscriptions, mostly Christian, and once or twice in late writers. Due to contamination of phrases μνήμα διαφέρον τῷ δεῖνι with μνήμα τοῦ δέινος.

Pp. 125-126. J. Compennass, Vulgaria. 1) Vulgar Greek and Latin are fond of substituting simple for compound verbs. 2) For ἀπαξ, δῖς, τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δεύτερον; *semel*, *bis*, *primum*, *iterum*, etc., late writers are fond of periphrases with forms of φορά and \**vicis*.

Pp. 126-130. A. Fick, Urgriechisch. 1) *h* is certainly to be postulated in Urgriech. for IE. *s* between vowels and in combination with nasals and liquids. 2) βαίνω is not to be connected with IE.  $\sqrt{g^nem}$  (Skt. *gam*, etc.), but  $\sqrt{bā}$  : *βᾶ*, as *στᾶ* : *στᾶ*, found in Oscan *battets* "thou goest", and Lat. *bactere*, *bitere*.

Pp. 131-146. E. Nachmanson, Zu den neugefundenen Gedichten der Korinna. N. agrees with Wilamowitz that Korinna composed in her native Boeotian, with far less linguistic admixture of other dialects than Pindar for instance used; but thinks nevertheless that W. underestimates the amount of such admixture in Korinna, and finds specifically that she shows traces of influence from Lesbian lyric poets. So in crasis, *ᾶ* (*αι*) + *ε* sometimes > *ᾶ*, whereas *η* was regular in Boeotian.—As inf. endings, on the other hand, he regards both *-εμεν* and *-ην* (cf. *-ειν* in Boeot. dialect of the Attic comedians—not to be regarded as an Attic form) as native Boeotian.—For κώρη, κώρας, read *κορF-*; *F* after λ, ν, ρ never caused lengthening of the preceding vowel in Boeot. (as in Aeol. and Thess.).

Pp. 146-149. E. Nachmanson, Über die Apokope der Präpositionen im Böotischen. In original Boeot. *κατά* became *κατ* (with assimilation) before all consonants; IG. VII 524 ΚΑΓΑΝ is to be taken as *καγ* (*κατ'*) *-γᾶν*. Double consonants are written as single in this inscription.

Pp. 149-151. E. Lidén, Ein aegyptisches Wort bei Hesych. ῥώνιξις : ποταμίας νεὼς εἶδος. Read ῥώμ- for ῥώνι-, and cf. the form *ρωμοις*, an Egyptian boat, Papyrus Louvre 10593.

Pp. 151-164. F. Skutsch, Quisquilien. 1. Osk. *ekss*; adverb, in form nom. sg. masc. of pronoun; like Lat. *versus*, etc. 2. Nomin. *di*, dat. abl. *dis*; not contracted from *dei(s)* or *dii(s)*, but regular phonetic resultant of old forms \**deivei(s)*, since Solmsen has shown that *v* may disappear between *like* vowels (hence never gen. sg. \**di*, because orig. \**deivi*!) 3) *alis*, *alid*; not old forms, found first in Lucretius; probably analogical to (*ali*-)*quis*, *-quid*. 4) Addendum lexicis latinis, *formitare*, desid.



to *formare* (Priapeum, Bährens P. L. M. II 160). 5) *patēr* *matēr*, *fratēr*. Original vocatives used for nomin.; hence *ē* 6) Vokativ *puere* und Verwandtes; *puere* was the original voc.; *puer* (never as voc. in Plaut.) the nom. used by extension. 7) *Dignus*. Orig. p. p. p. to *decet* (cf. *plēnus* : *\*plēre*), 'adorn' Hence the ablative: *dignus laurea*, 'adorned with laurel' 8) Ein Soldatenwitz. Suet. Tib. 42 '*pro Claudio Caldius*'; perhaps in vulgar-Latin of that time *al* was pronounced *au*; first literary testimony to this change is in Edictum Diocletiani, A. D. 301. 9) *-ficus*; adjectives in this suffix frequent in Seneca as in the pre-classical tragedians, but not in intermediate poets. As connecting link Ovid's *Medea* is suggested. 10) *Officium* is for *opificium* and means "Tun, Werk, regelmässige charakteristische Tätigkeit" rather than "duty" originally. (Against Brugmann, IF. 24: 165.)

Pp. 164-168. P. Friedländer, *Persona*. Almost certainly to be connected with *πρόσωπον*; probably also with Etrusc. *persu*; both probably Greek loanwords, the Latin perhaps indirectly through the Etruscan, although the Roman tradition indicates that masks were first introduced from Campania rather than Etruria.

P. 169. M. Niedermann, *ἐπιγλωσσίς* or *ἐπίπλοον*? Reply to Probst, above, p. 112.

Pp. 169-181. C. F. W. Müller, *Die Syntax des Dativs im Lateinischen*. (Fragment published posthumously by Skutsch.) No local sense contained in the dative. "[Es] steht im Dativ derjenige Gegenstand, für den die Handlung oder der Zustand des Prädikats indirekt von wirksamem Einfluss ist, sodass sich auf ihn der Vorteil oder Nachteil der Handlung oder des Zustandes erstreckt". Detailed discussion of the usage with a large number of verbs.

Pp. 201-213. P. Kretschmer, *Die Griechische Benennung des Bruders*. The IE. word for brother, preserved in all other branches of the family, in Gk. occurs only with mg. 'tribesman', and is replaced by *ἀδελφ(ε)ός*, (*αὐτο*)*κασίγνητος*. Of these two the former certainly, and the latter probably, meant 'brother on the mother's side', though both have come to mean, even in Homer 'brother' in general. (*ἀδελφός*, -*φή* derived from -*φείος*, in principle as Wackernagel KZ. 27: 263; *κασίγνητος* [like *κάσις*] shortened form of *αὐτοκασίγνητος*, for *\*αὐτο-τεκασι-γνητος*, *\*τεκασι* being IE. *\*tektēti*, fem. pres. ppl. = *τεκοῦσα*, cf. Wackernagel KZ. 33: 13 ff.) *φράτηρ* meant originally 'brother on the father's side', cf. *Ζεὺς Ἀπατούριος* = *Φάτριος*, and the *Ἀπατούρια* named after him (< *\*ἀπάτορφος*, < *\*ἀ-πάτορες*, 'having the same father'). *ἀδελφεός*, etc., then, meaning 'of the same mother', must have been introduced in conscious contrast to *φράτηρ*. The pre-Hellenic population of Greece, like the Lydians, etc., seem to have had succession in the female line; these words are a mark of the influence of the aborigines on the Hellenic language. After their introduction



φράτηρ came to be used in its socio-political sense, and was replaced by ἀδελφεός, etc.

Pp. 214-218. J. Brause, Dor. λῆν. The forms λῶ, λῶν, etc., with ω are not contractions of \*λήω, etc., but analogical to τιμῶ (<τιμάω), etc., as λῆις : τιμῆις, etc.

Pp. 218-219. O. Immisch, Παιδίσκος (to Glotta I 285 f., II 6 ff., and 130) occurs in Herodas; was literary usage already in Hellenistic Greek.

Pp. 219-230. R. Wünsch, *Amuletum*. Previous etymologies all unsatisfactory. May be a loanword, perhaps Etruscan; if Latin, must contain suffix -ēto-. In that case probably derivable from *amulum* = Gk. ἄμυλον, both in Lat. and Gk. familiar as a popular concoction of meal which when eaten had magical effect against all kinds of evils. The *amuletum*, according to Pliny, was at times something to be eaten. The suffix -ēto- has a like meaning in a number of other words.

Pp. 230-246. F. Skutsch, *Odium und Verwandtes*. *Odium* in early Latin means not 'Hass', but 'Widerwille'—'disgust'. True origin shown in key-passage, Pl. Asin. 927, where it seems to mean out-and-out "ill-smelling object". It is to be derived from √*od* (*odor*, *olet* < \**odet*, ὀδῶδα, etc.), and meant 'stench'. Collection of interesting parallels from many languages showing similar semantic developments. The verb *odi* likewise meant ('ich habe jemand gerochen') 'er is mir zuwider'. Like many or most verbs of smelling, the √*od* was both trans. and intrans. originally; hence *osus* (p. p. p.) might mean 'smelling of'; and hence the suffix -*osus*, which in its oldest occurrences (*citrosam*, *hircosus*) may well be rendered by 'smelling of'. It probably originated in the elision of the ending of a preceding dependent accusative before the vowel of *osus*; *citr(um)osus*, etc. Spelling -*ossus* means no more than *caussa* for *causa*, etc.; -*onsus* for -*osus* occurs with certainty only in *grammonsus* (Caecilius once) and the frequent *formonsus*, which is either a mistake out-and-out, as *thensaurus*, *occansio*, *Herculens* (Terentius Scaurus forbids its use), or (Nachtrag, p. 246) the *n* is analogical to other words in -*onsus* (*intonsus*, *sponsus*). In any case -*ossus* and -*onsus*, are to be regarded as unoriginal. The semantic part of S.'s article is very convincing; the phonetic part also leaves little to be desired down to his treatment of -*onsus* and -*ossus*, which seem to the present writer after all not so easily to be brushed aside.

Pp. 246-247. E. Berneker, Anhang: Slavische Parallelen zur Bedeutungsentwicklung von *odi*.

Pp. 247-254. E. Vetter, Ableitung und Bedeutungsentwicklung von lat. *incolumis*. Difficulties in the way of making *in-*negative; no \**columis* in existence, and connexion with κολούω or *clades*, *per-cello* scarcely possible. The word is to be connected



with *columen*, *culmen*, *columna*, and means 'resting on its foundation', 'upright', 'steady'; opposed to *ruens*, *deiectus a culmine*, *prostratus*. Like *obvius* <*ob-viam*, *per-fidus* <*per-fidem*, this comes from \**in columine* (read *columen* Pl. Trin. 743), with stem shortened as in *sublimis* <*sub-limine*. Early and Classical Latinity use the word most commonly in such connexions as Cic. Tusc. i. 85 *incolumi regno*; of the state, civic prosperity, etc.

Pp. 254-257. A. Döhring, Lateinische Etymologien. 1) *nuncupare*, *nun* <*novem*, cf. *nundinae*: 'die neunfache Fassung des Gelöbnisses, die erforderliche, rituelle Wiederholung der Gelübdeformel'. 2) *insolens*: = (*insiliens* =) *insultans*, as suggested by gloss *adsolentes* = *adsilientes*. 3) *rigere*: 'starr, emporgerichtet sein', cf. *e-rigere* of the 3d conj. (as *pendere*: *pendere*, etc.)

Pp. 257-265. v. Grienberger, Oskisches. 1) Zu den *ētuns*-Inscriben (cf. Skutsch, Glotta I 104-113). Holds to older interpretation of *ētuns* as 3 pl. impv., 'man soll gehen'; inclines with Skutsch to connect the verb *faamat* with Lt. *fama*. 2) Zur Inschrift des Täfelchens von Agnone.

Pp. 265-269. E. Lattes, La compagna dell' iscrizione di Novilara. Rendic. Acc. Lincei, 1908, ser. V, vol. XVII, pp. 681-694. Inferences drawn therefrom as to points of Etruscan phonetics and morphology (loc. in -u, etc.).

Pp. 269-270. E. Lattes, Lat. *dossennus*, *maccus*, *persona*. Believes all three to be of Etruscan origin.

Pp. 270-287. P. Kretschmer, Zur Erklärung des sogenannten Infinitivus historicus. First gives a critique of a number of previous theories on the subject. I. Ancient theory of an ellipsis of *coepi*—renewed in very modern times by Jaenicke; besides the fact that ellipses are not in favor with trained modern grammarians, there are cases where no form of *coepi* would fit. II. Wisén conjectured a vulgar perfect \**amare* = *amarunt*, as *amavere* to *amaverunt*, which was confused with the inf.; usage then extended to *monere*, *dicere*, etc. But the hist. inf. commonly represents an imperfect, not perfect. III. Wackernagel held this to be an imperative inf., used for narrative tense, as the impv. in Slavic. But literary Latin knows no inf. for impv., and neither does any Latin know the Slavic usage of the genuine impv. as a narrative tense! Reference to a similar use of the inf. in Lithuanian is no explanation, since the Lith. usage is as unexplained as the Latin. In modern (and Middle High) German, on the other hand, as well as in Italian, French and other languages, K. points out closely similar usages; e. g. in 'Clärchen's Lied' from Egmont: 'Freudvoll und leidvoll, gedankenvoll sein', etc. He then shows very vigorously and convincingly that the inf. absolute, whether implying a statement or a command ('inf. for impv.') is nothing but a phase of the 'Nominalsatz' (Meillet's 'la phrase nominale'), the verbless



clause, which may appear in any language at any time. In short, it is a substantive-infinitive, really a noun and not a verb. There are, K. shows, in Latin, as well as in German, Italian, etc. cases where the proximity of a verb to which the inf. may vaguely be referred as subject or object make it a debatable question whether the inf. is absolute, or syntactically related to a neighboring clause. These are the transition cases which help to establish the free use of the indubitable inf. absolute. The present writer will quote from a story supposed to represent current theatrical American: "'How goes it, old boy?'—Business of shaking hands.—'So-so, dear fellow'". I take it the phrase *business of shaking hands* represents an inf. absolute; it is felt more verbally than simply—'a handshake'. This latter one might have said, and it would have been the strict 'Nominalsatz', as Kretschmer shows, next-of-kin to the inf. abs.

Pp. 287–299. G. N. Hatzidakis, Zur neugriech. Wortlehre. 1) Ζωντανός und Verwandtes. ζωντανός adj. <ζῶντα, stereotyped participle, 'alive'. Hence (among other forms) τὸ ζωντόβολο, τὰ ζωντόβολα, generally collective or plurale tantum, 'das Vieh'. -βολος as suffix frequently has collective meaning. Discussion of variations in the meanings of other Modern Greek suffixes, -κόπος, -λόγος, -μάχος, -φόρος, etc. 2) Ἄρτα (for Ἄρατθα), βαρθαλαμίδι (for παραθαλαμίδιον) usw.; by Kretschmer's law that an unaccented short vowel disappears after liquid or nasal if the neighboring syllable had the same vowel. 3) κορίαννον -κολίανδρον -κόλιανδρον (popular etymology). 4) ἔγγραυλος > γαῦρος. 5) Διοσκύαμος > δίσκυαμος and βίσκυαμος (popular etymology). 6) θρασίμι, θράσος, θράσιος.

P. 300. W. M. Lindsay, *Hā = hāc* in Plebeian Latin. Suetonius ap. Isid. Etym. 18, 7, 9.

P. 300. G. N. Hatzidakis, Zu Glotta II 124. Critique of N. Βέης.

Pp. 301–315. F. Solmsen, Ionische Verbformen bei Attikern. 1) δέϊται (δεόμενον) for δέϊ (δέον). The middle found in Hdt., Hippocrates, Herodas; in older Attic once each in Soph. (Ἴωνικώτατος of the tragedians) and Plato, and repeatedly in Xen., who has quantities of Ionisms. The middle probably due to the influence of the personal δέομαι. 2) ἐτράφθην, ἐτρέφθην—ἐτράπην. The former originally Ionic, the latter Attic (preserved in Koine). Similarly ἐκλέφθην Ion.—ἐκλάπην Att. More complicated and uncertain S. finds other similar pairs, which he investigates in detail with quotation of passages—the aor. pass. of the verbs πλέκω, κλέπτω, τρέπω, τρέφω, στρέφω, βρέχω; in conclusion, however, he says, 'ich bin überzeugt, dass auch von den anderen Aorist-paren auf -θην und -ην so manche unter den hier ins Licht gerückten Gesichtspunkt Ionisch-Attisch fallen'.

P. 315. J. Wackernagel, Zu Glotta II 218. παιδίσκος is found,



though rarely, much earlier than W. supposed (II 6), and not necessarily under Laconian influence. Ar. Eccl. 1146.

Pp. 316-388. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1908. Greek by Kretschmer; Italic by Skutsch.

Pp. 389-397. F. Skutsch, Lat. *praesto*. Walde's explanations, *\*prae-sito* "im Vorliegen, vorliegend" or *\*prae-situ* "vor der Lage" are semantically unacceptable. S. connects it with *praes*, bondsman, *praestare*, go surety for, and supposes that it is a stereotyped exclamatory phrase, *praes-sto!* 'I stand surety!' (According to Varro and Paulus the word *praes* was thus used in court proceedings by a bondsman; Mitteis independently conjectured that the full and formal phrase used was *praes sum*; Skutsch now suggests instead *praes sto*.) From this characteristic exclamation the *praes* himself was called *praesto*, as a kind of nickname in the manner of 'devil-may-care', etc.; and from the use of this form with the copula (this is the markedly predominant use of the adv. *praesto* in Latin) it became generalized into an ordinary adverb. The denominative verb *praestolari* is analogical to *stipulari*.

P. 398. P. Kretschmer, Silen. *σιλῶνός* perhaps <Thracian *ζῆλας*, wine.

P. 398. F. Skutsch, *Amuletum*. Note on Wünsch, p. 219 ff

Pp. 400-414. Indices by Kurt Witte.

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PHILOLOGUS LXX (N. F. Bd. XXIV), 1911.

First Part.

I, pp. 1-51. W. Nestle, Spuren der Sophistik bei Isokrates. Isokrates, a pupil of Prodikos and Gorgias, assumes in his readers an acquaintance with the sophistic literature. In Panathen. 12, 2 he affirms that his early works are full of the artifices of the sophists. In order to separate these elements, we may use as a criterion the occurrence of a conceit in some admittedly sophistic writer of the 5th century, like Euripides. Thus we may perhaps augment the meager fragments of the sophistic literature and throw a side-light on the question of the historic fidelity of Plato's picture of the sophists. Gorgias exercised the greatest influence on Isokrates, as may be seen where he denies the possibility of an objective knowledge, defines rhetoric (Paneg. 8), declares that things are not *per se* good or bad, but become so by the use made of them (applied to rhetoric in Nikokles 3, 2 ff.; de Antidosi 15, 180 ff.); that rhetoric and poetry from their psychological effects should be put in the first rank; that the personified Logos is the



center of the highest culture; that philosophy has a certain pro-paedeutic value, etc. The influence of Protagoras may be traced in the making of *εὐβουλία* the aim of rhetorical instruction; in Isokrates' position as to the relation of natural gifts and education; perhaps also in his discussion about primitive man, the development of civilization, forms of constitutions, and views about the gods.

II, pp. 52-98. R. Hildebrandt, Zu bekannten Stellen. I. Horace, Od. I, 3, 9, illi robur et aes triplex circa pectus erat. Circa pectus=in pectore, *ἐν στήθεσι*; the rest must refer to a 'block of oak enclosed in a triple casing of copper'. The vanquisher of the sea must have had in his breast not a human heart, but one like the hull of the vessel. II. St. Paul, I Cor. 13, 1, *γέγονα χαλκὸς ἡχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον*; The 'sounding brass' is a synecdoche for any kind of vessel made of copper, which, when struck, would emit a sound, clear but not so crashing as the cymbal. III. Aetna, 244. Saturni quae stella tenax; tenax is active = hindering, delaying. IV. Verg. Aen. II 403. Cassandra is dragged from the temple *passis crinibus*, as she had gone there as a suppliant. V. Herodot. V 48. Kleomenes' Gorgo reflects in her name a prominent trait of her father. VI. E 842 *ἦτοι ὁ μὲν Περίφαντα πελώριον ἐξενάριζεν*. Periphas is called a 'giant' because his name seems to mean 'visible on all sides'. Other instances of etymologically significant epithets are *tristior* Acheron; and Pyrrhus exultat (Aen. II 469); *Πύρρος* dances a *πυρρίχη* as it were.

III, pp. 79-105. F. Zucker. *Ἐπίτροπος Χαρτηρᾶς Ἀλεξανδρείας*. In a dedicatory inscription (Klio X pt. 2) of an imperial freedman of the 2d century of our era appears the title 'procurator of the papyrus manufactured at Alexandria'. It seems probable that at this time the Roman government exercised a monopoly or at least an effective control over the production of papyrus in Egypt.

IV, pp. 106-145. K. Barwick, Zur Serviusfrage. Summary on p. 144. The supplementary scholia are derived from an ancient commentary on Vergil, which was put together about A. D. 500. Our enlarged manuscripts do not show the original form of the compiler's copy. The latter contained the several scholia, each with its Vergilian lemma but arranged regardless of their derivation from the one or the other commentary. The first copy underwent later changes, so that two scholia with the same or a similar lemma were combined into one, and those of the Servius Danielis were abbreviated; in some cases a number of extraneous scholia were substituted. On p. 145 is printed a stemma of the MS tradition. The additions to Servius seem to have been made in Ireland in the seventh century.

V, pp. 146-150. A. Semenov, Zur dorischen Knabenliebe. The good and bad sides must be kept distinctly apart. The



Greek states approved of the mutual association of men and boys for educative purposes, but certainly could never have officially sanctioned the degenerate practices of individuals, as Bethe contended (Rh. M. 62, p. 438 ff.). *αἶτας* is to be derived from *αἶω*, to hear, with reference to the educative side of the association; and whatever may have been the later developments under oriental influences, the original conception was not bad.

VI, pp. 151-154. A. Ruppertsberg. *Εισπνήλας*. This discusses the same theme as the preceding article. R. denies Bethe's conclusion (in Rh. M. 62, p. 440) that the association, at least as Bethe understands it, was a "publicly recognized, holy, fundamental and vital element in Greek life". *εἰσπνήλας* is the one who exerts moral influence, *αἶτας*, the one who hears.

#### Miscellen.

1, pp. 155-157. Eb. Nestle, Alpha und Omega, San und Sigma. (1) In Revelation 1, 8; 21, 6; 22, 13 the MSS write out *ἄλφα* but give merely *ω*. The explanation is that at the time the last letter of the Greek alphabet was called simply *ω*. The designation *ω μέγα*, and consequently the name omega, did not come in until later. (2) Classical philologists should more carefully examine Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* 6, 49, where stands a corrupt passage dealing with the names of the letters in *Ἰησοῦς* and *Χριστός* and their numerical values.

2, pp. 157-160. L. v. Straub, Ueber die Bedeutung von *λυσιτελείν*. According to Diphilus (in Athenaeus, p. 227) a business is *λυσιτελής* if *αἱ πρόσοδοι λύουσι τὰναλώματα*. In general this is true of the uses of the word: to recover the original outlay in business of any kind. It may also be compared as a synonym with the general idea of *συμφέρειν* yet it never evaporates into its general meaning. Cf. Plato, *Alcibiad.* C 10.

3, p. 160. J. Baunack, Noch einmal *ὑδάτη*. This form used in the Oxyrhynchos boat-song for the nom. and acc. *ὔδατα* came from the use of *\*ὑδάτ-εσι*. *ὑδάτη* : *\*ὑδάτεσι* :: *γένη* : *γένεσι*.

VII, pp. 161-212. A. Roemer, *Aristarchea* I. The exegetical principle, "*Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν*" and Aristarchus' attitude towards it. Another equally important principle was used by him in connection with it: *πολλά ἐστὶν ἀπαξ λεγόμενα παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ*, i. e. isolated facts occur in Homer, must be recognized as such, and may not be subjected to control through the rest of the Homeric poems. The principle is especially useful in investigating mythological matters, in which Aristarchus did not hesitate to avail himself of the principle of analogy; he placed interpretation *κατὰ μῦθον* on a sound basis. He interpreted Homer by the poet himself and also pointed out how Homer differed from later poets who dealt with the same materials. Many modern critics have misunderstood Aristarchus' real method of procedure. Continued in XII, pp. 321-352.



VIII, pp. 213-241. Th. Gomperz, Die hippokratische Frage und der Ausgangspunkt ihrer Lösung. The Greek text of the treatise "On Ancient Medicine" is printed (pp. 229-241); its relation to the citation in Plato's Phaedrus is discussed and the conclusions reached, that the treatise has not been highly enough valued; that it is improbable that a work cited by Plato, as a work of Hippokrates should have been lost; and even more improbable that this extraordinary treatise, by far the richest in ideas in the whole collection, striking a strong personal note, and containing as something quite new the theory of *κράσις* universally recognized as peculiarly Hippokratean, should be the work of an unknown author.

IX, pp. 242-266. W. Nestle, Gab es eine ionische Sophistik? An examination of certain passages in Herodotos and of what we know of his life shows that he made use of the older logographers and was acquainted with the teachings of sophists already well known to us. There is no chronological difficulty, and it would have been strange if Herodotos had ignored this great intellectual movement of his own time. There are no sure points on which to base the existence of an old Ionian sophistic.

X, pp. 267-273. R. Daebritz, Zu Asinius Pollio. Caesar's remark after the battle of Pharsalus is reported *ad verbum* in Latin by Suetonius, Vit. Caes. 30 on the authority of Pollio, and in Greek by Plutarch Caes. 46. The latter adds that Pollio said that Caesar uttered it in Latin on the memorable occasion; 'Ἑλληνιστὶ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγράφθαι. The words ὑπ' αὐτοῦ are shown to have referred to Pollio himself, who may have translated his *Historiae* into Greek or had them translated. When Pollio cited in Greek a famous Latin *mot* of Caesar's he felt it necessary to say that the Greek version was by himself.

XI, pp. 274-311, C. Ganzenmüller, Aus Ovids Werkstatt. Ovid's borrowings from earlier and contemporary Roman poets may be explained in various ways: (1) direct quotation was a sort of honorable mention; (2) many reminiscences are doubtless unconscious and due to Ovid's excellent memory; (3) just as the Roman poets exploited the Greeks, so too they had a habit of appropriating the best in their national literature; (4) as successive Roman poets sought to give technical perfection to the hexameter and pentameter, certain combinations of words became stereotyped and many beginnings and ends of verses constantly recur, and before the caesura and at the close of the pentameter the same words are used in a formulaic manner, just as in German, 'Sonne' and 'Wonne', 'Herz' and 'Schmerz' become almost inevitable rhymes; (5) the degree of imitation depended upon the character of the individual poet, and the attacks on Vergil by Octavius Avitus and Perellius Faustus show that a part of the Roman public protested; (6) Ovid had a knack of transforming his borrowings, but often metrical considerations



prompted the change. Numerous examples are given of Ovid's relation to Catullus, Tibullus and Propertius (pp. 279-309). He seems to have been naturally drawn closer to Tibullus than to Propertius. From the former he borrowed idyllic scenes and descriptions of nature, religious sentiments and lovers' arts and laments. From Propertius he derived much of his mythological lore, some of his references to the natural sciences, and to poets and their calling; also many of his far-fetched expressions. This article is concluded in XIV, pp. 397-437.

#### Miscellen.

4, pp. 312-313. J. Baunack, Zur Inschrift des Argivischen Weihgeschenks des Kleobis und Biton in Delphi. Assuming that plinth A had two lines running to the right, and plinth B two to the left, he would fill out the gaps thus [Κλέοβις καὶ Βί]των τὰν ματάρων | [Ἡεραῖόνδ] | ε ἄγαγον τοῖς θυγατέρας. From Herod. I, 31, one might conjecture [ἀπ' Ἀργεος Ἡεραῖόνδ]ε. Other spellings are suggested.

5, pp. 313-315. A. Zimmermann, Randbemerkungen zum Fasciculus II des Thesaurus-Supplements. (1) Latin names from the Greek of the type -ώ (gen. -οῦς). (2) Charitio (Χαρίτιον). (3) Names from 3d decl. in -tas (-tatis) becoming VL -ta; e. g. Iulia Felicita. (4) For Celius verna Cellio (CIL II 5356) he would read: Celius vernacellio or Vernacellio (cf. rubellus, rubellio). (5) Cedatius is probably to be taken with CIL V 801 as referring to the gens Muicedatia.

6, pp. 315-317. W. A. Oldfather, Ps.-Theognis Eleg. B' und die alte Komödie. (a) Aristoph. Vesp. 1342 ff. is a parody of Eleg. B', 1361 f., σχοινίου = πείσματος in sensu obsc. (b) κριθή in the same sense, ἀπαξ εἶρ. in Aristoph. Pax 965 may perhaps be paralleled in Eleg. B', 1249 κριθῶν ἐκορέσθης. (c) σταδίων as a measure of speed (besides Aristoph. Ran. 91; Nub. 430) occurs in Eleg. B'. 1305 f.

7, pp. 317-320. H. Traut, Horaz' Römeroden und der clupeus aureus 6, 13 ff. des monumentum Ancyranum. The views of v. Domaszewski (Rh. M. 1904, 302 ff.) and Hiemer (Die Römeroden des Horaz. Progr. Ellwangen, 1905) that the poems were written to celebrate the erection in the curia Julia of the clupeus aureus (quem mihi senatum populumque Romanum dare virtutis clementiae iustitiae pietatis causa testatum est per eius clupeus inscriptionem) receive corroboration from the reference to *anciliorum* in Ode III, 5, 8 ff. The golden shield was dedicated to Augustus in grateful remembrance of the legend of Numa Pompilius, "the prince of peace".

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## BRIEF MENTION.

In his article on the Trackers (*Ἰχθυεῖται*) of Sophokles, in the *Revue de Paris* for August last, M. THÉODORE REINACH holds forth on the untranslatableness of Greek in the following terms;

Les poètes grecs sont proprement intraduisibles, et Sophocle est peut-être le plus intraduisible de tous. Sa langue, tour à tour hautaine et familière, foisonnante d'images, dédaigneuse d'une syntaxe rigide, riche en néologismes hardis et en impropriétés géniales, s'accommode mal de la robe "tailleur", de l'allure sensée et correcte de notre prose française. Et comment rendre dans cette prose le souple balancement des trimètres, la variété expressive des rythmes lyriques—sans compter le charme à jamais évanoui de la musique et de la danse, qui, dans une composition de ce genre, assez comparable aux comédies ballets de Molière, devaient constituer un des éléments essentiels de l'effet scénique?

The theme is not unfamiliar to the readers of the Journal, and the proof of the inadequacy of translation is an indispensable organon in the apparatus of every teacher. He who allows a student to rest satisfied with the dictionary equivalent of a Greek or Latin word is either shamefully ignorant or shamefully negligent. But it will be said 'The perfume is certain to escape, and all the lard of learning will not fix it'. Be it so. But translation is necessarily transformation, even such transfusive renderings as have won unstinted admiration for Sir Gilbert Murray, admiration which even hardened specialists cannot withhold. The life of Greek is there, we are told, that immortal life. If that is Greek, Greek is worth while, and perhaps here and there a soul may be won to the study of the original; and so in time we shall have a revival of Greek studies in wider circles. And believing this, Grecians rejoice and honour the mission of the inspired interpreter, who has chosen with true insight Euripides as his subject—Euripides, so much nearer to us than Sophokles can ever be, for Sophokles is more remote from us than either of the other two. Yes, life is there, throbbing life, but the manifestation is something else. We oldsters have witnessed all manner of developments in fruits and flowers. Our day has beheld the wizardry of Burbank. It is a great thing to be the Burbank of Greek poetry. But the old Grecian turns from the seedless this and the thornless that to the native growth, the woods ever fresh, the pastures ever new, the Deer's Bill of Fare, the diet of the *Αἴγες* of Eupolis (A. J. P. XXVIII 239).

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Once in the Greek Anthology (A. J. P. XXXIII 227) it is hard to get out of it. When the flowers do not detain the reader, the critical thorns hold him like those that guard the ascent of



sunny Kronion at Olympia. One is tempted to emendation, one is tempted to translation—that very translation about which I have just echoed Reinach, and yet in that same article Reinach has translated a part of the Ἰχνευταί. And this reminds me that in justice to myself, as if that mattered, I ought to have accompanied my characteristic (A. J. P. XXXIII 112) of Cory's version of εἰπέ τις Ἡράκλειτε as a failure with some show of *raison démonstrative*. The famous version, an English classic, is contained in a little volume of poems printed without the name of the author at the Sunnyside (Orpington) Press in 1891. My copy was presented to me the same year by Edmund Clarence Stedman, and is thus doubly precious to me. The collection is called Ionica. I have renamed it Ionia, a much more fitting title for it than for the fraudulent Violarium of Pseudeudocia (A. J. P. III 489: IV 109; V 114 f.; VII 104). For those who do not know the poem by heart I will reproduce the text, so that the reasons for the judgment passed in the Journal may be intelligible, if unpardonable:

They told me, Heraclitus, they told me you were dead,  
They brought me bitter news to hear, and bitter tears I shed.  
I wept as I remembered how often you and I  
Had tired the sun with talking and sent him down the sky.  
And now that thou art lying, my dear old Carian guest,  
A handful of grey ashes, long, long ago at rest,  
Still are thy pleasant verses, thy nightingales, awake,  
For Death he taketh all away, but these he cannot take.

To copy Bentley's famous dictum, 'A pretty poem, Mr. Cory, but you must not call it Callimachus'. It is much too puffy for that rather scrawny beauty; it repeats unnecessarily, it pads outrageously. The shift from 'you' to 'thou' can be justified by Shakespeare. A very pretty instance is to be found in *As You Like It*—the passage where Duke Frederick pronounces the sentence of banishment on Rosalind (Act V, Sc. 3). Cory's Callimachus gets tenderer as he remembers that he shall not see his friend again. Carian is a poor substitute for Halicarnassian. The Halicarnassians doubtless looked upon the Carians with some shade of contempt. ἐν Καρὶ κίνδυνος is a sneering Greek proverb. And finally 'Still are thy pleasant verses' keeps us waiting too long. We think of 'still' = 'silent' before we get to 'awake', and we haven't to do with Wordsworth's 'still sad music of humanity'. 'Awake' and 'live' are not synonyms, as everyone who has preached and lectured knows. The stricture on 'Still are thy pleasant verses' has been pronounced by a judge of such matters hypercritical. But it so happened that this counter-criticism came to me as I was reading Hornung's 'Fathers of Men', a description of an English public school, which, to say the least, lacks the charm of 'Tom Brown'. In this book the task of translating Cory's Heraclitus into elegiacs is assigned to the hero, and this is what an accomplice makes of it:

Muta silet vox ista placens, tua carmina vivunt.



The joke (for it is a joke) is elaborately explained, as is the wont on the other side; but the possibility of the joke is the point, and I still think that the suspension of the sense is a serious drawback to the perfection of the poem.

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The assaults upon the so-called Hegelian triads of Greek literature have not affected my equanimity in the least, nor do I repent me of my eidographic studies in Greek syntax (A. J. P. XXXIII 106). The very hopelessness of such a plan as applied to Latin is an added glory to Greek. The order of crystallization in Greek is the order of time, so that an eidographic syntax is to a certain extent a chronological syntax, and while chronology is not history, it is essential to history. In the series of *Columbia Lectures on Greek Literature* the traditional order is still observed, except that Oratory precedes Philosophy; and in the initial lecture by Professor SHOREY we read of 'the interest which attaches to the orderly sequence and full development of each distinct literary form or kind before we pass to the next', and that 'no secondary, imitative, and therefore partially artificial literature can exhibit this natural and artistic growth'. It is not likely, then, that the third generation, which I have been spared to see, will find the work that has been done on the old lines absolutely wasted; and in fact some of the leaders in syntactical research on the other side, such as MELTZER, seem to encourage the prosecution of eidographic studies—systematic studies, and not the sporadic observations of the old-fashioned *syntaxis ornata*. The long series of monographs over which Schanz presides gains new interest, one may say, new life, when examined from the eidographic point of view. The domain of Greek folk-speech, which is becoming crowded with workers, needs the markers that have been set up by the explorers of the literary field; and when an attempt is made every now and then to sum up results—such an attempt as IMMISCH's in the *Neue Jahrbücher* (XXIX, 1912, pp. 27-49)—the value of the preliminary eidographic studies becomes apparent. They teach us when the witness is speaking his native tongue, and when he is adorning his discourse with the floscules of the school (A. J. P. IX 154; XXV 106; XXX 105). So it is to be hoped that the effulgence of the new 'Light from the East' will not blind the student to the importance of the older study, for which so much remains to be done. The verb has yielded valuable results, but the noun presents some very perplexing problems to the students of eidographic syntax. The youthful botanist soon masters the phanerogams of his neighborhood, but the cryptogams will keep him busy long after he has pressed and labelled the rest of the flora. And the noun is the cryptogam of the syntactician. In the original draught of my Syntax the article with the genitive had its place side by side with the articular adjective; but the composite character of the genitive—a matter of common accep-



tation—gives an entirely different character to the problem, and the presentation had to be postponed until we could reach the section of the partitive genitive. The outside position of the partitive genitive, which is so regular a feature of the combination, forces the consideration of the conception of the case. Those who believe in the adverbial construction of the genitive as the primitive construction (A. J. P. XXIII 22) seem to consider the partitive notion basic. To my mind the partitive is a mere connotation of the adnominal or attributive genitive, fostered by the regular use of the genitive with parts of the body (A. J. P. XXIII 233; XXV 110). With the development of the article that connotation gets the reinforcement of position; so that we find a contest between the possessive and the partitive, in which the partitive sometimes gets the upper hand, e. g., Pax 880; Ran. 424. This is the reason why Professor Miller and I, after some hesitation, determined to postpone the treatment of the genitive in the articular complex until we came to the genitive itself.

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'On relit comme Royer-Collard', I read not long ago in the *Mercure de France*, and recalling the fact that I had quoted the saying of Royer-Collard perhaps more than once, I thought to myself: Blessed is the man who hitches his name to an obviousness. There are thousands who know Royer-Collard by his innocent *mot*, as there are thousands who know the centenarian Routh as the author of that pregnant sentence, 'Verify your references'. Why, of all the old men that have uttered the natural sentiment of an aging scholar, Royer-Collard should have been immortalized by his version of the old saying: On revient toujours à ses premières amours; why Routh should have been selected as the exponent of the most elementary rule in the book-keeping of philology, passes my understanding, as it passes my understanding why CAUER in the new edition of his attractive book, *Grammatica Militans* (Weidmann), should persist in attaching the name of Kern to the division of the accusative into the Object Affected and the Object Effected, which I used with practised ease in my classes before the publication of my Latin Grammar in 1867. Where I got it from, whether I invented it, I do not care (A. J. P. XIV 375; XXII 28). In any case 1867 gives a terminus seventeen years farther back than CAUER's limit of priority, 1884. It is possible that I am the author of that particular tag, for tagging the phenomena of language is an amusing employment. How useful it is—ah! that is another matter; for after all the label may be false, and the old grammatical terms, which are as insignificant as proper names, ought not to be abandoned. But I watch the fate of my little things with a benevolent detachment. I was the first, I believe, to use 'articular infinitive'. The expression was ridiculed, and that is the reason why I remember my introduction of it. The American economy



of it has commended it to universal use. But I am not going to write a grammatical Testamentum Porcelli.

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This incidental mention of the third edition of the *Grammatica Militans* must not betray me into a discussion of a book on which I could hold forth indefinitely. It is a bright book, the work of an experienced teacher accustomed to make points for his classes; an up-to-date book with references to the work of such Cis-Atlantic leaders as Hale and Morris, a book in which one reads of Meltzer (A. J. P. XXX 478) and finds summaries of Schlachter's statistics (A. J. P. XXIX 243; XXX 105); a book in which use is made of Stahl's collections and Stahl's psychology. Everyone can learn something from it, and I do not wish to play any longer the part of a *canis grammaticus* in the syntactical domain. The long growl with which I followed the track of Stahl has found but little echo, and yet as I turn over CAUER's pages I am tempted to apply the words of Rostand's Patou to this bright book, this up-to-date book:

Ces deux fléaux, qui sont les plus tristes du monde :  
Le mot qui veut toujours être le mot d'esprit,  
Le cri qui veut toujours être le dernier cri.

There are, it is true, many points in which my practice of more than half a century coincides with CAUER's teachings. But to cite only a couple of important points of hopeless dissidence. We approach the moods from opposite directions. To me Will is the *prius*, to him *Vorstellung* (A. J. P. XXXI 77). To me parataxis and hypotaxis are very much matters of style, whereas CAUER enlarges on the paratactic resolution of the hypotactic sentence, and fails to recognize the importance of the hypotactic sentence, which is older than our record, for the original meaning of moods and tenses (A. J. P. XXX 2). The subordinate sentence, as I have said (A. J. P. XXIX 268) is the Ararat in the flood of change, and I must confess that I look with amazement at the retention of Curtius' utterly unsatisfactory, utterly inorganic explanation of the acc. c. inf. in oratio obliqua, against which I protested years ago (A. J. P. XVII, 1896, 517): 'ἡγγειλαν ὅτι ὁ Κῦρος ἐνίκησε becomes ἡγγειλαν τὸν Κῦρον ὅτι ἐνίκησεν, but ὅτι ἐνίκησεν = νικῆσαι ∴ ἡγγειλαν τὸν Κῦρον ὅτι ἐνίκησεν = ἡγγειλαν τὸν Κῦρον νικῆσαι. Q. E. D. To be sure, the ὅτι construction after verbs of saying is almost demonstrably younger than the acc. and inf. construction, and the acc. and inf. after φημί, the great verb of saying in the old times, could hardly have been suggested by φημί ὅτι, which is a tabooed construction (cf. A. J. P. XIV 374), but ὅτι ἐνίκησεν = νικῆσαι with the rest of it was too convenient' for men who treat language as if it were an equation in mathematics.



Another point I may be pardoned for mentioning. The regnant distinction between *ἐὶ* c. f. i. and *ἐάν* c. subj., which I formulated many years ago, promulgated in 1876 (Tr. Amer. Phil. Assoc. for that year), defended in 1888 (A. J. P. IX 491), defended and, if I dare say so, substantiated in the Johns Hopkins University Circular for June, 1892, and in dephlogisticated form A. J. P. XIII 124—this distinction has found little favour, in fact, scant, if any, mention among German Hellenists. Outside of Germany the minatory and monitory formula has found wider acceptance, and has not been 'todtgeschwiegen' after the approved German fashion. CAUER seems to recognize the problem as a problem, but renounces the possibility of feeling after the distinction, if haply we may find it: 'Für den hellhörigen Hellenen wird zwischen *ἐάν ἀληθεύσης* (Anab. I, 7, 18) und *ἐὶ ἀληθεύσεις* gewiss ein Unterschied gewesen sein; wir müssen wohl darauf verzichten, ihn nachzuempfinden'. With us who cannot talk with the ancient Greeks, it is a matter of sight, not hearing; and a bitter critic of America and Americans has made the important concession that Americans think straight and see clear, to which I would add that we do not always need German spectacles; and as I send this page to the printer I note in the new treasure trove, the *Ἰχνευταί* of Sophokles, two flagrant examples of the minatory condition col. vii 2: *ἐὶ μὴ . . . ἐξιχνεύσετε* and col. x 21: *ἐὶ φανεῖτε* (cf. A. J. P. XIII 503).

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'Interesting and suggestive, if not convincing' is a convenient formula of which I have made frequent use in passing judgment on others, especially in the domain of conjectural emendation, in which, to be frank, somebody, if only the author, ought to be convinced (A. J. P. X 87); and I was amused to find that this same convenient formula was commended to my own lips the other day in the latest volume of the *Harvard Classical Studies* (XXIII) by MARGARET C. WAITES, *The Allegorical Debate in Greek Literature* (p. 6) with reference to my interpretation of the riddlesome close of the Second Pythian. In this judgment she had been preceded by Nairn in the *Classical Review* for June, 1901, who says of my interpretation, 'Interesting but not convincing'. In his second edition of the *Olympians and Pythians* Fennell says, 'It is ingenious but thoroughly unsound'. Much more bearable all this than Bornemann's criticism in his tritulating review of my Pindar, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1885, No. 26, Sp. 308, where he cites this interpretation as one of the very few original things in the book, translates it to shew its absurdity, and calls it 'zugleich charakteristisch und verfehlt'. 'Der unbefangene Leser', he goes on to say, 'wird verwundert sein. Aber ich darf ihm und dem Herausg. zum Troste bekennen, dass solche Monstra in der herrschenden Pindarexegese nicht vereinzelt dastehen'. But since then Wilamowitz has disposed of



Bornemann in a single contemptuous sentence which has ground him to a finer powder than my Pindar furnished to his pestle. 'Puderet me mei ipsius si Bornemannis aliquid persuadere vellem' quoth Wilamowitz. And I said to myself in the language of Kydoimos, ἀπόλωλ' Ἀθηναίοισιν ἀλετρίβανος, though, to be sure, the parallel is unfair to Kleon. The fact is, I was not very much in love with my interpretation; and acting on my own principles, I ought to have suppressed it. The reason why Plato excepts Pindar from his censure seems to be that he is not dramatic. ἀφηγηματικά μὲν, says Nicolaus Sophista in Rh. Gr. III 455, (Sp.) ὅσα ἀπὸ μόνου τοῦ ἀπαγγέλλοντος προσώπου εἰσὶν, οἷα τὰ παρὰ Πινδάρῳ, to quote the first authority that comes to hand. But does this exclude self-dialogue such as we find in Homer? See Mure's Literature of Greece II. 14, 1, quoted by Campbell, Theaet. 190 A. However, I was quite aware of the audacity of my construction of the scene, and before publishing it submitted the case to a literary friend for the sanity of whose judgment I had great respect; and when he declared that he saw nothing absurd in it, nay, that it gave a rational explanation of the difficult passage, I greatly dared. Of course, I might have strengthened my position by adducing the puzzling shifts of Persius and Browning's parenthetic injections; but I have a certain reverence for Pindar, none whatever for Persius, and as for Browning I have already shewn that I am not in the least disturbed by the high and mighty prophecy he uttered in 1872, saying, 'Nor do I apprehend any charge of being wilfully obscure, unconscientiously careless, or perversely harsh'. The 'unconscientious carelessness' (A. J. P. XXXII 485) has been proved beyond question, as well as the 'wilful obscurity' with which he veils his indecencies (A. J. P. XXXI 488). No, I am not going to resort to Persius or Browning for the defence of Pindar, or rather of my interpretation of the Second Pythian. Since the publication of my Pindar the discovery of Bakchylides (A. J. P. XVIII 493) has given a specimen of dramatic dialogue in the Θησεύς, to say nothing of the assaults that have been made on the Hegelian triad. We know nothing whatever about the delivery of the epinikia. A change of voices may have made the matter plain in the delivery. And a few years after the publication of my Pindar much attention was paid to the dramatic element in the Songs of Degrees. See Johns Hopkins University Circular, Feb., 1892, where we read, 'There are two voices in the opening verses of Psalm cxxi. The poet personates first a skeptic, then a believing Jew'—a perfect parallel to the Pindaric passage. I will not adduce the two voices in Ecclesiastes inasmuch as the second voice, according to Professor Haupt, is a later introduction. 'The genuine portions of Ecclesiastes', he says, 'are Sadducean and Epicurean. Stoic doctrines are found almost exclusively in the Pharisaic interpolations'.



H. L. W.: Many a traveler in a foreign land has proved to his satisfaction that ability to use the language of the country means a real saving of his resources. That this applies to books as well as to countries is evident from the increased price of the translation of MARUCCHI's *Epigrafia Cristiana*, the Italian original of which was noticed in this Journal (XXXI 368). The English version, a very satisfactory piece of work, is made by J. ARMINÉ WILLIS, and published by the Cambridge University Press (1912: 460 pp., with 30 plates. Price 7/6 net). From the typographical point of view the new edition, printed in somewhat larger type than the old, is even more attractive, though marred too often by errors due to proof-readers whose knowledge of Italian or of antiquity was inadequate. A distinct improvement, however, might have been made if the two pages of addenda to the Introduction, instead of being placed at the end, had been incorporated in the text at the appropriate places or even in foot notes.

Those who desire to study seriously any phase of Roman antiquity ought to make themselves sufficiently familiar with Italian to have no need for such translations. In this country at least students who find a foreign language an insuperable barrier to their studies are a small and steadily diminishing number; if they are really numerous elsewhere, the reissue of MARUCCHI's excellent little book in its English dress will prove to have been abundantly justified.

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C. W. E. M.: The Archaeological Institute of Moscow has lately undertaken the publication of a valuable collection of facsimiles of dated Greek minuscule manuscripts. The editors are professors G. CERETELI of the University of Jurjev and S. SOBOLEVSKI of the Imperial University of Moscow. The object of the work is to furnish practice material for beginners and to make accessible to students palaeographical treasures with which even the trained expert has hitherto had but slight acquaintance. The collection is to consist of two parts. The first part (*Exempla Codicum Graecorum litteris minusculis scriptorum annorumque notis instructorum*; Volumen prius, Codices Mosquenses; Mosquae, Sumptibus Instituti Archaeologici Mosquensis, 1911; Leipzig, in Commission bei Otto Harrassowitz; Price, 40 marks) contains 43 plates of folio size, and 15 pages of descriptive and explanatory letter-press. The second part, which is to comprise facsimiles of Petersburg MSS, still awaits publication.



## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN AND ENGLISH.

Allen (B. M.) and Phillips (J. L.) Latin composition. Rev. ed. Boston, *Allyn & Bacon*. 10+266+28 pp. 12°, \$1.

Hale (W. G.) First Latin book. Rev. ed. Boston, *Atkinson, Mentzer & Co.* 20+340 pp. 1l. 12°, \$1.

Haverfield (F.) The Romanization of Roman Britain. London, 1912. 8°, 3s. 6d. net.

Homer. The Illiad; tr. by G. Chapman. New York, *Scribner*. 700 pp. 1l. 16° (Caxton ser.), \$1.25 net.

— The Women of the Illiad; by H. W. Taylor. New York, *Broadway*. 60 pp. \$1.

— Homer's Odyssey; line translation in the metre of the original by H. B. Cotterill; with 24 ll. by P. Wilson. Boston, *Estes*. 23+334 pp. 8°, \$5.50 net.

Howe (G.) Latin sight reader. Raleigh, N. C., *Thompson Pub.* 8+87 pp. 12°, \$1.50.

Leaf (W.) Troy. A study in Homeric Geography. London, 1912. 422 pp. 8°, 12s. net.

Loeb Classical Library. Greek and Latin texts with parallel English translations.

Greek. Appian. Vol. I. Apollonius Rhodius. 1 Vol. Euripidea. Vols. I and II. Philostratus. 2 Vols. Sophocles. Vol. I. Theocritus, Bion, Moschus (The Greek Bucolic Poets). 1 Vol. Apostolic Fathers. Vol. I.

Latin. Cicero. Vol. I. Terence. 2 Vols. Propertius. 1 Vol. St. Augustine. 2 Vols. *Macmillan*. Cloth, \$1.50 net; leather, \$2 net.

Philostratus. Apollonius of Tyana; tr. by J. S. Phillimore. In 2 v New York, *Oxford University Press*. 128+141; 296 pp. 12°, \$2 net.

Plutarch. Plutarch's Nicias and Alcibiades; newly tr., with introd. and notes. New York, *Scribner*. 11+335 pp. front. 8°, \$2 net.

Rolfe (J. C.) and Dennison (W.) A junior Latin book. Rev. ed. Boston, *Allyn & Bacon*. 6+396+164 pp. col. pl. maps, plans, 12°, \$1.25.

Sonnenschein (E. Adolph.) A new Latin grammar. New York, *Oxford University Press*. 266 pp. 12°, 60 c.

Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta papyracea nuper reperta; recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit Arthurus S. Hunt. New York, *Oxford University Press*. 12° (Oxford classical texts), pap., 60 c. net.

White (J. W.) The Verse of Greek Comedy. London, 1912. 8° 12s. net.

Wilson (J. Cook). Aristotelian Studies: On the Structure of the Seventh Book of the Nicomachean Ethica, Chapters I-X. New York, 1912. 103 pp. 8°, \$1.25 net.



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Bornecque (H.) et Mornet (D.) Rome et les Romains. 87 ill. et cartes, in-18. *Ch. Delagrave*. br., 3 fr. rel., 3 fr. 50.

Cavaignac (Eugène). Histoire de l'antiquité. T. II. Athènes (480-330 pp.), plans et cartes, in-8°. *Fontemoing et Cie*. 12 fr.

Collinet (Paul). Etudes historiques sur le droit de Justinien. T. I. Le caractère oriental de l'œuvre législative de Justinien, in-8°. *Larose et Tenin*. 10 fr.

Fougères (Gustave). Athènes. 168 grav., in-8°. *H. Laurens*. br., 4 fr.; rel., 5 fr.

Meunier (Jean-Marie). Index lexicographique de tous les mots celtiques, grecs, latins, etc., contenus dans la Monographie phonétique, in-8°. *H. Champion*. 10 fr.

Reinach (S.) Cornélie ou le latin sans pleurs, 1 pl. 14×12, rel. *Hachette et Cie*. 5 fr.

— Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains. T. II. Afrique. Iles Britanniques (x-546 pp.), in-8°. *E. Leroux*. 10 fr.

## GERMAN.

Arbelten, Jenaer historische. Hrsrg. v. A. Cartellieri u. W. Judeich. gr. 8°. Bonn, *A. Marcus & E. Weber*. 3. Heft. Robinson, Walt.; Marins, Saturninus u. Glaucia. Chr. (134 S.) 1912. 4.

Belzner, Homerische Probleme. Ü. die Komposition der Odyssee. (viii, 272 S.) gr. 8°. Leipzig, *B. G. Teubner*, 1912.

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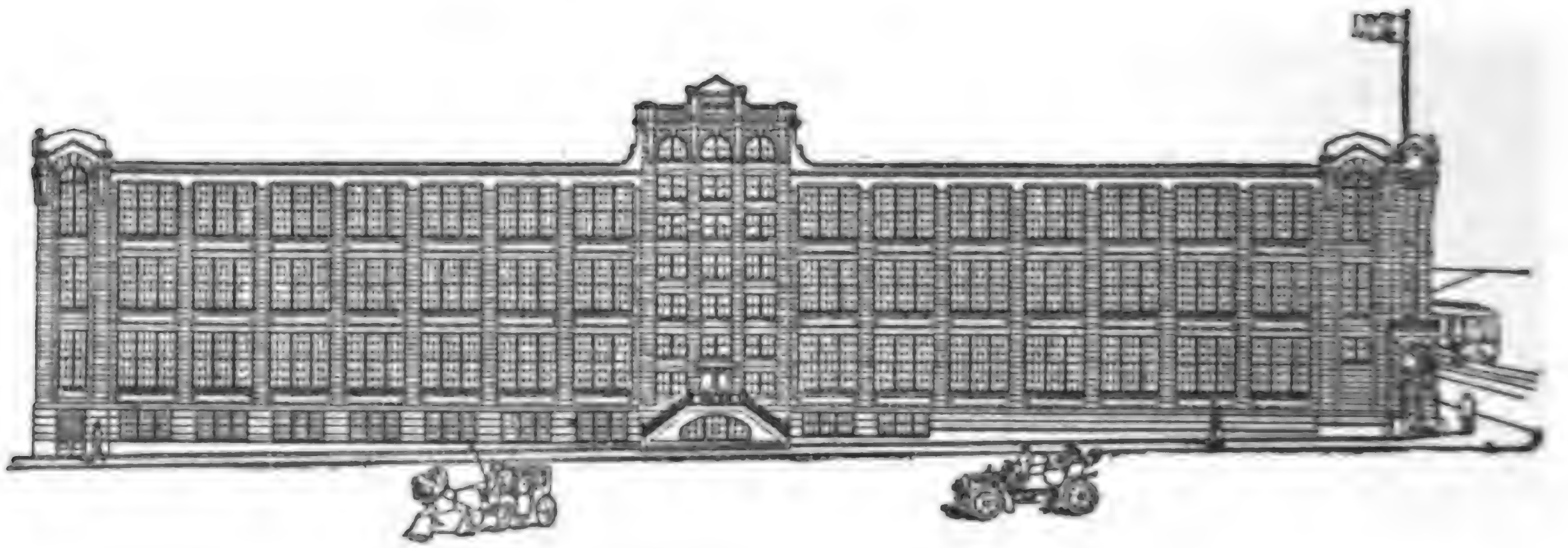
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